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1898



TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1875-6.

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1877.



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A P P E N D I X.

PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(MEETING AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, W.C.)

1876.

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TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1874.

Dr. WILLIAM PAYNE, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society. Cr.

CASH RECEIVED.		CASH PAID.	
1874.	\$ s. d.	1874.	\$ s. d.
Jan. 1.		Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.	
To Balance at Bankers ..	24 17 6	By Printing—	
" " due from Collector ..	15 15 0	Transactions	98 16 0
		Sundries	11 17 0
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.	40 12 6	By Publishing	12 17 10
To Sums received in 1874—		" Collector's Commission, 1873	3 12 0
For Arrears, 1872	2 2 0	" Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and	
" " 1873	12 13 0	Refreshments	20 18 6
" Entrance Fees, 1874	5 5 0	" Postage, etc.—Treasurer	2 3 9
" Subscriptions, 1874	72 9 0	" " due to Hon. Secretary	4 2 0
" " 1875	4 4 0	" " Clerk.....	0 18 8½
" " 1876	1 1 0	" Bank Charges.....	0 1 0
" Donations to Extra Fund, 1874	46 4 0		7 6 5½
	143 18 0	" Hon. Secretary's Clerk	3 3 0
		" Cash due from Clerk	1 1 3½
		" Balance at Bankers..	25 0 4
			26 1 7½
	<u>\$184 10 5</u>		<u>\$184 10 5</u>

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed) HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.
BENJAMIN DAWSON, }

FEBRUARY 7, 1875.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1875.

Dr. WILLIAM PAYNE, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society. Cr.

CASH RECEIVED.			CASH PAID.		
1875.	£	s. d.	1875.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.			Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.		
To Balance at Bankers	25	0 4	By Printing—		
„ Cash due from Secretary's Clerk	1	1 3½	Transactions		156 17 4
			Sundries—Austin	2	3 3
			„ Lowe	2	8 0
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.		26 1 7½			
To Sums received in 1875—			By Publishing—Trübner & Co.		4 11 3
For Arrears, 1871	2	2 0	„ Engraving		5 2 0
„ „ 1872	5	5 0	„ Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and		1 0 0
„ „ 1873	25	4 9	Refreshments		
„ „ 1874	35	14 0	Hon. Secretary's Clerk		18 13 9
„ Entrance Fees, 1875	13	13 0	„ Postage, Parcels; Treasurer	1	8 5
„ Life Compositions	21	0 0	„ Secretary's Clerk	0	16 3½
„ Subscriptions, 1875	106	1 0	„ „		
„ „ 1876	1	1 0	„ Bank Charges	0	4 0
„ Publications	1	4 0			
		211 4 0	„ Cash due from Hon. Sec.'s Clerk	0	6 0
			„ Balance at Bankers	47	6 7
					47 12 7
					<u>£237 5 7½</u>

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

(Signed)

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, } AUDITORS.
BENJAMIN DAWSON, }

FEBRUARY 7, 1876.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT, 1876.

Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON, Esq., Treasurer, in account with the Philological Society. Cr.

1876.		CASH RECEIVED.		CASH PAID.	
Jan. 1.		£ s. d.		Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.	
To Balance at Bankers	47 6 7			By Printing—	
" Cash due from Hon. Sec.'s Clerk	0 6 0			Transactions—Asher & Co.....	101 15 3
" Stamps in hand of late Treasurer ...	0 3 4			Dictionary and Sundries—Lowé	
		47 15 11		and Jacques	
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.				By Tin Box—Hobbs & Co.	0 17 10
To Sums received in 1876—				" Meetings—Expenses of Rooms, and	1 6 7
For Arrears	14 14 0			Refreshments	19 8 6
" Entrance Fees	4 4 0			" Hon. Secretary's Clerk, 1876	2 2 0
" Subscriptions, 1876	92 8 0			" Stationery, Postage, etc.	1 3 6
		111 6 0		" By Banker's Charges on Country	
				Cheques.....	0 1 0
				" Hon. Secretary's Clerk, 1876	1 1 0
				" Incidental Expenses, late Treasurer ...	1 6 5
					2 7 5
				" Balance at Bankers	129 2 1
				" " in Treasurer's hands.....	29 17 10
					0 2 0
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					£159 1 11

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.
 (Signed) DANBY P. FRY, } AUDITORS.
 HENRY B. WHEATLEY, }

FEBRUARY 14, 1877.



MINUTES OF
MEETINGS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FROM NOVEMBER 6, 1874, TO DECEMBER 15, 1876.

Friday, Nov. 6, 1874.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Hon. Sec. stated that the Council had resolved to recommend the Society to elect Prof. William Dwight Whitney, of Yale College, United States, as an Honorary Member of the Society. The President then made a report to the Meeting on the services that Professor Whitney had rendered to Comparative and English Philology, and in the course of it stated that so highly did he value the first seven chapters of Professor Whitney's work on "Language and the Study of Language," that he had undertaken to edit them for the use of English Colleges and Schools. The President stated that Prof. Whitney's election would be proposed to the next Meeting. Mr. Ellis supported the President's recommendation of Prof. Whitney to the Meeting. The Papers read were: (1) "On the Etruscan Numerals," expressing dissent from Corssen's interpretation of them and the pronouns, etc. By Prof. Aufrecht. Part I. (read by Mr. A. J. Ellis). (2) "On the Rushworth Gloss." By Dr. J. A. H. Murray. (3) "On the Treatment of final *m* in Latin," showing that it was not pronounced, but only lengthened the preceding vowel. By Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., *Vice-President*.

Friday, Nov. 20, 1874.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. Professor William Dwight Whitney, U.S., was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society. The following gentlemen were duly elected Members of the Society: Dr. Bernhard Mangold; W. R. Morfill, Esq., M.A.; J. H. Lloyd, Esq.; J. H. Hessels, Esq.; H. Attwell, Esq. The Papers read were: (1) "On Certain Italian Diminutives." By C. B. Cayley, Esq. (Printed above, p. 163.) (2) "On the Name 'Holy Island,' formerly applied to Ireland." By Monsieur Gaidoz, Editor of the *Revue Celtique* (read by Mr. Henry Nicol). After remarking that Ireland was so called by but one writer, Avienus (in the 11th century), and that the description of its inhabitants given by Strabo was far from entitling it to the appellation, M. Gaidoz concluded that the name was the result of "popular etymology." The ancient Greek names for Ireland are *Ἰέρη* and *Ἰερὴ νῆσος*, and the passage from either of them to *Ἰερὴ νῆσος* is so easy as to make the conjecture above probable. M. Gaidoz then examined Dr. Whitley Stokes's etymology of *Erin*, the *Ἰέρη* of the Greeks, rejecting all others proposed as too improbable to require detailed notice. Dr. Stokes thinks the oldest form of the stem was *Everion*

or *Iverion*, which he connects with the Skr. *avara* 'further, western,' so that *Erin* would be 'the land or isle of the west.' M. Gaidoz pointed out that this name could not have been given by the Irish to their own country, but must have been learnt from strangers; a conclusion which exactly fits in with the probability of the early voyagers having obtained the name of the 'Western isle' from the inhabitants of Britain, and with the fact that the natives of Ireland did not call themselves by a name derived from *Erin* till comparatively recent times.

Friday, Dec. 4, 1874.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On Foreign Words imported without change into English; or, Anglicized Foreign Words and Phrases." By J. F. Stanford, Esq.

Friday, Dec. 18, 1874.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., in the Chair.—The Paper read was: "On some Phonetic Changes in Persian." By Prof. Rieu.

Friday, Jan. 15, 1875.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., in the Chair.—The Paper read was: "On the Dialect of West Somerset." By F. T. Elworthy, Esq. (Printed above, p. 197.) The reader treated the dialect particularly with reference to its pronunciation and grammar. He maintained that dialects are not disappearing so quickly as is generally supposed; that, although words are constantly dropping into disuse, new ones are as certainly taking their places, and these, from having the stamp of the dialect impressed upon them, serve to hand down unaltered the archaic pronunciation. He asserted that the Quantocks and Taunton are the limits of the districts of East and West Somerset, and not the Parrett. The Western dialect had been but little studied, and was comparatively little known, although it was much richer in vocabulary and more expressive in speech than the East Somerset. Mr. Elworthy pointed out the probable Normanism in the difference made in the sounds of *zay*, *day*, *paay*, *maay*; and in carefully going through the vowels he gave no less than six distinct sounds for the diphthong *ea*. Final compound consonants were nearly always reduced to simple ones, and the hard dentals and labials constantly softened.—Mr. Sweet remarked on the value of the dialect in preserving in a living form the old sounds of the *w* before such words as *wrestling*, *wreath*, and the broad *aay* in *hay*.—Prince Lucien Bonaparte said that the chief distinction between the dialects of West Somerset and Devon was the use in the former of the periphrastic present indicative instead of the inflexion *eth*; that West Somerset must be classed by itself; that the remarkable inflexion by which transitive verbs receive a neuter signification when used without their object, is found in the dialects of the South-West of England, in Basque, and in Hungarian, but in no other languages, ancient or modern.

Friday, Feb. 5, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On Rhythm. Part II." By Prof. J. B. Mayor. (Printed above, p. 397.) The reader first controverted Mr. A. J. Ellis's views on the use of classical terms like "iambic," "trochaic," etc., and on the practice of routine scansion, which latter he defended as the natural mode of reciting poetry, and also as the necessary basis of scientific investigation. Prof. Mayor then confined

himself to the heroic metre, pointed out the different modes of varying the typical line, and discussed the limit of variation in respect to the use of trisyllabic feet, and the number and position of the accented syllables. He lastly illustrated the practice of Shakspeare, by many quotations from 'Macbeth,' classified under appropriate heads.

Friday, Feb. 19, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were: (1) "A Memoir of Observations made between the years 1863 and 1873 on the attack made by the individual on spoken Language, and a proposal to apply the method of direct experiment in Philological Science," (giving the changes made by five young children in our standard words, as *rah* for *hand*, etc.). By James M. Menzies, Esq. (Partly printed above, p. 168.) (2) "On the Dialectal Characteristics of the Rushworth Gloss." By Dr. J. A. H. Murray. (a) The Rushworth used *þ* for the Lindisfarne *ð*; and *k* often for *c*. (β) *h* was used for *c*; *i* for *ge* (as *iara* for *geara*); *h* is used arbitrarily, *his* for *is*; and is often dropped, *is* for *his*, *laferd* for *hlaforð*, *wa* for *hwa*; the umlaut of *o* is kept, and not turned into the West Saxon *e*, as *sœce* for *scece*; also the umlaut of *a*, as *wael* for *wel*; *mae*, *maere* for *ma*, *mare*, etc. A Sax. *ea* becomes Rushworth, *a*, *eal*, *al*; *a* becomes *o*, as *hond*, *hund*; *y* is never used for short *i*; *y* is written with *o*, *hym*, *heom*, them; *eo* becomes *iū*, *seo*, *siū*, she; *i* is turned into *io*, as *nime*, *niome*. Verbal *on* is *un*, as *we magun*. Case-signs are often left out, as, *heafod loccas*; the dative is in *ae* and *a* instead of *e*. Prepositions govern improper cases, nouns have irregular plurals. The weak declension of nouns is much broken down; for the plural *an* appear *u*, *a*; and *man* is declined according to this declension. Adjectives are often undeclined; sometimes the termination *u* runs through all the cases. In comparison, full forms like *lessest* occur. Pronouns: *was* for *we*; dat. *eow*, acc. *eowic*; *hie* for *hi*, they; poss. *user* is in use for "our." Def. Art.: acc. *þane* is used for *þone*. The relative is *seþe*. Verb: *ge* of past participle is often omitted, though used in the West-Saxon in the time of Stephen. Contracted terminations are not used, as *sended* for *sent*. 1st pers. sing. ends usually in a vowel; the *ig* is retained in the plural; the *þ* in the third singular, none in *s* occur. The past tense ends in *ade* sing., *adun* pl. Imperative, West-Saxon *cume ge*; Rushworth keeps the *þ*, *etþ we*, *sellat ge*, etc., etc. There is a tendency to use auxiliaries. *Ic beom* occurs (though *eam* is more common); and *beoþan* "are;" *for* is sometimes used for *beforan*. The dialect is probably North-Midland; it has on the one hand older characteristics than the West-Saxon, and on the other much later ones. It was the dialect of (perhaps) about Derbyshire. Dr. Morris said he had come independently to the conclusion that the dialect of the Rushworth Gloss was North-west Midland.

Friday, March 5, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. H. Jefferson, Esq., and Dr. E. A. Sturman were duly elected Members of the Society. The Paper read was: "On the Classification of Modern English Dialects." By Alex. J. Ellis, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. Mr. Ellis gave an account of the classification of the English dialects as now spoken, formed by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, Dr. Murray, and himself, with numerous collaborators. The dialects are distributed into 3 families, 7 branches, 13 dialects, 42 sub-dialects, and numerous varieties and sub-varieties, of which the following is an indication:—1. GREAT

NORTHERN FAMILY.—*A. Northern Branch*, I. North Insular Scotch (1. Shetland, and 2. Orkney); II. Northern Scotch (3. Caithness, 4. Moray and Aberdeen, 5. Angus); III. Central Scotch (6. Fife and Lothian, 7. Clydesdale, 8. Highland Border, 9. Galloway); IV. Scotch and English Border (10. Southern Scotch, 11. English West Marches, 12. English East Marches); V. Northern English (13. Cumberland, 14. Westmorland, 15. North and Mid Yorkshire, 16. North Lancashire).—*B. North-Western Branch*, VI. North-Western English (17. South Lancashire, 18. Cheshire, 19. North Peak of Derbyshire, 20. Derbyshire, 21. Staffordshire, 22. Shropshire).—*C. North-Midland Branch*, VII. North-Midland English (23. South Yorkshire). 2. **GREAT EASTERN FAMILY.**—*D. Eastern Branch*, VIII. North-Eastern English (24. Lincolnshire, 25. Nottinghamshire, 26. Leicestershire, 27. Warwickshire, 28. North Northamptonshire, 29. North Bedfordshire); IX. Eastern English (30. Norfolk, 31. Suffolk).—*E. Central Branch*, X. Central and Central-Border English (32. Central, i.e., Middlesex, Surrey, N. W. Kent, S. W. Essex, Herts, Bucks, S. Beds; 33. Eastern Border, i.e., Essex; 34. South-Eastern, i.e., Kent, E. Sussex; 35. Western and Midland Border, i.e., Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Worcestershire, parts of Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, S. Northamptonshire; 36. South-Western Border, i.e., Berks, E. Oxfordshire, Hants, Wight, W. Sussex; 37. Living Cornish, i.e., W. Cornwall). 3. **GREAT WESTERN FAMILY.**—*F. South-Western Branch*, XI. The Avons English (38. The Severn-Avon, i.e., Gloucester, S. W. Berks, N. Wilts, N. E. Somersetshire; 39. The Stour Avon, i.e., S. W. Hants, S. Wilts, Dorset, S. E. Somersetshire, Axminster); XII. Devon English (40. W. Somerset, 41. Devonshire).—*G. Extinct Branch*, XIII. (42. Forth and Bargo, near Wexford, Ireland).

Friday, March 19, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On the Norman Element in the English Patois of the Midland Area." By Joseph Payne, Esq. Before examining special words, Mr. Payne laid down the principle that many of the *patois* forms are explained by pointing out the difference between the laws of English and Old French accentuation. In naturalizing French words, the distinguishing or tonic accent, generally resting on the last syllable, was by the English rule transferred to the first or second syllable, the effect of which was to shorten or obscure the vowel or diphthong which had before been prominent and distinct. Thus, *enchantour* became English *enchanter*; *bataïlle*, *bättel* or *battle*; *viciäire*, *viker*; *gramäire*, *grämmer*; *figüre*, *figger*, etc. It was also noted that the English tonic syllable became, by this transference of accent, almost invariably short, whatever might have been its quantity before. On these principles the writer accounted for the *patois* forms *näppern*, for *naperón*, *läbber* for *labóur*, *fäwver* for *favbur*, *säwver* for *savbur*, *mitten* for *mitäine*, *dübbler* for *doublér*, *árran* for *aráine*, *söller* for *solér*, *püzzen* for *poisón*, *füzzen* for *foisón*, *männer* for *manäire*, *Märry* for *Marie*, *böttle* (of hay) for *boitille*, *cánile* (a corner) for *caniël*, *skället* for *escuelléte*, *rèsson* for *raisón*, *crétter*, *crüttur*, for *creature*, *päpper* for *papier*, *bäwver* for *bevé*, *dässent* for *décént*, etc. It was also shown, as a mark of the Midland *patois*, that there is a constant tendency to fling off the syllable preceding the tonic syllable, especially in words of French extraction. Hence *fend*, *gree*, *noint*, *scry*, *stry*, *tice*, *tend*, *gin*, etc., for *défendér*, *agréér*, *enoínt*, *descriér*, *destruttre*, *enticér*, *atténdre*, *engín*, etc. This tendency sometimes, as was shown in reference to *mend*, *ray*, etc.,

brings about a form which expresses the very contrary meaning to that of the original word. Thus *amendër* is to free from blots or faults, *desraier* to throw into disorder; hence *mend* should mean to blot, and *ray* to put in order. As to special words, the writer showed that *grudgeons*, *copper-rose* (Norfolk name of the red poppy), *gofers*, *huspil* (to disturb, harass), *lucam*, *warbles*, etc., were referable to the Norman or Old French words *grugeon*, *coprose*, *gauffre*, *houspiller*, *luarne*, *garboul*. The curious expression "a mort of people" was also referred to the Norman *patois* phraseology, "il-y avait du monde à mort," "charger à mort," where *à mort* means abundance or excess. The South Lancashire idiom "a two-three miles" was also shown to be paralleled by the Guernsey *patois*, "ches deux-treis choses."

Friday, April 16, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, President, in the Chair. C. A. M. Fennell, Esq., and C. H. Wall, Esq., were elected Members of the Society. The Paper read was: "On French Sounds in English. Part I." By Henry Nicol, Esq. After explaining that this part was introductory to the main subject of the investigation, —the phonetic history of the popular Modern English words of Old French origin,—and pointing out the necessity for philology of the physiological study of sounds, the reader remarked on the difficulties caused by the presence in both languages of numerous semi-Gallicised Latin words introduced by literature, and by the French words we have adopted being of different dialects and ages. The history of the Latin vowels in their progress to Old French was then sketched, the chief stages of change, qualitative and quantitative, common to all the Romanic languages, being distinguished. The changes were similar to those which have occurred in the Teutonic languages, consisting mainly in the lowering of Latin short *é* and *o* (close) to *e* and *o* (open), and of short *i* and *u* to *o* and *a*, and in all these sounds, as well as short *a*, being then lengthened when before a single consonant.

Friday, May 7, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, President, in the Chair. The President introduced to the Meeting Prof. W. D. Whitney, of Yale College, Connecticut, one of the Honorary Members of the Society. The Papers read were: (1) "On the Change of French Sounds into English. Part II." By Henry Nicol, Esq. After giving an account of the Old French and Middle English vowels in the words borrowed by the latter language from the former, Mr. Nicol drew attention to the accuracy with which the Old French distinction of close and open long *e* (*es* and *êe*) was reproduced by Middle English; the Old French *pêr* (now spelt *pair*=*pèr*, Latin *parem*) and *bêête* (*bête*=*bêt*, *bestiam*) having exactly the same forms in Middle English, and being in the sixteenth century *piir* and *bêêt*, as testified by the present spellings *peer* (with *ee*) and *beast* (with *ea*); the distinction of vowel, though lost, as in Modern French, in the English of London, (*beast* being now *biist*), still existing in that of Ireland. (2) Prof. W. D. Whitney then read a short paper "On the Theory of Roots in Language." He considered the forms obtained by successive removal of what may be regarded as additions, to be the real historical germs of language, and that the true theory to be held respecting the origin of language was that it was a mere instrument, and not a natural expression of human thought.

Friday, May 21, 1875.—(ANNIVERSARY MEETING.)—The Rev. Dr.

RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Treasurer read his Cash Account for the year 1874. The following Members of the Society were elected its officers for the ensuing year :—

President.—The Rev. Richard Morris.

Vice-Presidents.

The Archbishop of Dublin.	Whitley Stokes, Esq.
The Ex-Bishop of St. David's.	Alexander J. Ellis, Esq.
Edwin Guest, Esq.	

Ordinary Members.

E. L. Brandreth, Esq.	James A. H. Murray, Esq.
C. Cassal, Esq.	Henry Nicol, Esq.
C. B. Cayley, Esq.	Joseph Payne, Esq.
R. N. Cust, Esq.	J. Peile, Esq.
The Rev. B. Davies.	Charles Rieu, Esq.
E. R. Horton, Esq.	The Rev. W. W. Skeat.
The Rev. B. H. Kennedy.	Henry Sweet, Esq.
Russell Martineau, Esq.	Edward B. Tylor, Esq.
Rev. J. B. Mayor.	W. Wagner, Esq.
J. Muir, Esq.	Hensleigh Wedgwood, Esq.

Treasurer—William Payne, Esq.

Hon. Secretary—Frederick J. Furnivall, Esq.

The President read his Annual Address (p. 1), containing Reports by : 1. The President on the work of the Society in 1874 (p. 18). 2. The Rev. James Legge, D.D., LL.D., on Chinese Philology (p. 22). 3. The Rev. T. K. Cheyne on Semitic Philology (p. 44). 4. Prof. Eggeling on Sanskrit (p. 50). 5. T. W. Rhys Davids, Esq., on Pali and Sinhalese (p. 60). 6. R. N. Cust, Esq., on the Vernacular Languages of India (p. 79). 7. W. R. Morfill, Esq., on Slavonic (p. 89). 8. Rev. J. B. Mayor on Greek (p. 98). 9. Prof. Wagner on Latin (p. 111). 10. J. Rhys, Esq., on Celtic (p. 133). 11. The President on English Philology (p. 136). 12. The Rev. W. W. Skeat on the Work of the English Dialect Society (p. 139). 13. M. Paul Meyer on Romance and Provençal (p. 118). 14. M. Picot on Wallachian (p. 118).

Friday, June 4, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Rev. Alex. Hume, R. B. Swinton, Esq., and F. Chance, Esq., were elected Members of the Society. The Paper read was : "On English Dialects, Early and Modern." By Dr. J. A. H. Murray.

Friday, June 18, 1875.—Dr. JAS. A. H. MURRAY in the Chair. The Papers read were : (1) "On Manx." By Henry Jenner, Esq. (p. 172). (2) "On the Simple Gradation of A in Gothic." By C. A. M. Fennell, Esq. Mr. Jenner gave a short sketch of Manx grammar, comparing it

with the Gaelic of Ireland and Scotland; an account of its scanty literature of ballads and carols (with a list of all Manx printed books, amounting to about twenty-five), and some remarks on the translations of the Bible and Prayer-Book. He then traced the gradual decline of the language from the seventeenth century to the present time, quoting from Camden, Speed, Challoner, Bishop Wilson, and others, and ended by giving an account of the present state of Manx, including the result of a paper of statistical questions sent in the preceding autumn to each of the clergy of the Isle of Man, from which the Manx speakers appeared to amount to nearly one-third of the population, and those who know no English to about 200. Mr. Jenner strongly urged the Society to take steps to obtain similar statistics of the other living Celtic dialects.

Friday, Nov. 5, 1875.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On some Difficulties in the Determination of Ancient Greek Pronunciation," by Alex. J. Ellis, Esq. The general difficulties arose from the length of time during which Greek has been a living language, the importance of its dialects, their mixture by civil and other war, the variety of literary centres, the variety and insufficiency of the old Greek alphabets, and the official change of spelling in Athens B.C. 403, the use of digraphs, the peculiarity of the style of speech with quantity and metrical accent, and the non-existence of the great works in the original spelling, which can only be learned from inscriptions. The sources for overcoming these difficulties were the living pronunciation in Athens and the pronunciation of existing dialects, transcriptions of part of the Septuagint into Welsh letters in the ninth century A.D., the Ravenna attestations in Latin written with Greek letters in the sixth century A.D., Egyptian and Indian transcriptions of Greek names and titles, the Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac names and words in the Septuagint, and New Testament, the old Latin transcriptions of Greek names, and Greek of Latin names, some cries of pain and of animals in old writers, an observation or two by Plato, some puns and echoes, the writing of grammarians of the Roman period, and chiefly the study of the orthography of inscriptions, and of the internal changes of words. Mr. Ellis proceeded to consider the chief difficulties respecting each letter, confining himself to the Attic and common dialects, and summed up his conclusions by suggesting that for 1000 years to A.D. 875, the modern pronunciation had prevailed; for the next 1000 years to B.C. 125 the chief differences were the pronunciation of both *α* and *υ* as French *u*, and of *η* as French *é*. The feeling for quantity broke down, and the musical accent of a high pitch was converted into a stress on the same syllables during the third century A.D. From B.C. 125 to B.C. 275 the changes were slight, principally affecting *α*, which became nearer German *ai*, and *α*, *υ*, which were occasionally German, instead of French, *ui*, *u*, and *αυ* *ευ* had more of the *u* heard in them. These were probably the regular sounds during the new Attic period to B.C. 403. During the Peloponnesian War much change ensued, and possibly before that time up to B.C. 530, when Pisiistratus collected the poems of Homer, all *α* *ου* which are found so written in older Attic inscriptions (very few in number) were true diphthongs consisting of German *a*, *o*, followed by German *i*, *u*, respectively, and all or most of the *ε* *ο* (including what were afterwards *ει* *η*, *ου* *ω*) were German *a*, *o*, and *υ*, *υ* were clearly German *ui*, *u*, with *αυ*, *ευ* as before. The aspirate, which ceased to

be used in writing after B.C. 403, was probably variable during the Peloponnesian War, but in full force before it. For the consonants (except *ç*, which was possibly English *ss*, never *ds*, or English *j*) the modern usage may be assumed. Mr. Ellis considered, however, that before B.C. 125, and for the old dialects, these conjectures were merely a link flashed in a fog.

Friday, Nov. 19, 1875.—ALEX. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. G. L. Fenwick, Esq., C. R. Hodgson, Esq., and Dr. A. E. Widholm were elected Members of the Society. The Paper read was : "On Muscular Economy in Speech." By C. A. M. Fennell, Esq.

Friday, Dec. 3, 1875.—E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq., in the Chair. The Paper read was : "On Gender Forms." By C. B. Cayley, Esq.

Friday, Dec. 17, 1875.—ALEX. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. John Thirlwall, Esq. (nephew of the late Bishop Thirlwall, so long the President of the Society), was elected a Member of the Society. The Papers read were : (1) "On Max Müller's Views of Language." (2) "On Renan's History of the Semitic Languages." Both by the late Prof. Grote, and communicated by Prof. J. B. Mayor.

Friday, Jan. 21, 1876.—ALEX. J. ELLIS, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the Chair. The Hon. Sec. having announced that the Treasurer of last year, Mr. Wm. Payne, had resigned his post, and that the Council had appointed Mr. Benjamin Dawson Treasurer in his place, and also elected Mr. Payne a Member of the Council, the meeting unanimously resolved : "That the thanks of the Philological Society be given to Mr. Wm. Payne for the valuable services he has rendered to the Society by his vigilant and careful management of its finances during his Treasurership." The Paper read was : "On Persian Phonetics." By Prof. C. Rieu. H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte presented to the Members present, copies of his letter on the "Étymologie du Nord de Bayonne, etc."

Friday, Feb. 4, 1876.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. Prof. Ingleson, of Moscow, was elected a Member of the Society. H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte presented to the Members present, copies of his letter on Cornish Literature, Nov. 30, 1861. The Papers read were : (1) "On Traditional Relics of the Cornish Language in Mount's Bay." By Henry Jenner, Esq. (Printed above, p. 533.) (2) "On French Genders." By Danby P. Fry, Esq. Mr. Jenner gave the result of some investigations pursued with the help of the Rev. W. S. Lach Szyrna, vicar of Newlyn, in the villages of Newlyn and Mousehole, Penzance, in July, 1875. He gave the numerals up to twenty, about twenty words, and three short sentences, all of which had been obtained from persons of the fisher-class, as specimens of the old language handed down to them, and as such were distinct from the many Celtic words still in use among them. Mr. Jenner considered that these relics would prove of considerable value in determining the pronunciation of the language in its latest stage. Some valuable remarks were made by Mr. Westlake, of Zennor, Cornwall, on the Cornish words still in use; and another set of numerals, differing somewhat from those of Mount's Bay, was given

by him. Prince L. L. Bonaparte exhibited the original MS. of the Cornish grammar and vocabulary of Gwavas and Tonkin, published by Pryce as his own in 1790.

Friday, Feb. 16, 1876.—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY in the Chair. The Paper read was: "On the West-Somerset Dialect." By F. T. Elworthy, Esq. (Printed above, p. 197.)

Friday, March 3, 1876—Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, in the Chair. Mr F. T. Elworthy was elected a Member of the Society. The Paper read (by Mr. W. R. S. Ralston) was: "On the Dialects of Russia." By W. R. Morfill, Esq. (Printed above, p. 503.) Some remarks were made on the character of the language, which was shown to be highly synthetic, on certain peculiarities of the numerals, and on the so-called *aspects* of the verbs. The opinion of Schleicher was followed that the Glagolitic alphabet is posterior to the Cyrillian. A slight sketch of the leading features and periods of Russian literature was given, the latter falling under the two divisions of Byzantine influence and Western influence caused by the reforms of Peter the Great. Attention was called to the most celebrated Russian authors. Mr. Morfill alluded to the views of Koulish and others, who would group the Little, Red and White Russian dialects together and make a South Russian language with an independent literature. The lecture concluded with some remarks on these dialects, and what literary monuments are to be found in them, and regret was expressed that as yet no competent scholar had published a lexicon of the Little or Malo-Russian, whereby their rich collection of national songs and tales would be rendered more available to workers in the field of comparative mythology and popular history.

Friday, March 17, 1876.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. Dr. Kölbinger, English Lecturer at the University of Breslau, was introduced to the Meeting. The Paper read was: "On the Characteristics of High German." By Henry Sweet, Esq.

Friday, April 7, 1876.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was by Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, on his own recent investigations into the English Dialects, especially the South-west, West, West-Midland, and South-eastern (printed above, p. 570). These the Prince illustrated by a general map (prepared for the occasion and presented to the Society), showing the modifications thus introduced into his previous classification of the English dialects. The immediate result of these inquiries was to establish a Western English dialect containing Hereford, Monmouth, Worcester, and part of South Warwick, forming a transition between South-western and Salopian dialects. Basing his classification of the main dialects on grammar (especially on the form of the verb substantive) and vocabulary, the Prince uses phonetic differences mainly for the minor distinctions. Thus, a sound analogous to the French *u* being found in dialects so widely separated as Scotch, Devonian, and Eastern, and sporadically elsewhere, is not a safe main distinction. Of the thirteen dialects which he admits, the principal three are: III., the South-western (characteristics, I, he, we, you, they be, I do love, I have *a-heard*, *v*, *z*, *sh*, *dr*, for *f*, *s*, *sh*, *thr*, Italian *ai* in *may*, *hay*, etc.); XIII., the Northern (characteristics, absence of the South-

western forms; I, thou, we, you, they *is*; strang, lang, for strong, long, etc.; absence of guttural sound of *gh* and of French *u*; and IX., the Midland (characteristics, absence of the two preceding; use of verbal plural in —*n*, they *arn*, han you; we *bin* in Shropshire). The others are transitional; XI. the North-eastern (North Lincolnshire, North Nottingham); VIII. the North-western (South Lancashire, Cheshire, etc.); and XII. the North Midland (South Yorkshire), are mixed Midland and Northern; VI. the Western (already described) is a shading of South-western into Midland; X. the East Midland in its southern portion partakes of South-eastern and South-western; II. the South-eastern (Oxford, South Northamptonshire, Bucks, etc.) retains I, we, you, they *be*, but loses most of the other South-western forms; I. the Eastern has a tendency to the north of East Midland (it still has occasional, I *be*); IV. the Devonian, and V. Cornish are offshoots of South-western, and VII. Salopian (Shropshire and Staffordshire) is a passage of Western into North-western. Hence no such exact delimitations of the dialects is possible as for French, German, or Basque dialects. In the Scotch mainland the Prince follows Dr. Murray; for the Orkneys and Shetlands the dialects and sub-dialects depend on the number of Icelandic words in use. The data for this classification are: the Prince's own inquiries during repeated visits to different parts of England; the translations of the "comparative specimen" made for Mr. Ellis; other modern original specimens made for and partly published by the Prince himself; Dr. Murray's Scotch and Mr. Elworthy's West Somersetshire works; and the large collection of well-known specimens already printed, which, though not so trustworthy, cannot be neglected.

Friday, May 5, 1876.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. Mr. W. R. S. Ralston was elected a Member of the Society. Mr. R. N. Cust, Mr. E. L. Brandreth (Members of the Council), and Mr. W. R. S. Ralston, were appointed Honorary Representatives of the Society at the Congress of Orientalists to be held at St. Petersburg in the autumn; and the Hon. Sec. was directed to notify the appointment to Prof. Douglas, the Hon. Sec. of the Congress in this country. The Hon. Sec. announced the death of Prof. Joseph Payne, a Member of the Council, on April 30th last. The members present expressed their sense of the loss they and the Society had sustained by Prof. Payne's death. The Papers read were: (1) "On Parachute and other Words in French beginning with *para*, and the Gender of them." By Benjamin Dawson, Esq. (2) "On Anglo-Saxon Inflexions." By Henry Sweet, Esq.

Friday, May 19, 1876.—(ANNIVERSARY MEETING).—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *President*, in the Chair. The President read his Annual Address containing Reports by the President on the Society's work in 1875-6 (p. 273). Dr. J. Muir and Prof. Eggeling on Sanskrit (p. 295 and p. 298). M. le Chevalier E. de Ujfalvy on the Ugro-Finnic Languages (p. 301). Dr. Ad. Neubauer on Talmudical and Rabbinical Literature (p. 309). Rev. A. H. Sayce on Etruscan (p. 333). R. N. Cust, Esq., on the Non-Aryan Languages of India (p. 337). Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull on the North American Indian Languages (p. 355). M. Edouard Naville on the latest Egyptological works (p. 367). Dr. Kölbing on the Teutonic Languages (p. 384). The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the President for the valuable services he had

rendered to the Society during his two years' Presidentship. The following Members were then elected officers for the ensuing year :—

President.—Henry Sweet, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

The Archbishop of Dublin.
Edwin Guest, Esq.
Whitley Stokes, Esq.

Alexander J. Ellis, Esq.
The Rev. Richard Morris.
James A. H. Murray, Esq.

Ordinary Members of Council.

E. L. Brandreth, Esq.
C. Cassal, Esq.
C. B. Cayley, Esq.
R. N. Cust, Esq.
Sir John Davis, Bart.
F. T. Elworthy, Esq.
C. A. M. Fennell, Esq.
E. R. Horton, Esq.
Henry Jenner, Esq.
Russell Martineau, Esq.

The Rev. J. B. Mayor.
W. R. Morfill, Esq.
J. Muir, Esq.
Henry Nicol, Esq.
William Payne, Esq.
J. Peile, Esq.
Charles Rieu, Esq.
The Rev. W. W. Skeat.
W. Wagner, Esq.
H. Wedgwood, Esq.

Treasurer.—B. Dawson, Esq.

Hon. Sec.—Fredk. J. Furnivall, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. MORRIS having vacated the Chair, Mr. HENRY SWEET, the new *President*, took it, and returned thanks for the honour done him. He also spoke strongly of the value of the Anglo-Saxon and Early English Texts edited by Dr. Morris, and his popularization of his results in his *Historical English Grammar*, etc.

Friday, June 2, 1876.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Treasurer's Cash Account for 1875 was read. Prof. J. B. Mayor read some additions to his two papers on English metre, containing a somewhat detailed criticism of Mr. Symond's article on "The Blank Verse of Milton" contained in the *Fortnightly* for December, 1874 (with which he entirely disagreed); on Mr. Maasson's essay on Versification in his edition of Milton, vol. i. (with whose scansion he often disagreed); and on Mr. A. J. Ellis's remarks on English rhythm in his notes on Shakspeare in *Early English Pronunciation*, and his remarks on Prof. Mayor's first paper (whose rules he considered to be insufficient). Adopting the classical terminology, but replacing length by stress, Prof Mayor considered the normal line to consist of five iambic feet, and as limits of deviation allowed three anapaests (not consecutive), and also three trochees (not consecutive, unless belonging to different sections of the line), which in the third, or either the third or fourth foot might be replaced by dactyls. He supported his opinion by numerous examples, which he scanned according to his own views, and which he relied upon as against the other three writers. Mr. Alex. J. Ellis then read some remarks he

had drawn up on Prof. Mayor's preceding papers, which were followed by an appendix written by Prof. Mayor, and an addition by Mr. Ellis. The application of classical names to English rhythms was rejected by Mr. Ellis as misleading to the student of classical rhythms. He then gave an elaborate estimate of syllables as strong or weak (in respect to force, English accent or emphasis), long or short (in respect to duration, or classical quantity), high or low (in respect to the musical pitch of the voice, or classical accent), heavy or light (in respect to importance or weight, grammatical or mental, as indicated rhetorically), and of silence, as great and small; showing that an intermediate degree in each must be distinguished, and, for complete analysis, each of the three degrees should be further subdivided into three. The normal rules depend on force, or alternations of strong and weak only, but the march of the poet within the norm depended upon the other points. The normal line consisted of five measures, predominantly of two, but occasionally of three syllables, with the greatest strength on the last in each measure. The rhythm was, however, appreciated by the ear if the last syllable of the third and fifth measures were strong, the other measures being altered at pleasure; or if the last syllable of the second and fourth measures were strong, and the last syllable of the fifth not the weakest in that measure, the others being altered at pleasure. The fifth measure required particular consideration. The mode in which considerations of length, pitch, weight, and silence determined the deviations of the other measures was fully illustrated; and the circumstances under which a poet might still further deviate from the norm were indicated. A general discussion followed, in which Messrs. Sweet, Cayley, Furnivall, and others took part.

Friday, June 16, 1876.—The Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Mr. E. Kern was elected a member of the Society. The Paper read was: "On Sentences, Words, Syllables, and Parts of Speech, and the relation of Logic to Language." By Henry Sweet, Esq., President. (Printed above, p. 543.)

Friday, Nov. 3, 1876.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. Mr. E. L. Brandreth gave the meeting an account of the results of the late Congress of Orientalists at St. Petersburg, which he and Mr. Cust had attended as Delegates of the Society. He considered the most important paper to be that on the Coins of Bokhara, by M. Lerch; the next, that on the new translation of the Deluge tablet discovered by the late George Smith, by M. Oppert, in which he stated that Nimrod represented a whole people. The Congress had also been looked upon as a kind of holiday, and many interesting accounts were given by authors of books that they had in progress. Mr. Brandreth also gave an account of an important paper on the Development of Islamism due to Al Aslali and his school, by M. Mehren, Professor of Arabic at Copenhagen. Mr. Cust then spoke, supplementing Mr. Brandreth's remarks. Both Mr. Brandreth and Mr. Cust expressed a decided opinion in favour of such congresses, as tending to popularize the results of science and promote unity of aim and work among investigators. The courtesy and liberality of the Russian Government, the learned bodies (all of whom unfortunately did not participate in the Congress), and the individual *savants*, were gratefully acknowledged. A discussion followed; and the thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Brandreth and Mr. Cust for their reports, and for so efficiently representing the

Society at the Congress. Mr. Furnivall mentioned that Prof. Paul Meyer, of Paris, an Honorary Member of the Society, was present at this evening's meeting. Mr. H. Sweet, *President*, then read a paper on the "Text Criticism of the Anglo-Saxon Poetry." He drew especial attention to the Northumbrian element, and showed that many of the errors of the scribes might be explained by reference to the original Northumbrian forms. The excessive conservatism of Grein was shown to be misplaced when applied to such corrupt texts as those of many of the Anglo-Saxon poems. Finally, some interesting details were given of Kemble's treatment of the MS. of the poem of "Saturn." It appears that Kemble's edition is full of wanton omissions and alterations, many of which are entirely erroneous, some of them making nonsense of the correct MS. text.

Friday, Nov. 17, 1876.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. Mr. Sydney J. Herbage, and Mr. W. R. Phelps, were elected Members of the Society. Prince L. L. Bonaparte read a postscript to his paper of April 7 on "The Western Dialects of England," giving an account of the results of his visit to Somersetshire in August last. He finds no French *-u* sound to the north and east of the line of the Quantock Hills ending at Taunton, to the west of which it is well known. The district between the Quantocks and the Parrett shows a transitional character between ordinary Somersetshire and Devonian, as the third person singular in *-eth*, and even the use of *utchy* for the pronoun I, were in use within the memory of an old man of ninety-four, living at Cannington, who still uses them in speaking to very old people, and was seen by the Prince. The general character of the Mid, North, and East Somerset is that described by Jennings. A slip, described and glossaried by Mr. G. R. Pullman in his *Rustic Sketches* (who accompanied the Prince), including Axminster, Chard, Ilminster, Martock, Yeovil, Crewkerne, and Lyme Regis, and hence a small portion of Dorset and Devon, as well as South Somerset, shows a change of dialect. In this slip there are two villages which form "linguistic islands," Merriott (east of Parrett and near Crewkerne), and Montacute (close by, but west of Parrett). In Merriott *r* final almost disappears; *utchy* and *utch* are used for I, and *he talk* for he talks, or do talk, of the neighbourhood; *hem be* for he is, *her* for she, *to mowey* for to mow, without naming the object, and *thick* for this (with flat *th*) are found. In Montacute *utch* (not *utchy*) is used, as in *utchil*, *utchood*, for I will, I would; also *us went* for both *I* and *we* went, *he talk* for he do talk, *hem be* for he is, and a strongly-pronounced south-western *r* (the tongue reverted).—Afterwards C. A. M. Fennell, Esq., read a paper on "Corssen and his Critics." The paper consisted, in the main, of a criticism on Dr. Deecke's pamphlets, "Corssen und die Sprache der Etrusker," and "Etruskische Forschungen, Part I." The reader pointed out the inconclusiveness of many of Dr. Deecke's prominent arguments, especially with reference to the words which form the keys to the position for or against Prof. Corssen's views on Etruscan nomenclature. He also commented on sundry misrepresentations of Prof. Corssen's statements, and instances of persistent neglect of his anticipatory answers to objections which, he contended, went far towards indicating either the incompetence of the critics or the weakness of their case. He claimed to have established the position that Prof. Corssen's theory had not yet been upset, and would not be so until handled in a more scientific way and with a more impartial spirit.

In the discussion which followed, Prince L. L. Bonaparte expressed his opinion that Corssen had treated the subject scientifically, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor unscientifically, but that the only conclusion to which we were yet able to come was that Etruscan was neither an Aryan nor a Semitic language. To what class of agglutinative languages it belonged we had no means of saying, and he considered that there were no grounds for calling it Altaic. Mr. A. J. Ellis exhibited and explained the engraving of the Prince's English Dialect Map, made for the Philological Society. Mr. Ellis mentioned that Mr. Goodchild, who had helped him much in the Dialects of Yorkshire, Cumberland, etc., was present at the meeting this evening.

Friday, Dec. 1, 1876.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Paper read was : "On Persian." By Prof. C. Rieu.

Friday, Dec. 15, 1876.—HENRY SWEET, Esq., *President*, in the Chair. The Papers read were : (1) "On Common Tamil." By R. B. Swinton, Esq. (2) "On the Names of Birds." By D. Ross (read by the President). Mr. R. B. Swinton illustrated his subject ("Common Tamil") by a map showing lingual boundaries, and by alphabets, on a large scale, of Tamulian and other Dravidian languages—Canarese, Telugu, Maliyalim—for comparison with the Grandonic or Grantham, the character in which Sanskrit is always written in Southern India, and with the Dēva-Nāgari. Mention was made of the earlier proficients in the language from the Jesuit missionaries down to the present time, and of the earlier grammar produced, and of some marks of distinction between the common and poetical dialects. The difficulty attending the endeavour to trace the letters to a common origin with the Dēva-Nāgari was remarked upon, and the curious circumstance of the ignorance of the Brahmins of the South, who are otherwise well acquainted with Sanskrit, of the alphabet used by their Aryan brethren of the North. The power of the different letters was illustrated, and especial note made of a cerebral *r* peculiar to Tamil, and the reader noticed, in part, the elaborated system of euphonic changes and interposition of letters between words. The four main divisions of words—the four parts of speech of Tamil grammarians—were touched upon, and case and tense formation explained, and attention was especially drawn to the verbal nouns, and to a conjugated derivative peculiar to the ancient or poetical dialect, and to the complete negative form of the verb, and to participles embodying relative pronouns.

At every Meeting the Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed, and votes of thanks to writers and readers of Papers and Reports were carried.

At each Anniversary Meeting (the second in May), votes of thanks to Messrs. Wheatley, Dawson, and Fry for auditing the Treasurer's Cash Account, and to the Council of University College, for the gratuitous use of the College rooms for the Society's meetings, were carried.

From November 6, 1874, to May, 1877, the following presentations were made to the Society. *Idioticon Frisicum*: Friesch-Latijnsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, door Jh. M. Montanus de Haan Hettema (a late Honorary Member of the Society), presented by his family.

Oriental and Linguistic Studies, Second Series, by Prof. Wm. Dwight Whitney (an Honorary Member of the Society), presented by the author. **Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin**, by Alex. J. Ellis, Esq. (one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society), presented by the author. **Coloured Map of the English Dialects** (25 copies), by H.L.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, presented by the author. **The Life and Growth of Language**, by Prof. Wm. Dwight Whitney (an Honorary Member of the Society), presented by the author. **Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan**, vol. iii. part i., presented by that Society. **A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-Lore**, by the late Dr. W. H. I. Bleek : presented, in fulfilment of the instructions of the late author, by Miss Lloyd. **Map of the Classification of Dialects**, by H.L.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte (an Honorary Member of the Society), presented by the author. **Elements de Grammaire Magyare, Le Kalévala, Épopée Finnoise traduit sur l'original par le Ch. Eug. de Ujfalvy**, presented by the editor. **Beiträge zur Englischen Grammatik : I. Ueber der Regierung—"in the reign,"** by Dr. W. Sattler, of Bremen, presented by the author. **International Correspondence by Means of Numbers**, by C. Stewart, Esq., presented by the author. **On the Genders of French Substantives**, by Danby P. Fry, Esq. (late Treasurer), and Benjamin Dawson, Esq. (Treasurer), presented by the authors. The Transactions, etc., of the Smithsonian Institute and other Societies with which the Philological Society exchanges publications.

RULES

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

MEETING AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, W.C.

As revised at the Annual Meeting, May 20, 1870.

I. OBJECT.

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY is formed for the investigation of the Structure, the Affinities, and the History of Languages; and the Philological Illustration of the Classical Writers of Greece and Rome.

II. CONSTITUTION.

The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, not exceeding seven in number, ordinary Members, and also of certain Honorary Members, not exceeding five-and-twenty in number, which Honorary Members shall be Foreign Scholars, or British Scholars not resident in the United Kingdom.

III. GOVERNMENT.

The Government of the Society shall be vested in the Council; and the Council, elected as hereinafter mentioned, shall consist of the President, the Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, one or two Honorary Secretaries, and twenty ordinary Members.

The Council shall have the power of appointing additional Secretaries for special duties; and may also, for specific objects connected with Philology, request the assistance of persons not Members of the Society.

IV. ELECTION OF THE COUNCIL.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and ordinary Members of the Council, shall be elected by ballot at the Annual General Meeting.

Four of the ordinary Members of the Council shall not be re-eligible in the same capacity for the ensuing year, and the Council shall determine which of their Members shall be thus incapacitated, regard being had to the number of times they have attended the meetings of the Council.

If in the interval between two Annual Meetings any vacancy in the Council shall occur, the Council shall have the power of appointing some Member of the Society to fill such vacancy.

V. ELECTION, ADMISSION, AND EXPULSION OF MEMBERS.

Every person, desirous of admission into the Society as a Member, must be proposed and recommended, agreeably to the form No. 1 in the Appendix, which form must be subscribed by at least three Members, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge of such Candidate.

Every recommendation of a proposed Member must be delivered to the Secretary, and read at one of the ordinary Meetings of the Society; after which it shall be placed in some conspicuous part of the room in which the Society meets, and shall there remain till the Candidate is balloted for.

The ballot shall take place at the first Ordinary Meeting after that on which the Candidate is proposed.

Every person so elected shall thereupon become a Member of the Society, provided that, within one calendar month from the day of his election, he shall, first, have subscribed the form No. 2 in the Appendix, and, secondly, have obtained the Treasurer's certificate that the payments hereinafter mentioned have been made by him; but in default thereof his election shall be null and void, unless the Council, upon special cause being assigned to them, shall extend the period for making such payments.

Should there appear cause, in the opinion of the Council, for the expulsion from the Society of any Member, a Special General Meeting shall be called by the Council for that purpose, and if three-fourths of those voting agree by ballot (not less than twenty-four Members being then present) that such Member be expelled, the President or other Member in the chair shall declare the same accordingly. Whereupon his name shall be erased from the List of Members.

VI. OF THE ELECTION OF HONORARY MEMBERS.

Every person, proposed for admission as an Honorary Member, must be recommended to the Council by three or more Members of the Society, when his claims shall be referred to a Committee to report thereupon. On the receipt of such report, the Council may, if they see fit, recommend him to the Society as a proper person to be so admitted, and in such case he shall be proposed and balloted for, in the same way as an ordinary Member, save that it shall not be necessary for any one to certify his personal knowledge of such party.

Honorary Members shall not have the right of holding any office in the Society.

If any Honorary Member, being a British subject, become resident in the United Kingdom, he shall cease to be an Honorary Member, but shall have the option of becoming an Ordinary Member without ballot.

VII. CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEMBERS.

Each Member shall pay Two Guineas on his election. One Guinea as entrance-fee, and one guinea for his first year's contribution.

The Annual Subscription shall become due on the 1st day of January in each year.

No member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for any year until he has paid the Subscription for that year. If this Subscription be not paid on the 31st of December, the Member shall not be entitled to a copy of the Society's publications for that year, except by payment of a fine of 5s. in addition to his Subscription, and the Treasurer shall give him due notice of this impending penalty on the preceding 1st of November. If the Annual Subscription be not paid by the 31st of December, the Treasurer shall again remind the Member of his arrears, and at the same time send him a copy of Rule VII.; and if such arrears be not paid by the 1st of May of the following year, the defaulter shall cease to be a Member of the Society; his exclusion shall be announced at the Anniversary Meeting of that year, and published in the next issued Report of the Society. But the Council shall have the power of re-admitting such an excluded Member on payment of all his arrears due, together with a fine of 5s. for each year in arrear, and thereupon the re-admitted Member shall receive such of the Society's publications as he would have received if his exclusion had not taken place.

Any Member may, on his admission, compound for his contributions by the payment of Ten Guineas, exclusive of his entrance-fee, or he may at any time afterwards (all sums then due being first paid) compound for his subsequent annual contributions by the like payment of Ten Guineas.

Every Member, desirous of resigning, shall be liable to the payment of his annual contributions, until he shall have signified such desire, in writing, to the Secretary of the Society, and shall have discharged his arrears.

VIII. MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council shall meet at the house or apartment of the Society once at least in every fortnight during the Session, but the President or any other Member of the Council may, by letter to the Secretary, require an extra Meeting to be called, and in default of such Meeting being convened, any one of such Members may call it.

Due notice of each Meeting of the Council shall be sent by the Secretary to every Member thereof whose residence is known.

Three Members shall constitute a Council.

All questions shall be decided in the Council by vote, unless a ballot be demanded.

The determination of the Council, whether by vote or ballot, shall, at the desire of any two Members present, be deferred to the succeeding Meeting.

Minutes of the proceedings of the Council shall be taken by the Secretary, which shall be afterwards fairly entered into the Minute Book, and having been read over at the next Meeting of the Council, shall be signed by the President or other Member then in the chair

IX. ORDINARY MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on the first and third Fridays in every month (except during the Christmas and Easter holidays), from November to June, both inclusive.

Business shall commence at a quarter-past eight o'clock in the evening precisely, or at such other time as the Council may appoint; and then the Minutes of the preceding Ordinary Meeting shall be read.

The business of the Ordinary Meetings shall be: to read the Minutes of the preceding Meeting, to announce any donations that may have been made to the Society, to propose and ballot for Members, and to read and discuss such communications relating to Philology as have been approved by the Council.

Every Member shall have the privilege of introducing a Visitor at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, the consent of the Meeting having been obtained for that purpose.

At an Ordinary Meeting, no question relating to the Rules or Management of the Society shall be introduced.

X. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS.

A General Meeting shall be held annually, on the third Friday in May, at eight o'clock in the evening, to discuss and determine such questions as may be proposed, relative to the affairs of the Society; and to elect the Officers for the ensuing year.

XI. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETINGS.

The Council shall call a Special General Meeting of the Society when it seems to them necessary, or when required by any five Members so to do.

Every such requisition shall be signed by five or more Members, and shall specify, in the form of a resolution, the object intended to be submitted to the Meeting.

The requisition, the motion, and the notice of the Special Meeting shall be suspended in the Meeting Room one month, and sent to all Members one fortnight previous to such Meeting, and at the Meeting the discussion shall be confined to the object specified in the motion.

XII. PRESIDENT.

The President shall take the Chair at every Meeting of the Society or of the Council at which he may be present; he shall keep order in all proceedings, submit questions to the Meeting, and perform the other customary duties of a Chairman.

In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, or, in their absence, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or one of the Members of the Council, shall take the Chair, and, in case of the absence of all these Officers, the Meeting may elect any Member of the Society as Chairman.

The President or other Member in the Chair shall give a second or casting vote, in case the votes on any question be equally divided.

XIII. TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall keep an account of all sums paid or owing to the Society; and shall from time to time transfer to the Banker employed by the Society the sums he may have received.

He shall give to every person who may have paid his admission-fee and first year's contribution, besides a receipt, a certificate of payment, to be produced at his admission.

No sum of money, payable on account of the Society, amounting to five pounds or upwards, shall be paid except by order of the Council, signed by the President, or other member in the Chair, and registered by the Secretary.

The account of the Treasurer shall be audited annually by two or more Auditors, chosen by the Society at one of the three Ordinary Meetings immediately preceding the Annual General Meeting, and the Auditors shall report to such Annual General Meeting the particulars of the receipts and expenditure of the past year, the balance in hand, and the general state of the funds and property of the Society, and shall also lay on the table a list of the names of those Members who may be in arrears for sums due at the last Annual General Meeting, together with the amount of such arrears.

The Treasurer may, with the approbation of the Council, appoint a proper person to collect the annual contributions of the Members, such Collector (if required by the Council) giving satisfactory security for the faithful discharge of his duty.

XIV. SECRETARIES.

One of the Secretaries shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council; take minutes of all their proceedings, and cause them to be entered as early as possible in a book provided for that purpose.

At the Ordinary Meetings he shall read the minutes of the Society since the last Meeting, give notice of any candidate proposed for admission, or to be balloted for, and read the letters and papers presented to the Society; but should any one be desirous of reading his own paper, such person shall be at liberty to do so, with permission of the Council.

The Secretaries shall have the superintendence of all the persons employed by the Society (except the Collector), and shall conduct the general correspondence of the Society, subject however to the direction and control of the Council.

The Secretaries shall have charge (under the direction of the Council) of printing and publishing the Transactions, and other papers of the Society.

XV. OF ALTERING THE RULES.

Whenever the Council may think it advisable to propose the

enactment of any new Rule, or the alteration or repeal of any existing Rule, they shall recommend the same to the Society, at the Annual General Meeting next ensuing, or at a Special General Meeting convened for that purpose.

Any five Members of the Society may recommend any new Rule or the alteration or repeal of any existing Rule to the Council, by a letter directed to the Secretary, and the Council shall take such recommendation into consideration at their next Meeting, and if their decision be not satisfactory to the Members proposing the alteration, the Council, if required by them, shall bring forward the same for the opinion of the Society at large, at a Meeting specially convened for that purpose.

XVI. OF THE PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Council shall appoint three Members of the Society to act as Trustees of the property of the Society, and may appoint others in their place, on any vacancy occurring by resignation or otherwise. The Council shall, from time to time, decide on the mode of investing the property of the Society, which investment shall be made in the names of the Trustees for the time being.

No dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money, shall be made by the Society unto or between any of the Members.

APPENDIX.

FORM No. 1.

A. B. [Here state the Christian Name, Surname, Rank, Profession, and usual place of Residence of the Candidate] being desirous of admission into the Philological Society, we, the undersigned, propose and recommend him as a proper person to become a Member thereof.

Witness our hands this day of 18

(from personal knowledge.)

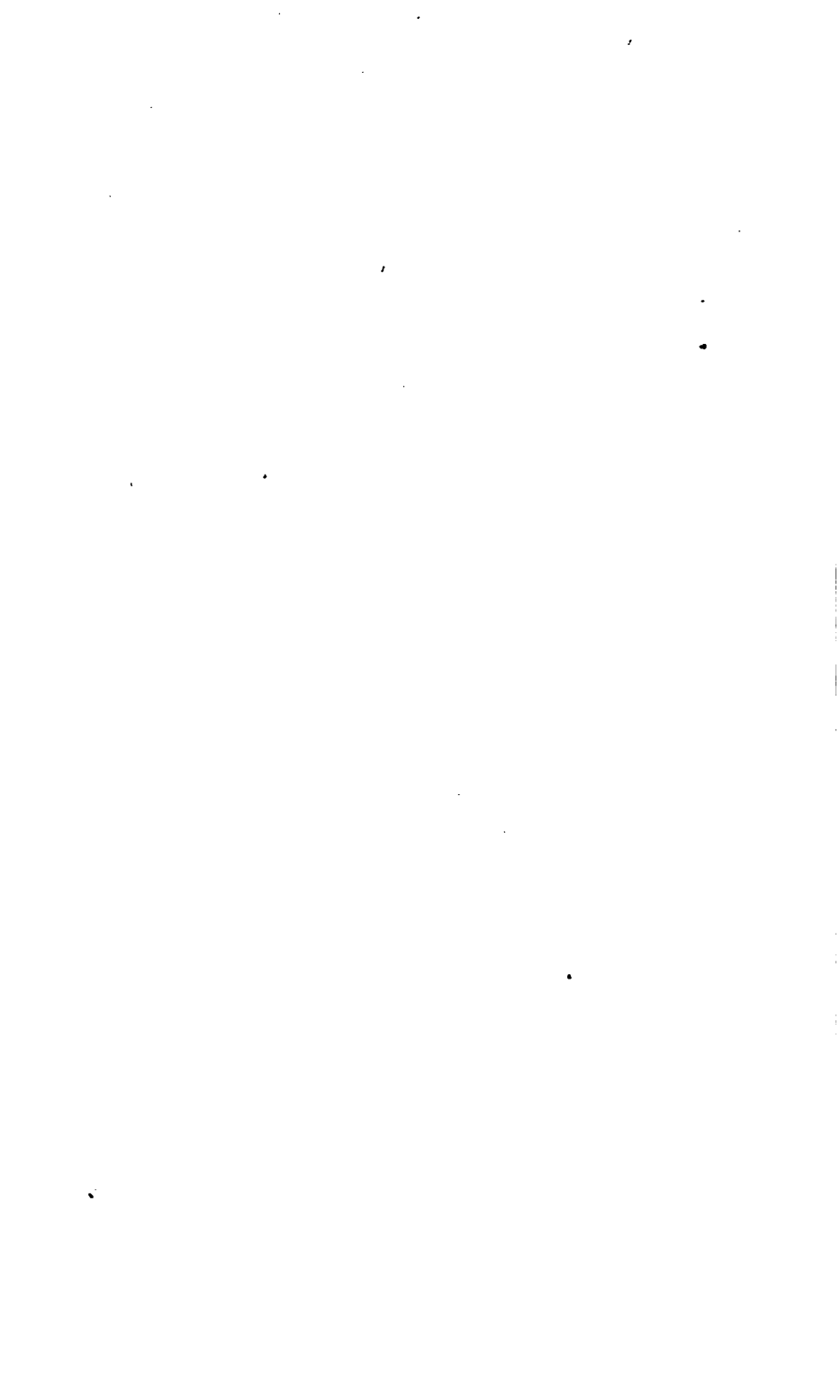
FORM No. 2.

I, the undersigned, being elected a Member of the Philological Society, do hereby promise that I will be governed by the Rules of the said Society as they are now formed, or as they may be hereafter altered or amended ; provided, however, that whenever I shall signify in writing to the Society that I am desirous of withdrawing my name therefrom, I shall (after the payment of any annual contributions which may be due by me at that period, and after giving up any Books, Papers, or other property belonging to the Society, in my possession or intrusted to me) be free from this obligation.

Witness my hand this

day of

18



TRANSACTIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1875-6.

I.—FOURTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, THE 21ST OF MAY, 1875. BY THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, M.A., LL.D.

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INTRODUCTION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

THE meagre support that is given to the London Philological Society, to say nothing of the difficulty the Council have often been in, for want of papers to bring before the members of the Society, is a plain indication that philology in this country has comparatively few students. For the last sixty years, a period that embraces the beginning as well as the growth and development of linguistic science, we have been content to look to Germany for nearly all our scientific knowledge in this department, but have done little ourselves to advance the study of comparative philology by independent

research. But while we are, therefore, grateful to our German kinsmen for the sound work they have done, it is, nevertheless, pleasant to call to mind the names of a few Englishmen who, to a certain extent, recognized a science of language, or were far-sighted enough to anticipate some of the important results of modern philology. The father of English philosophy, Lord Bacon, saw clearly the error of identifying thought and speech; he admitted not only a "science of grammar," but also a "science of language." His words are even now worth quoting:—

"For the organ of tradition, it is either speech or writing: for Aristotle saith well, *Words are the images of cogitations, and letters are the images of words*. But yet it is not of necessity that cogitations be expressed by the medium of words. For whatsoever is capable of sufficient differences, and those perceptible by the sense, is in nature competent to express cogitations. . . . This portion of knowledge, touching the notes of things, and cogitations in general, I find not inquired, but deficient. And although it may seem of no great use, considering that words and writing by letters do far excell all the other ways; yet because this part concerneth, as it were, the mint of knowledge (for words are the tokens current and accepted for conceits, as moneys are for values, and that it is fit men be not ignorant that moneys may be of another kind than of gold and silver), I thought good to propound it to better inquiry. Concerning speech and words, the consideration of them hath produced the science of grammar. . . . The duty of it (grammar) is of two natures: the one popular, which is for the speedy and perfect attaining languages, as well for intercourse of speech as for understanding of authors; the other philosophical, examining the power and nature of words, as they are the footsteps and prints of reason: which kind of analogy between words and reason is handled *sparsim*, broken though not entirely; and therefore I cannot report it deficient, though I think it very worthy to be reduced into a science by itself."—(Advancement of Learning, II. xvi. 2–4.)

Horne Tooke, the father of English philology, the first part

of whose *Diversions of Purley* appeared in 1786, recognized fully the value of Old English as a means of explaining modern usages,—and his work is by no means the barren and delusive thing that it has been represented to be. It may still be read with pleasure and consulted with profit. Horne Tooke, notwithstanding well-known shortcomings and blemishes, was a philologist of a high order. He was not frightened by that bugbear of the older linguistic students—the Divine origin of language. “This method of referring words *immediately* to God as their framer is a short cut to escape inquiry and explanation. It saves the philosopher much trouble; but leaves mankind in great ignorance, and leads to great error. *Non dignus vindice nodus*. God having furnished man with senses, and with organs of articulation, as he has also with water, lime and sand; it should seem no more necessary to form the words for man, than to temper the mortar.” He was not afraid to assert that language “is an art, but an art springing from necessity, and originally invented by artless men.”

“The first aim of language was to *communicate* our thoughts; the second to do it with *despatch*.” Tooke of course saw that everything in language could not be explained by necessity alone. “I imagine,” he says, “that it is, in some measure, with the vehicle of our thoughts, as with the vehicles for our bodies, Necessity produced both. The first carriage for men was no doubt invented to transport the bodies of those who from infirmity, or otherwise, could not move themselves. But should any one, desirous of understanding the purpose and meaning of all the parts of our modern elegant carriages, attempt to explain them upon this one principle alone, viz.—that they were necessary for conveyance,—he would find himself woefully puzzled to account for the wheels, the seats, the springs, the blinds, the glasses, the lining, etc., not to mention the mere ornamental parts of gilding and varnish, etc.”

Although many of Tooke’s etymologies are utterly worthless, yet he is very happy in exposing the blunders of others. In ridiculing Johnson’s derivation of *down*, he does not

scruple to say that, in point of etymology, the great lexicographer's "book is a disgrace to the country."

He knew very well, too, that while speaking was an art, yet philology was a science. So, in replying to the charge of heresy in not taking Horace's maxim, that "usage is the rule of speech," as the law of scientific etymology, he says, "I do not think him (Horace) any authority whatever upon this occasion. He wrote divinely: and so Vestris danced. But do not you think our dear and excellent friend, Mr. Cline, would not give us a much more satisfactory account of the influence and action, the power and properties of the nerves and muscles by which he performed such wonders, than Vestris could? who, whilst he used them with such excellence, did not, perhaps, know he had them. In this our inquiry, we are not poets nor dancers, but ANATOMISTS."

The work of dissecting is certainly no small part of the philologist's labour; and Tooke's dissection of words enabled him to see that "case, gender, and number, are no parts of the noun. But as these same circumstances frequently accompany the noun, these circumstances are signified by other words expressive of these circumstances; and in some languages these words, by their perpetual use, have coalesced with the noun; their separate signification has been lost sight of (except in their proper application), and these words have been considered as mere artificial terminations of the noun."

"So mood, tense, number, person, are no parts of the verb, etc."

He plainly perceived the origin of formative particles, and that "all those common terminations, in any language, of which all nouns or verbs in that language equally partake (under the nature of declension or conjugation) are themselves separate words with distinct meanings. . . . These terminations are all explicable, and ought all to be explained." "Adjectives with such terminations" as *ly, ous, ful, some, less, ish*, etc., "are in truth all compound words: the termination being originally a word added to those other words, of which it now seems merely the termination." Tooke cleverly

analyzed the Latin verb *ibo* into "two verbs and a pronoun." Of course, his account of the suffix *b* is far from being right.

He scouts the idea of Castelvetro that suffixes "sprouted out from the verb as from their parent stock." "If it were so," he asks, "how would he account for the very different fruit borne by the same plant, in the same soil, at different times?" A most pertinent question, and by it Horne Tooke plainly indicated that we are not to expect, even in kindred dialects (much less, therefore, in those tongues not historically connected), identical modes of denoting the same grammatical relations.

Thus, in the formation of the future tense in some tongues, we find several methods employed, as in English and Chinese. In others only one, or two at the most. The use of two or more forms of denoting the future corresponds, of course, to the various notions under which the future may come to be viewed. Thus French is satisfied with a worn-down form of *habère* 'to have,' with which we may compare the Chinese 將 *tsiang* 'to hold, take,' often used as an auxiliary of the future. In Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, one suffix for the future is a verb signifying to *be*; with this we may compare the old use of *worth*, German *werden*, the more primitive meaning of which was to *go* or to *turn*. But in the third and fourth conjugations in Latin, the subjunctive supplies the place of a future, and in Sindhî the future implies not only the sense of futurity, but also possibility and uncertainty.

In English we have one future auxiliary for the first person and another for the third, in which altogether different notions are conveyed. In the third we employ *will*, originally signifying to *wish*, then to *intend*. So in Chinese 要 *yao*, 'to want, need, intend, design,' is frequently used as a sign of the future.

In the first person *shall* is used to express futurity, but it had previously the meaning of *must*, *ought*. The Chinese verb 必 *pi* (must) often becomes a sign of the future, and it is also an adverb = *certainly*, *necessarily*. But there is, however, this difference between our *shall* and the Chinese syllable *pi*,—the latter cannot be traced back to any more primitive form

or notion, while the former, we know, is cognate with Sanskrit *śkhal* 'to fail,' Lat. *scelus*, and probably meant to commit an offence, hence to be obliged to pay the penalty incurred thereby, hence 'to owe,' etc. The Middle English *mun*, of Norse origin, had a twofold use: (1) to express necessity; (2) to mark the future, like Greek μέλλω to 'mean,' 'intend.'

Chaucer occasionally uses our verb *mean* as an auxiliary of the future. It would not be difficult to give examples of *think* as a substitute for the future auxiliary, but one must suffice:—

"For our lanedē had sisters twyn
I *think* siþen of ham to myn."—Cursor Mundi, F. p. 720, l. 12552.

"For vr lanedi had sisters twin
þat I *saþ* siþen mak of min."—ib. C.

The verb to *go* may convey the notion of futurity, as in English 'I am going to do it.' cf. Zulu *ngi-ya-ku-tanda*, 'I go to love' = 'I shall love.'

In Old English *toward* (*toweward*) adds a future sense. cf. "Se þe æfter me *toweward* ys, he is strengra þonne ic." *Toward*, 'about to come,' occurs in seventeenth-century English.¹

I have simply adduced these instances as illustrations of the truth and acuteness of Tooke's remarks, and also as a warning for philologists not to expect identity or even too much similarity in grammatical structure.

But having done justice to the memory of Horne Tooke, who showed us how English might be studied historically, we must pass on to other topics, but not without mentioning the names of Sir William Jones, Halhed, Colebrooke, and Wilkins, etc., who were the pioneers to Comparative Philology, by the zeal and success with which they studied Sanskrit, and were also among the first to state their belief in the historical affinity of Sanskrit, not only to the classical languages, but to the Keltic dialects. Bopp was indebted to the labours of Englishmen for his knowledge of Sanskrit. But Bopp, like Horne Tooke, could take in at a glance the meaning of the numerous facts before him and their proper relations. By the publication of his *Conjugations-System* in 1816, and the

¹ See Romeo and Juliet, i. 5; A Midsummer-Night's Dream, iv. 1.

Vergleichende Grammatik in 1833, he introduced a scientific method into linguistic research, which none had done before him, and which I believe will not be soon superseded. In 1819 appeared the first *comparative* grammar of a group of dialects, by Jacob Grimm. To him scientific philology owes much for his lucid statement and proof of the law of consonantal permutation (first pointed out by Rask) throughout the Aryan family of languages. Without this simple law, there could be no exact etymological investigation, and consequently no linguistic science. The recognition of this regular permutation at once put an end to all guess-work in comparative philology. It showed us exactly what forms to expect in the kindred tongues; it compelled us to acknowledge that in philology "things are not what they seem." The knowledge of this law at once puts us on our guard and keeps us from blundering—prevents us comparing the wrong words.

Thus no sound etymologist would now think of putting side by side English *care* and Latin *cura*, for "Grimm's Law" points distinctly to Latin *gravis* as the analogue of *care*. In older English *care* meant *sorrow*, *grief*.

This law helps us to recover lost or older forms in cognate dialects. Without the existence of Old English *heafod*, we should have been able, by applying Grimm's law in the comparison of Latin *caput* with English *head*, confidently to assert the loss of an original *f* in the latter.¹ And not only are we able to restore a lost form, but also a more primitive meaning that has long been disused, while the external form of the word has remained intact. Thus the English *brook* 'put up with,' can only be compared with Latin *fruo* = *frugo*; and we know that the Old English *brucan*, the parent of *brook*, once meant 'to eat' or 'to enjoy.'

By means of this regular interchange of sounds we are enabled to see that the Aryan dialects do not stand to each other in the position of derived dialects, like the Romance languages to Latin, but in the relation of kindred tongues,

¹ cf. Benfey's formulating of a Sanskrit *śradhā* corresponding to Latin *credo*.

of which some have been more fortunate than others in preserving relics of more original forms or more primitive meanings. English *break*, for instance, has suffered less change than Sanskrit *bhanj*.

But valuable as is the knowledge of this regular interchange, it is after all only the knowledge of a *rule*, of which we are unable, as yet, to offer any scientific explanation. We must have a deeper insight into sound-change before the reason that underlies the rule will be satisfactorily cleared up, and we shall probably be indebted for it to the phonologist and not to the philologist. It may, perhaps, find its explanation, not in any of the Aryan languages, but in some out-of-the-way dialects, with whose phenomena we are at present wholly unacquainted.

And this reminds me that we are apt to take too narrow a view of Comparative Philology. Just as all philology a few years ago meant an empirical knowledge of the classical tongues, so linguistic students are too easily disposed to study the laws of speech, as we find them exhibited in the Aryan family, as if nothing were to be learnt from other and less known idioms. Dead languages, like Sanskrit and Zend, seem to have a more powerful attraction for the philologist than living tongues in which all the processes of speech-formation are going on under the eye of the observer.

The success that has attended the comparison and history of the Romance dialects ought to provoke students to take up modern dialects with a feeling that equal, if not greater, successes will crown their labours.

Geology for a time was in the position that Comparative Philology is now. It began with the study of local phenomena; in a few years there was an immense accumulation of facts. These became arranged and classified, and something became known of the mighty changes that our globe had undergone before language-makers existed.

The laws that governed these changes were, at first, as recondite as those that appertained to the growth and decay of speech. There was no lack of hypotheses to account for them, but all of them inferred catastrophes, violent physical dis-

turbances, altogether opposed to the law of gradual change. Geologists were doing, as philologists are very apt to do, —shutting their eyes to the silent and unceasing alterations going on around them. But Sir Charles Lyell studied these changes as produced by present active forces, and proved that they sufficiently accounted for all that had taken place in the past; then, and not till then, Geology took its proper place among the exact sciences.

We believe that it is as true in linguistic as in geological formations, that whatever is, has been, and may be. We see this in numerous remarkable coincidences in the grammatical apparatus of languages having no historical connection whatever. Sometimes the old laws of speech formation may be studied in one and the same language; so that it would not be difficult even in English to illustrate the isolating, agglutinative, and inflexional processes which are peculiar to certain tongues, and which it is said are so thoroughly distinct, and show so great a difference of mental development, as to render it well nigh impossible for a language to pass from one stage to the other.

Living tongues, not only of the Indo-European family, but of all existing families, are of the utmost importance for ascertaining what are the active forces of linguistic change. Phoneticians are setting philologists an example that they will do well to follow. They are making the present explain the past.

The Aryan family, notwithstanding the superior importance attached to it, is, after all, but a small corner of the wide domain of speech; and though many discoveries have been or are being made in this limited area of observation, yet, after all that has been done, we have only carried, to use Lord Bacon's words, a "watch candle" into a few holes and corners, and have not yet "set up one great light or branching candlestick of lights."

We must not expect to solve all linguistic difficulties by an appeal to one family of speech, much less to any one member of it, whether it be Greek, Latin, or Sanskrit. It is no matter of wonder or surprise to us that Sanskritists have

committed some few errors in their endeavours to solve the highest problems which properly come within the sphere of Comparative Philology. They will never succeed in their attempts by trying to explain all inflexions upon one or two principles, which can have only a limited application. The pronominal theory, which, I think, has been ridiculed far more than it deserves, throws light upon the formative element in language; but although it is sufficient for the explanation of verbal-suffixes, it may be wholly inadequate for indicating the origin of case-suffixes. Forced applications and hasty generalizations are to be avoided; but Comparative Philology is not to be condemned for the shortcomings of its students. A few mistakes do not show that there is, as some dare to say, no "science of language." Even far more valuable than their vast stores of philological phenomena, is the method of Indo-European philologists. The method or procedure of the founder and followers of Comparative Philology is scientific, and commends itself to every thoughtful linguistic observer. It is and has been a pattern for the students of language. Without the great works of Bopp and Grimm, we should probably not have heard of Diez's Grammar of the Romance Languages, Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, or of Bleek's Comparative Grammar of the South-African Languages. To this comparative method we owe the wonderful decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, which has given an impetus to Semitic philology, and its students are just beginning to reap the reward of long and continued perseverance in the path first marked out for them. The most brilliant results have been achieved, and we are even now upon the eve of great discoveries which will throw into the shade those of the past.

These researches enable us to read and interpret the religious records of the Semitic people in a new light, so that the science of religion, as well as psychology, will, hereafter, owe much to this branch of linguistic inquiry.

Comparative philologists, if consistent in the application of their method, correct each other's mistakes. A good instance of this is furnished by Dr. Ernest Trumpp's

Grammar of the Sindhi Language, a work of great value and importance for the study of the spoken dialects of India, and highly interesting and instructive to the student of general and comparative grammar.

Dr. Caldwell, in his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, identifies the Dravidian dative case-sign *ku*, Tibetan *gya*, with Bangālī *kā*, Sindhi *khē*, Bhutan *khō*, and Hindūstānī *kō*. "The evident existence of a connection between these suffixes and the Dravidian dative case-sign *ku* is very remarkable. Of all the analogies between the North-Indian dialects and the Southern, this is the clearest and most important, and it cannot but be regarded as betokening either an original connection between the northern and the southern races, prior to the Brahmanic irruption, or the origination of both races from one and the same primitive Scythian stock."

But Dr. Trumpp shows most conclusively that the Dravidian scholar's identification is utterly without any foundation. I shall condense his model of grammatical reasoning.

"In the first instance the fact speaks already very strongly against such a supposition, that the Marāṭhī, which is the closest neighbour to the Dravidian tongues, has repudiated the use of *khē*, *kē*, or *kō*, and employed a dative-affix, the origin of which we hope to fix past controversy. . . . The Gujarātī and Panjābī have also made up for the dative case by postpositions, borrowed from the Sanskrit, without the slightest reference to the Dravidian languages. . . We derive the Sindhi *khē*, the Bangālī *kē*, from the Sanskrit कृते (*kṛitē*) 'for the sake of,' 'on account of,' 'as regards.' This will at once account for the aspiration of *k* in Sindhi; for this is not done by chance [being caused by the following *r*], but by a strict rule; in Bangālī *r* does not exercise such an influence on the aspiration of a preceding or following consonant, and therefore we have simply *kē*.

"The Sanskrit form कृते becomes in Prākṛit, first कृते, then (by the regular elision of *t*) कृए (*kiē*) and contracted *kē*, and in Sindhi, by reason of the elided *r*, *khē*. The Hindi and Hindūstānī *kō* was derived from the Sanskrit कृतं (*kṛitam*),

which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative कृते (*kṛitē*). In Prākṛit already, and still more so in the modern dialects, the neuter has been merged into the masculine; we have therefore, first कितो (*kiṭo*), thence किओ (*kiāo*), and contracted को (*kō*)."¹

How far one language is influenced by another is by no means an easy question to decide, and is not to be settled off-hand. I am inclined to think that this influence is comparatively small, and that it has been over-estimated. Grammatical suffixes—that is, those that express syntactical relations—seem never to be borrowed; while certain formative particles, used for the purpose of making new words, may be adopted from a foreign tongue. Thus we borrowed from the Norman-French no case or number suffixes for nouns, or verbal suffixes, to express *person, tense, mood*, etc., though we freely loaned such suffixes of derivation as *-ess* (fem.), *-age, -ment*, etc., which are sometimes found united with Teutonic roots. The *vocabulary*, the material part of language, is of course most subject to foreign influence, and we hardly know to what extent the changes it may undergo are restricted.

In estimating, for instance, the influence of Norman-French upon English, we may be easily misled. Thus the expression *for to* has been ascribed to the Norman-French *pour a*; but yet the Scandinavian dialects have the same idiom, cf. Swedish 'hon kom för att låna' = 'she came for to borrow.'

Danish too, like English, uses *meer* (more) and *meest* (most) to express the comparison of adjectives. Such being the case, it is altogether doubtful whether English is indebted to Norman-French for the habit of using *more* and *most* with adjectives. It would seem rather that each of the three languages quite independently, through the levelling processes at work in analytical tongues, have developed for themselves the same form of expression.

There is one principle at work in language which is deserving of more attention than it has as yet received, and that is the principle of *economy*, not as we see it at work in securing

¹ Sindhi Grammar, section ii. pp. 114, 115.

ease or rapidity of utterance, but exhibited in the use of what one might call an *excess* of material. This principle, inasmuch as it adds to our stock of words, does away with the necessity of borrowing. We trace this principle at work in "desynonymisation," as it has been called. By the process of phonetic change two forms of the same word sometimes spring up, as *morrow* and *morning*, *wain* and *waggon*, *of* and *off*, *through* and *thorough*, *these* and *those*. Two signs for the same notion are not wanted, and this excess of expression is got rid of by one of the words slightly altering its original sense, as *to* and *too*. This principle has been extended to duplicates of another sort, in which one is a borrowed word, as *fro* and *from*, *to* and *till*, *unto* and *until*, etc.

These instances clearly prove that words are signs of thought—at most imperfect—which the mind controls, making what use it pleases of its own instruments. The mind has a perfect command over all its resources, and if it chooses can use a term for a wholly different purpose than that for which it was originally designed. Familiar instances of this are rarer in grammatical forms than in the vocabulary; of the former, the word *those*, originally signifying *these*, is a good example.

The auxiliary character of *do* (= *cause*) has been superseded by *make*, and the older *gan* (= *began* = *did*) has died out.

Analogy often comes in as a useful auxiliary in the extension of these alterations, and raises a mere accidental change into one of primary importance, which occasionally is elevated into a general law of grammatical formation. Vowel-change in the strong verbs extended also to many of the weak conjugation illustrates well what I mean. Our use of accent, not unlike Chinese tones, in marking the parts of speech of such words as *présent*, *présent*, etc., are examples of a similar kind. In Mr. Parish's "Sussex Dialect," I find a capital instance of this principle in the word *lamentable*, which by a slightly varied pronunciation admits of three degrees of comparison: positive *lamentable*, as usually pronounced; comparative *larmentable*; superlative *larmentüable*.

Thus, what was not originally an inflexion may be made one. Take, for example, the Middle English infinitive in *-y*,

This termination represents Early English *-ien*, where *i* is a derivative syllable, forming with the root a stem, to which the suffix of the infinitive was added. The *y*, though primarily no infinitive suffix, gradually acquired the right to be considered as one. Our plurals in *-n* were not primarily such.

We smile at the Hampshire man's *shis'n* for *hers*, forgetting that *its*, *theirs*, and a host of similar formations are equally absurd if we examine their structure very closely. The word *kine* is not a whit less incongruous than the Sussex man's *posteses*, *nesteses*.¹

It is very necessary to observe and register such recent changes as come within the historical period, for the probability is great that similar contrivances were resorted to in ages long prior to any written records we possess.²

The student of language should not neglect to note the new habits a language acquires at different periods in its historical development. Dialects of the same language often acquire habits altogether at variance with the structural character of former periods.

Languages of the same group adopt wholly different methods of employing the formative elements. Compare the habit of the Scandinavian dialects in postfixing the article to the noun, and agglutinating the reflexive pronoun to the verb. Sindhi, though immediately sprung from Sanskrit, *postfixes* the personal pronouns to the noun, like the Semitic and other non-Aryan tongues.

In the Early and Middle English periods we find the Northern dialect eschewing all kind of agglutinations—even those recognized in the earlier stages of the language. On the other hand, in the East-Midland, we find coalescences that

¹ "Three little ghosteses,
Sitting on three churchyard posteses,
Eating buttered toasteses;
The grease ran down their fisteses,
Was n't 'em dirty bisteses."

² The Old English infin. in *-an* can be traced back to verbal nouns in *-ana*, and, curiously enough, Sanskrit substantives in *-ana* became in Prakrit (in the Apabhrāṣa dialect) *-anam*, and in Sindhi *-anu* (cf. *varāṇu* 'to return'; *halāṇu* 'to go'); in Marāṭhī *-ane* (= *ano*); in Hindī *-anā*; in Panjābī *nā*. The Sanskrit infin. in *-tum*, corresponding to the Latin supine in *-tum*, has disappeared in the modern Indian languages. The Bengālī infin. in *-te* is really a passive participle used as a verbal noun.

can only be compared to forms found in those languages whose structural character is essentially agglutinative.

We may compare the East Midland *mes* (= *me* + *es*) = *one* + *them*; *hes* (*he* + *es*) = *he* + *them*, with the Finnic of North Russian *m* + *ak*, *me* + *thou*; *m* + *am*, *me* + *he*. These English examples seem to show that there is nothing impossible in the theory that a language *may* (not *must*), at different periods, at no great intervals from each other, acquire totally distinct structural habits. At one period it may consist of monosyllabic vocables (not *roots*, which are only the ultimate elements of etymological analysis), in which the sense depends on their position in the sentence. At another it may have acquired the habit of uniting the vocables that have emptied themselves of much of their primitive meaning to other vocables to denote certain grammatical relations. Having done this, the processes of phonetic change, which do not spare even the root or the formative, easily bring about an inflexional habit.

Mr. Sayce, in his "Principles of Comparative Philology," thinks that it is impossible for a language to pass from the isolating stage to the agglutinative, or from the agglutinative to the inflexional. He believes it to be psychologically impossible for any progressive development from one kind of formation to another. He thinks that some people have a monosyllabic instinct, others an agglutinative, and a third an inflexional instinct. This is altogether against the teaching of modern philology, — nay, it appears to be contrary to the facts that may be observed in living tongues, in which all these processes are often at work in one and the same speech. We have within the historical period the creation of new inflexions out of independent vocables, by the process of collocation and agglutination; but Mr. Sayce will not grant that such instances are worth anything.

"In the first place," he says, "the very possibility of thus turning an agglutinative suffix into an inflexion, shows that inflexion was already the characteristic and rule of the language."

But this conclusion is certainly at variance with any

"instinctive tendencies to special grammatical structure." For how is agglutination, which must precede inflexion, at all possible in the face of a fixed synthetical instinct? Could a language with inflexional instincts possibly in course of time contrive to get the habits of an analytical language? We know it could without any "innate" predilection to such a formation.

Philologists have, perhaps, been a little hasty in saying that a language *must* pass through various stages of development, and Mr. Sayce is quite right in calling attention to the objectionable way in which they have stated their theory of three linguistic periods.

But while objecting to their language and statements, especially with reference to *roots*, he gives utterance to some odd expressions, the meaning of which is very difficult to comprehend: "The root language of the Aryans, however, did not contain any sentences at all. . . . As soon as a judgment was arrived at, it was expressed by means of inflexions. . . . The Aryan root was a kind of phonetic germ, which contained within itself the potentiality of becoming any one of the several parts of speech. But until this was realised, there was no language, since glottology begins with the sentence: there was only an embryonic chaos of unconscious thought. When first we find this thought becoming conscious, and embodying itself in language, we find also the phenomena of inflexion." (p. 161.)

Mr. Sayce seems to have adopted one of the "idols" of M. Renan in regarding complexity as anterior to simplicity, or as he puts it—the jelly-fish comes, in order of time, before man (p. 158).

A statement of this kind seems as absurd as affirming that a suit of clothes is anterior to the separate existence of the individual articles that go to make it up.

How would it be possible to know the history of any word if it had not from the first an independent existence out of the sentence in which it was usually employed. Comparative philology which is based upon etymology would be an impossibility.

We believe that the methods and chief results of philo-

logy are in the main scientific and exact, and will be further corroborated by subsequent investigations into those vital forces in operation in living tongues that are now passing through epochs of development similar to those undergone by other languages in pre-historic times.

We ought to make the general and established principles of linguistic science much better and more widely known than they are at present. Its fundamental positions should be taught in the higher forms of all our public schools, as an aid to special grammatical instruction.

The Latin and Greek Grammars in many of our schools owe much of their superiority over older and cruder works to comparative grammar. By a rational treatment of these subjects the memory is enabled to retain the *rule* by perceiving the *reason* for it. Still more, however, may be done in this direction.

The arrangements of many of the details in grammars, not of Latin and Greek alone, are altogether unscientific. Some grammarians, in classifying the pronouns, begin rightly enough with the personals; but as to the rest, they seem to recognize no proper order, though the science of language shows us that there is a right arrangement of the pronouns, based upon their historical development.

The *demonstratives* should follow the personal pronouns, then should come the *interrogatives*, *indefinites*, and lastly the *relatives*.

In English the relative was once the demonstrative. With the exception of the neuter relative, all the rest gradually fell into disuse, and their place was supplied by using the interrogatives *which* and *who* with a relative meaning. The relatives are the latest of the pronominal forms, and though they mostly spring from the demonstratives or interrogatives, they may also owe their origin to wholly different words, *cf.* *as* from *also*; and *but*, which represents the Middle-English *that ne* in many phrases.¹ There are some languages that have never yet advanced to the use of the relatives, a kind of

¹ See *Cursor Mundi*, p. 767, l. 13,356:—"Was noght his curtasi vnkidd þat he ne it scheud wid mani dedis." (G.) "Was never his curtesy vn-kidde *but* he hit shewed with mony dedes." (T.)

adjective phrase (as in Chinese, Malayan) or a participial construction being employed instead.¹

The Chinese expression equivalent to "He is a teacher who used to teach me Mandarin," literally translated would be "[the man] is formerly-teach-me-speak mandarin-ing one teacher."

In Sinhalese, "Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the Gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, and wherein ye stand," (I. Cor. xv. 1), would run thus, if literally translated: "Moreover, brethren, *by-me-to-you-declared, by-you-received, and by-you-conformed-to*, Good TIDINGS,—to you do I make known."—(See the *Sidath Sangarāwa*, ed. J. D'Alwis, p. 165.)

A language may even cease to employ the relatives it once possessed, as *Sinhalese*, which has now no relative pronoun; and in the first adjective clause of this paragraph I find the relative may be omitted without injury to the sense.

I might go on to touch upon other matters, but fear that I have already, by so many dry details, trespassed upon your patience in keeping from you the interesting and looked-for reports which have to be read upon the progress of special branches of philological studies.

THE WORK OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FROM JANUARY, 1874, TO MAY, 1875.

Mr. Ellis, who so ably filled this Chair last year, brought down the work of the Society to December, 1873, and from that point I purpose to chronicle briefly the subjects that have been discussed at our meetings.

Now you will see that the Society remains true to its old love—English Philology. Out of twenty-three papers read during the period under survey, no less than fifteen had some connection, more or less direct, with our mother-tongue.

English Phonology was represented by three papers on

¹ In one instance in English, an indefinite has replaced a demonstrative pronoun in the expression, 'as *one* that,' Middle English 'as *he* that,' Early English 'as *the* that.'

"The History of English Vowel Sounds" by Mr. Sweet, which I shall again have to notice; and two papers by Mr. Henry Nicol on "French Sounds in English." These five papers are of great value for placing English etymology on a firm footing, and rendering guess-work not only unnecessary, but to a certain extent culpable. It is pleasant to think that we can now have exactness in the place of mere conjecture. The phonetic aspects of our provincial dialects were discussed by Mr. Ellis in his paper "On Vowel Changes in English Dialects," and in his last year's report on "English Dialectology." But with an awful appetite for work, and a good digestion waiting upon it, Mr. Ellis undertook a classification of all our local dialects; and he placed his results before us in a highly lucid and attractive sketch of what he had been able to accomplish. Mr. Elworthy brought before us some interesting features of the East Somersetshire dialect, and Mr. Payne showed how deeply Norman French has influenced our Midland patois.

Materials for discussing our older dialectical varieties are gradually accumulating, and await further investigation.

Dr. Murray discussed the dialect of the Rushworth Gloss, and furnished us with some important facts overlooked by editors of the text. We take this opportunity of directing the attention of our members to Mr. Skeat's admirable edition of the Old English versions of the Gospels, now in course of publication by the Cambridge Press.

"Rhythm" formed the subject of two papers by Professor J. B. Mayor, with special reference to English verse.

Mr. Stanford gave us some account of his dictionary of "Imported Words," which would prove extremely valuable, were a date and an authority assigned to each term.

Some English etymologies like *bully*, *badger*, *filibuster*, etc., were discussed by our esteemed member Mr. Wedgwood.

"Yorkshire Sheepscore," in which the old British numerals are employed, was treated of at great length by Mr. Ellis, who is preparing his paper for the press.

I must not omit Mr. Ellis's Report on "English Dialects," nor Mr. Sweet's on Germanic and Scandinavian Philology,

which included a short notice of the latest work that had been done in illustrating the oldest stage of our language.

With regard to general phonology Mr. Ellis discussed, with his usual ability, the "Physical Theory of Aspiration."

We had a short but interesting paper by Mr. Menzies, on the "Pronunciation of Children." The writer's observations tended to show that "twins" were able to communicate with each other by means of a set of signs wholly unintelligible to the members of their own family.¹

The progress of Romance Philology was ably represented by M. Paul Meyer's report, and we had a short paper from Mr. C. B. Cayley on "Italian Diminutives," which brought up the whole question of the origin of "diminutives."

Mr. Nicol occupied a portion of an evening in explaining "M. Paris's Method of Editing in his *Vie de Saint Alexis*." He threw out many hints of great value to editors of Old English texts.

Professor R. Ellis reported on the progress of Latin Philology; while Modern Greek studies came before us in the report of Dr. Wagner; and Mr. Ellis discussed from the chair Greek and Latin Pronunciation, theoretical and practical.

Professor Rieu gave us two papers: "Persian and its Affinities," and "Some Phonetic Changes in Persian."

The report of Professor Gaidoz made us acquainted with the latest advance of Keltic studies.

"Etruscan Researches" were criticized by Prof. Aufrecht, both in a paper read before the Society and also in a report embodied in the President's Address of last year. The origin of the Etruscan language still remains an unsolved problem.

Mr. Taylor's work on "Etruscan Researches" was criticized by Dr. R. P. Keep, of Hartford, Conn., in a paper read before the American Philological Society, July, 1874. His conclusion of the whole matter is that Mr. Taylor "lacks discrimination, as well as the special knowledge which such an investigation as he has undertaken presupposes. The first

¹ See Professor Whitney's "Lectures on Language and the Study of Language," p. 404.

facts of the theory are left unproved. The agglutinating character of the Etruscan language is not made out. The chief service the book will render will be in calling anew the attention of scholars to an important problem, and in furnishing to the general reader a convenient manual of information about the Etruscans."

We have had no papers on non-Aryan languages; and we were indebted to the Rev. A. H. Sayce for an interesting and elaborate report on "Semitic and Assyrian Philology."

Connected with philology, Mr. Brandreth read a paper "On some of the Sources of Aryan Mythology."

After what my predecessor accomplished last year, I am afraid my shortcomings will be only too manifest. I must crave therefore the indulgence of the Society on the ground of official duties, to which even my love of philology is obliged to give way.

I have followed the example set by the founder of these addresses in bringing together reports on special branches of linguistic studies by those most conversant with them. Thanks to kind assistance, most willingly rendered, I shall be able to lay before you notices of subjects omitted in former addresses, as *Chinese*, *Pāli*, *Slavonic*, etc. There are many other subjects of intense interest which are unavoidably left out in the cold, such as *Egyptology*, the *American-Indian*¹ languages, the so-called *Turanian* tongues, etc.

The Oriental Congress held last year in London is a plain proof that scholars are everywhere at work in the wide fields of language. The harvest is great, but the reapers are comparatively few. We want skilled workmen, trained to their tasks in the school of modern Indo-European philology. Good results are often lost for want of this previous preparation. It is absolutely necessary, not only to the student who intends investigating a whole family of languages, but also to the scholar who is occupied with only a limited branch of any one language or dialect. The student of

¹ There is an excellent and valuable paper in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1874, "On Numerals in American Indian Languages, and the Indian Mode of Counting," by Dr. T. H. Trumbull.

English, if he is not groping in the dark, finds it needful to follow the comparative and historical methods, even when it is only an old text that he is editing.

Phonologists, with the present as their standpoint, are going to work in the same scientific way that the older philologists did, and they are teaching us to look for that exact scholarship that we have learnt to demand from those who study the antiquarian side of language.

Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet are showing what we may expect even in one department of our language when it is investigated according to the principles laid down by the founders of linguistic science.

CHINESE.

Chinese has not altogether been overlooked by our Society. Sir J. Davis, Dr. Guest, and Mr. Edkins have on different occasions called our attention to its peculiarities. Chinese is a language well worthy the study of the Philologist. It boasts of a very high antiquity, and its written records go far back, so that its historical development from the simple and meagre¹ vocabulary of the early books to the diffuse and complex idiom of the colloquial vernaculars may be investigated in the same exact manner as the languages of the Indo-European family. Native lexicographers have laid a good groundwork for modern research in the same field.

Chinese illustrates the growth of dialects. From an original parent speech, once occupying but a limited area, have sprung four well-marked vernacular idioms, united together by the same written character, and about 360 sub-dialects.

¹ The following is from the Chinese philosopher, Mencius:

"King say, 'Sage, not far thousand mile and come, also will be for profit (of) my kingdom, hey?'"

"Mencius reply say, 'King, why must say profit, also have benevolence and righteousness and nought else.'"—Bk. i. 1.

In Dr. Legge's admirable translation this reads as follows:

"The King said, 'Venerable Sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand *li*, may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?'"

"Mencius replied, 'Why must your Majesty use that word 'profit'? What I am likewise provided with, are *counsels to* benevolence and righteousness.'"

It is said that the modern dialects of Chinese are losing their monosyllabic character by an endeavour to render the primitive stock of vocables more definite and intelligible to those who use them.

We may illustrate this by supposing that we had a number of words all pronounced like the word *air*, and to distinguish them added some qualifying word in each case, as *breath-air*, *son-heir*, *time-e'er*, *place-Ayr*, etc.

Chinese resembles English in the freedom with which it uses the same word for various parts of speech. English, having lost most of its inflexions, is compelled to do so; Chinese has never employed any other method.

Position is everything in the Chinese sentence, and it is becoming very important in our own tongue. But English, as Marshman long ago pointed out, is in some respects far more flexible than even Chinese, in which we could not employ the exact equivalents of 'to *man* a vessel,' 'to *dog* a thief,' 'to *hand* a letter to a friend,' 'to *water* a garden.' I should not like to say what our language is incapable of, so great is our power over our words, unfettered as they are by any formative sign to limit their use in the sentence. Thus we may agglutinate *do* and *off*, and produce the verb *doff*, and when occasion requires treat it as a noun. Even interjections cannot claim to be excluded from this freedom of treatment, *ho* or *hoo*, an interjection of silence, actually occurs as a noun = *limit*, *bound*.¹

For the following report on the "History of Chinese Philology and its Present State" I am indebted to the kindness of a non-member of our Society, the Rev. Dr. Legge, to whom Stanislas Julien, in 1859, dedicated his "*Syntaxe Nouvelle*," and of whom he speaks as "*Traducteur des classiques Chinois; l'un des plus éminents Sinologues de notre époque.*"

"The Chinese Classics," in seven volumes,² when complete,

¹ "Faith, Lelia has e'en given him the *doff* here."—Old English Plays, ed. 1874, vol. ix. p. 276. "Because, forsooth, some old poet or some such fantastic fellows make much on him, there's no *ho* with him."—*ib.* p. 390.

² "The Chinese Classics," with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes. By James Legge, D.D., of the London Missionary Society, in seven volumes. Vol. I. containing Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean; 8vo. pp. 526. Vol. II. con-

will be even a greater monument of labour than Prof. Max Müller's edition of the Vēda. Each volume with its index is a valuable contribution to Chinese lexicography as well as to Chinese philosophy.

The aid afforded by Dr. Legge's translations and indexes enables even a tyro in Chinese, with only a moderate amount of diligence, to make an acquaintance with the language and thoughts of the great philosophers, Confucius and Mencius.

"The study of the Chinese language and literature in Europe is a growth of the present century, though much attention had been given to both these subjects by the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church for more than 200 years before. Most of the results of their labours were transmitted in manuscript to Paris, and the more important of them were published there in the *Memoires concernant l'Histoire, les Sciences, etc., des Chinois*, in sixteen volumes quarto, from 1776 to 1814. Mainly, however, by the aid of the manuscripts, Etienne Fourmont had been able to publish in 1737 his *Meditationes Sinicæ*; and, five years later, his *Grammatica Sinica*. It was the latter of these works which gave the first impulse to the study of Chinese in the west.

"In 1814 a Chinese professorship was instituted in the Collège of France, and conferred on Jean Pierre Abel Rémusat, who had published in 1811 his *Essai sur la langue et la littérature Chinoises*. He was certainly the best fitted of all men then in Europe for the position; and his subsequent translations and memoirs on Chinese subjects were numerous. His most important work was his *Elemens de la Grammaire Chinoise*, which appeared in 1822.

"On Rémusat's death, the Chinese chair fell to the late Stanislas Julien, who had commenced the study of the Chinese language under him in 1823, and who soon vindicated to himself the foremost place among Sinologues. Of his perception of the genius of the language, of the accuracy

taining the works of Mencius; 8vo. pp. 634. Vol. III. Part I. containing the first part of the Shoo-King, or the books of Tang, the books of Yu, the books of Hea, the books of Shang, and the Prolegomena; royal 8vo. pp. viii. and 280. Vol. III. Part II. containing the fifth part of the Shoo-King, or the books of Chow, and the Indexes; royal 8vo. pp. 281—736, etc.

of his numerous translations, and of the various learning which he brought to bear on his subjects, it is impossible to speak in too high terms. Many other scholars in France have distinguished themselves by their labours in Chinese since the time of Rémusat, but I can only refer to them thus generally. Both Rémusat and Julien derived much assistance from the *Dictionnaire Chinois, Français et Latin*, published in one volume folio, at Paris, in 1813, by M. de Guignes, who had been a pupil of Fourmont, and was the better furnished for his work by having resided for several years at Peking. The foundation of his dictionary was one in manuscript by P. Basile of Glemona, that had been completed, I believe, in 1726. De Guignes, however, adopted a different arrangement of the characters, placing them under what are called the Radicals, after the example of the principal dictionary of the present Manchu dynasty. The volume was published by order of the First Napoleon. It will ever be to the glory of France, that among western nations it has been pre-eminent by the patronage and support which it has given to Chinese studies.

“The first treatise in English on the Chinese language was a *Dissertation on the Characters and their Sounds*, by the Rev. Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, which appeared in 1809, prefixed to Vol. I. of *The Works of Confucius, containing the Original Text, with a Translation*. He intended, I suppose, to issue in the same way all the works attributed to the Chinese sage; but there was only a very slight sequel to what was given in this volume, which itself contained but ten of the twenty chapters that compose the *Lun Yu*, or Confucian Analects, as they are now frequently termed. There are mistakes in the Translation, as well as in the Dissertation; but both the productions show an extraordinary aptitude for philological studies and research.

“Subsequently, in 1814, Marshman published his *Clavis Sinica, or Elements of Chinese Grammar, with a Preliminary Dissertation on the Characters and the Colloquial Medium of the Chinese; and an Appendix containing the Ta-hyoh of Confucius, with a Translation*. The translation of the *Ta-*

hyoh was by his eldest son. The whole forms a quarto of more than 600 pages, and contains many things of great value. Two deserve to be specified, as having since been handled more at large by distinguished Sinologues.

“One of them related to the structure of Chinese composition, and forms the foundation of the last work of importance from the pen of M. Julien, his *Syntaxe Nouvelle de la Langue Chinoise, Fondée sur la Position des Mots*; in the preface to which he says, ‘It is to Dr. Marshman that the merit belongs of having been the first to enunciate this capital idea, that *the whole of Chinese grammar depends on position*.’ He adds, ‘Unfortunately that scholar did not know how to demonstrate the point;’ but further on he says: ‘From the commencement of my Chinese studies (in December, 1823), I was struck by the resources afforded by a knowledge of the rules of position. The principle enunciated for the first time by Marshman was to me as a beam of light, and permitted me to commence, at the end of three months of study, my Latin translation of the philosopher Mencius.’

“To illustrate the importance of this principle, I will quote a few sentences from the first paragraph of the *Syntaxe*, and I do so the more willingly, because they set forth tersely one of the remarkable peculiarities of the Chinese language. ‘The Chinese characters,’ writes M. Julien, ‘are all monosyllabic, indeclinable, and inconjugable. They are incapable, therefore, of receiving those inflexions which, in the Greek and Latin languages, show, at the first glance, the genders, cases, and numbers of nouns, and the voices, tenses, moods, and persons of verbs. In spite, however, of this absence of inflexions, Chinese is to an instructed Sinologue as clear and intelligible as the languages which are richly furnished with them. . . . How does a language that seems to be so imperfect answer sufficiently well to all the wants of thought, so as to have allowed Chinese writers, for more than twenty centuries, and in innumerable works, to treat all the subjects, scientific or literary, that exercise the human spirit? It does so because

the inflexions of nouns and verbs, which give so much precision to the ancient languages, find, up to a certain point, their equivalents in the mobility of the Chinese signs, acquiring every sort of grammatical force according to the place which they occupy in the phrase, and according to the words with which they are construed. The relative position of the words determines exactly their *rôle*, and gives to the writings or to the discourses all the clearness that is desirable.'

"The other thing to which Marshman called attention was the prevalence of a phonetic element in the structure of the Chinese characters themselves. There are in Chinese, first of all, what are termed the *Radicals*, one or other of which enters into all the other characters that compose the language. For several centuries, native lexicographers have dealt with them as if they amounted to 214, but in earlier times they were estimated at more than double that number. They were pictorial in their origin, and they serve to give some vague idea of the meaning of those characters which they help to compose. The names or sounds of those characters, however, are quite independent of those of the Radicals which enter into them, unless where these Radicals perform also the part of Phonetics, which in many cases they do. Radicals is an unfortunate term, as it suggests their being like the root-words of the alphabetic languages, from which all the others have grown. There is no such growth in Chinese. Its characters, or words, were all made; they did not grow. For Radicals Marshman used the term *Elements*; others have called them *Formatives*, *Determinatives*, and *Keys*. Any one of these names is preferable to *Radicals*. The Chinese themselves style them *Tze Poo*, 'Classifiers of Characters,' with reference simply to the lexical arrangement of the other characters under them.

"But in addition to these elements, Marshman saw that, between them and the great mass of the characters, there really exist what he called *Primitives*, 'which, like the Greek primitives or the Sanscrit dhatoos, form the bulk of the language, by associating to themselves certain of the

elements.' He saw also that 'the characters formed from the same primitive generally took the name of the primitive, with some slight variation.' This principle in the structure of the language wonderfully fascinated him. He examined all the characters in the *K'ang-he*, the great dictionary of the ruling dynasty, amounting to 43,496, and 'after fifteen months' labour had the satisfaction of seeing every character derived from another classed under its proper primitive.' The whole number of his primitives was 3867; but by discarding many of them which had very few derivatives, he reduced the number to 1689, as 'forming,' i.e. being the formative element of, 'the great mass of the language.'

"That all which Marshman wrote about those primitives should now be accepted by Sinologues could hardly be expected; but he repeatedly calls attention to the fact of the primitive's imparting its name to the derivative as deserving particular notice. For *Primitives* the designation of *Phonetics* is now generally employed. It is preferable to the other, but not altogether unexceptionable. Marshman's discovery bore rich fruit in 1841, when J. M. Callery, a Roman Catholic missionary, published at Macao his *Systema Phoneticum Scripturæ Sinicæ*, in two volumes large 8vo. Callery does not acknowledge his obligations to Marshman so fully and gracefully as Julien; but his own work is of great value. Vol. I. contains his list of primitives or phonetics, amounting to 1040, with various important preliminary and illustrative matter. Vol. II. is a dictionary of 12,753 characters, arranged under the phonetics which enter into their composition. As a dictionary of Chinese it is thus incomplete. The definitions, moreover, are very brief, and there are no phrases or sentences illustrating the different usages of the terms. I believe, however, that the hope which he expresses in the conclusion of his preface has been in one point realized, and by and by will be realized in all its extent. 'The only hope,' he says, 'with which I love to flatter myself is, that my work, such as it is, will for the moment be very useful to persons who study Chinese, and will hereafter serve as a basis for that grand desideratum of Sinologues,—a complete and

well-digested dictionary of the Chinese language.' Even before I studied his *Systema*, I had come to the conclusion that the phonetic element must rule in the arrangement of any dictionary that would satisfy the requirements of students from the West.

"The classifiers of characters and the primitives or phonetics—the 'mothers of meaning' and 'mothers of sound,' as I used to term them in conversation with native teachers—are the elements of the Chinese language. The student who, at an early period of his labours, makes himself familiar with them, will find his future progress greatly facilitated, and be able to build up a grand structure of attainment. By means of the classifiers he will be able to approximate to the meaning of the new characters which present themselves, and by means of the phonetics to their sounds. The latter serve, in some degree, the purpose of an alphabet, or rather of a syllabary, each syllable being a complete word. A very cumbrous one it is, containing fully 3000 characters, all different in form, and many of them homophonous to an extent that tasks frightfully the memory of the particular forms. For all this, if every derivative had the exact name and tone of its phonetic element, the acquisition of the language would be comparatively easy. But, as I have indicated, it is only an approximation to these which can be reached by means of the phonetics. Still, the assistance they give is most important. The Chinese themselves have a saying, 'If you know the character, call it by its name; if you do not know it, call it by its phonetic.' Callery draws attention to the fact that the earliest work in Chinese that can be denominated a dictionary, the *Shuoh Wán* of Heu Shin, published A.D. 100, gives the sounds of the characters by reference to their phonetic part. So far it is a phonetic dictionary; but the lexical arrangement is guided by the radicals, of which Heu allowed more than 500, and not by the phonetic element as in the *Systema*.

"Dr. Marshman's labours in Chinese terminated with the publication of his *Clavis*, for I have not to speak of what he did towards a version of the sacred Scriptures. I turn now

to attempt a brief sketch of what has been done by English and other Sinologues in the field of China itself. Several scholars of Germany have intermeddled more or less with Chinese, but they have not, so far as I know, done anything in the department with which I have now to do, that should call for special notice.¹

"The first English labourer was Dr. Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, who arrived at Canton in 1808. The history of his privations and perseverance for the first few years of his work is one of the most interesting which the records of literary enterprise or of missionary devotion can supply. Very soon he resolved on three undertakings;—a Chinese Grammar, a Dictionary, and a Version of the whole Bible. By 1811 the Grammar was completed, and the manuscript was sent in that year to the Bengal Government, to be printed at Serampore, where it appeared in 1815, with the title of *A Grammar of the Chinese Language*. Morrison's was thus the first Chinese Grammar written in English, though it was not published till the year after Marshman's. The difference between the two Works is great. Morrison's object was simply 'to afford practical assistance to the student,' and 'all theoretical disquisitions respecting the nature of the language had been purposely omitted.' But so peculiar is the nature of the Chinese language, that without disquisition about it, or at least some general exhibition of it, a satisfactory grammar cannot be made. Morrison, moreover, erred through attempting to unfold the methods of Chinese composition in conformity with the methods of western grammars, under the different Parts of Speech in detail. The book was of value to the students who more immediately followed him; but it has not been reprinted.

"His great work was his Dictionary, published at Macao, in six quarto volumes,—the first portion in 1815, the last volume in 1822. It is in three Parts. The first occupies

¹ Dr. Stephen Endlicher, of Vienna, wrote an excellent grammar of the book-language in 1845, and W. Schott's *Chinesische Sprachlehre* appeared in 1857, and in 1861 was published Plath's "*Die Tonsprache der alten Chinesen*."

three volumes, and contains all the characters in the *K'ang-he* dictionary, arranged, as in the prototype, under the 214 Radicals. Vol. I., indeed, gives only the characters found under the first forty of these, and almost partakes of the nature of an encyclopædia. It is a repertory of information on various Chinese subjects, and on the contents of valuable books. If the author had gone on to deal in the same way with the characters into which the other Radicals enter, this Part alone would have extended to half a dozen volumes. But the treatment of the characters in the two other volumes is brief, too brief, as that of those in the first was, perhaps, too diffuse.

"Part II. appeared in 1819, in two volumes, containing about 12,000 characters, arranged, according to their sounds, alphabetically and syllabically, with indexes and valuable appendixes. It has been more used by students than the first Part, and is more useful to them, especially in the earlier years of their application.

"Part III., in one volume, is a dictionary of English and Chinese. Every student wishes it were longer, and yet the author at intervals, as his other labours permitted, had been collecting for thirteen years the materials for it.

"Morrison died in 1834. He was the pioneer of English Sinologues, and he well fulfilled his task,—with Herculean strength and perseverance. It ought to be told that his Grammar and Dictionary were published at the expense of the Honourable East India Company, which thus nobly contributed about £15,000 to the cause of Chinese Philology.

"Among several Works bearing on Chinese subjects, published by the Rev. J. A. Gonçalves at Macao, were the *Arte China*, in 1829, and the *Diccionario China-Portuguez*, in two volumes, 1831–33. Callery refers to both of them in the highest terms. I have often consulted the Dictionary, but got little benefit from it, in consequence of the crotchets of the author, who reduced the number of the Radicals to 127, and arranged the characters, 7850 in all, according to the peculiar stroke of the Chinese pencil used in writing them.

"In 1842 there appeared at Batavia the *Chinese and Eng-*

lish Dictionary, containing all the words in the Chinese Imperial Dictionary, arranged according to the Radicals, in two volumes 8vo. This was the production of the late Dr. Medhurst, a worthy successor of Morrison. In his preface he tells us that 'the object of the Dictionary is to comprise within as small a compass as possible the whole of the characters found in the Imperial'—i.e. the *K'ang-he*—'Dictionary, with the exception of those which have either no sound or no meaning attached to them; giving a due prominence to words of more frequent occurrence, and exhibiting the phrases and combinations in which the more important characters are found.' In printing the characters formed with the same Radical and having the same number of strokes, he arranged them according to the English sound of their names, alphabetically, which almost makes the volumes answer the purpose of a syllabic dictionary. The work had thus the same prototype as Morrison's, and goes over the same field. The characters under the first forty Radicals are of course discussed very briefly, as compared with Morrison's encyclopædic treatment, but those under the remaining 174 are more fully and satisfactorily dealt with than in the larger work.

"Subsequently, in 1847, Medhurst published at Shanghae his *English and Chinese Dictionary*, also in two 8vo. volumes. It does not, as he allows, contain everything to be desired in such a dictionary; but nothing of the same kind, 'equal or second' to it, has yet appeared.

"Of only one other dictionary is it necessary that I should write more than a sentence or two. Earlier than the dictionary above described, Medhurst published his *Dictionary of the Hok-kên Dialect*; Williams, at Canton, in 1856, his *Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in the Canton Dialect*; Maclay and Baldwin, a few years ago, at Shang-hae, their *Dictionary of the Fuh-chow Dialect*; and Douglas, at London, in 1873, his *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the principal variations of the Chang-chëw and Chin-chëw Dialects*. All these are valuable works, but intended chiefly for local, or at most provincial, use. The other dictionary, which demands more

attention, is the *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, arranged according to the *Wu Fang Yuen Yin*, with the Pronunciation of the Characters as heard in Peking, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghae; published in quarto last year, at Shanghae, by Dr. Williams. What I have to say of it, however, I will reserve for a little, and turn again in the mean time to the subject of Chinese Grammars.

“The first Grammar of importance, published after the appearance of Morrison’s, was the *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, by P. Prémare, a Roman Catholic missionary, and which was issued in 1831 from the Mission Press connected with the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, forming a quarto of 262 pages. The manuscript of this Work had remained for more than a century in the Royal Library at Paris. There a transcript of it was made at the expense of Lord Kingsborough, and sent to Malacca, where it was printed, also at his expense. Fourmont and Rémusat were both much indebted to Prémare in the preparation of their grammars. The latter says,—but it must be borne in mind that he was writing in 1820,—‘P. Prémare is the only one who has sketched clearly the two styles of Chinese’—that of books written with an approximation to the common speech of the people in Mandarin, and that of the ancient books and those written in the standard style of good composition—which all other grammarians have confounded. He gives the rules for them separately, and enters into long details on the employment of the particles, both in the common language and the learned, justifying every assertion by numerous examples; or, to speak more accurately, he brings forth the rules which he proposes by a comparison of texts, taken from the best authors and explained with the greatest care. Fourmont intimates that Prémare’s work is a treatise on rhetoric rather than a grammar. The learned missionary has, indeed, made many observations on style and the figures of speech, more useful to those who wish to learn to compose in Chinese than to those who are content to acquire a knowledge of the principles of the language, and to obtain the means of understanding Chinese authors; but, while doing that, he has not neglected

the elements, and the only well-founded complaint which can be made about his work is, perhaps, that he has treated these at too great extent; that he has too much considered particular cases instead of bringing them together under general observations; that he has, in a word, given rather a list of phrases explained than a grammar properly so called. It is this that will always stand in the way of the publication of this precious work, which contains hardly fewer than 12,000 examples and 50,000 Chinese characters. It cannot be said that the plan followed by the author is suitable for an elementary work for beginners, but those who have already some knowledge of the language will gain much by studying it.'

"I agree substantially with Rémusat in this estimate of Prémare's *Notitia*. Any gentleman in London, willing to devote the necessary time, may, by means simply of Prémare's grammar, and Morrison's or Medhurst's dictionary, attain to read Chinese books, and make himself familiar with their contents. The publication of it, which Rémusat thought would never take place, did come about—through the literary devotion and liberality of an English nobleman, and under the superintendence of Protestant missionaries.

"Several grammars have appeared since 1831, but I will speak only of two;—the *Grammar of Colloquial Chinese, as exhibited in the Shanghai Dialect*, and the *Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language, commonly called the Mandarin Dialect*; both by Dr. Edkins, now of Peking, and published at Shanghai, the former in 1853, and the latter in 1864. Dr. Edkins approached his undertakings with fine philological aptitude, and with no slight knowledge of philology in general. Of what he has written on the colloquial speech of Shanghai, or even on the widely-spread Mandarin dialect, I have not occasion to speak; but there are three important subjects which more particularly attracted him, and he has the merit of being the first to draw attention to one of them.

— "The first of these is the *tones*, which are so important in Chinese speaking and reading; the second is the mode of *spelling* the names of Chinese characters, introduced from

India in the fifth and sixth centuries; the third is the old names or sounds of the Chinese characters, as it is possible now to ascertain them or to approximate to them.

“I.—The importance of the *tones* will at once appear when we consider that, though the characters of the Chinese language, as has been already stated, amount to fully 40,000, the names for them, when represented by alphabetic letters, are not 1000. Medhurst gives the number of the initial sounds of the characters as 21, and of the terminational sounds as 55, so that we have $21 \times 55 = 1155$, as the sounds or distinct enunciations possible in Chinese,—a little more than one-fortieth of the number of the characters. If an equal number of the characters belonged to each enunciation, we should have about forty characters, with forty different meanings, all sounded in the same way: and the fact is that some sounds must be used for hundreds of different characters. But the actual number of different sounds is much less than a thousand. Morrison’s syllabic dictionary contains only 411 different sounds, but then, in writing them alphabetically, he took no account of the initial aspirates. The Hon. Mr. Wade, in his *Pekinese Syllabary*, gives 397 as the whole of the distinct enunciations in the speech of the capital; and though in his subsequent work, the *Tsze-erh-chi*, he has allowed a few more, they only amount in all to 420. Edkins gives the whole number in the Mandarin dialect as 522, while Williams’ latest dictionary, of which I have yet to write, contains 532. In the Southern dialects the sounds are more numerous, though still few. Cantonese, for instance, has 707, and the dialect of Fuh-chow, as exhibited in Maclay and Baldwin’s dictionary, 868.

“Here, then, in China, we have a language in which 40,000 characters, all different to the eye, and each having its own proper signification, are distributed among less than 1000 different sounds. How is it possible to make such a language available for the purposes of oral speech? The problem is made more easy by various devices, but I have in this paper only to speak of that of the tones. As Dr. Williams has observed, *tone*, used with reference to Chinese

characters or words, 'denotes the curious quality by which their meaning is changed according to the inflexion'—i.e. the modification of the voice used in speaking them. 'The tones are not,' he further says, 'either tones, accents, modulations, brogue, or emphasis, as these terms are used in European languages; but, perhaps, more nearly resemble musical notes, and are best illustrated by the variations of pitch and time in an instrument.' But its tone is an integral part of the word. A syllable being spoken with its proper tone, the right word is uttered, and the right meaning conveyed; if spoken with another tone, a different word is uttered, and a different meaning conveyed.

["To give an instance of the scrapes into which inaccuracy in the tones may betray the speaker; a gentleman, who really speaks the language well, was asking where the salt for the supply of Peking was obtained, and was told first, to his astonishment, that it was all imported by foreigners. Objecting to this, and explaining that he meant fresh salt, or the salt consumed in daily food, he was yet more astonished to hear that it was brought from the province of Ho Nan; nor was it until after some minutes' cross-examination that the Chinese addressed, detecting his error and correctly intoning the syllable, replied 'from the saltiness of the province of course.' The foreigner had been intoning *yen 2*, the sound for, amongst others, the word *salt*, as though it were *yen 1*, the sound for, amongst others, the word *smoke*; and the Chinese had believed the first question to refer to Opium, commonly called smoke, and the second, in which some qualification had been added, to refer to native tobacco."—See Wade's *Tzū Erh Chi*, vol i. p. 7.]

"Further, in the different dialects the number of the tones varies. Pekinese has only four; the southern Mandarin five. In the Southern dialects there are two series of them, called the upper and the lower, with four tones, mutually related, but differently enunciated in each, so that there are eight tones in all. Edkins says that about Shanghai twelve different tonic modulations can be detected in the enunciation of certain syllables. I may make this subject plainer by an

example. Let us take the syllable or word *wan* in Cantonese, the *a* being short, and approaching to the sound of our *u* in *sun*. Spoken with the first tone, it means *mild* or *kind*; with the second, *firm* or *constant*; with the third, *indignant feelings*; with the fourth, *bent* or *to stoop*; with the fifth, *a cloud*; with the sixth, *to rule*, or *a director*; with the seventh, *a halo*; and with the eighth, *the stones of fruits*. So great, indeed, is the difference of enunciation caused by these tones, that the words spoken in the fourth and eighth must be written with a different final consonant, and to an English ear are really different words from the others.

“Edkins entered more fully into the subject of the tones than any one had done before him;—he pointed out how some words have changed, and others are now changing, from one tone to another; noted the variations of them in different parts; and called attention to other peculiarities. I may add here that in the time of the Chow dynasty, previous to our Christian era, the tones were only three, and homophonous words, though their tones might be different, rhymed together, of which offence in prosody even a Chinese poetaster would not now be guilty. No doubt, as characters multiplied, it was found necessary to increase the tones, and mark them off more strictly from one another.

“In passing from this subject, I may observe that the tones of Chinese belong in philology to the department of phonology; and when they have been determined phonologically, a student will have less difficulty in acquiring the mastery of them. For doing that a nice ear is of great importance; and any one wishing to be a missionary in China, or to fill the post of interpreter in the consular or any other service, had better, if he have not a good ear, betake himself to another field. I knew a missionary, however, in the south, who had next to no ear for musical notes, and who yet contrived to be an acceptable speaker of his dialect. The tones were long a great difficulty, till one day, after many unsuccessful attempts to bring forth a word in the upper third tone after his teacher, he at length succeeded. ‘That’s it,’ cried the teacher with a loud laugh; ‘do that again.’

'Yes,' said another Chinese who was standing by, 'you brought that through your nose.' So it was. The student was set a-thinking; and by and by he found that every tone had its own adjustment of the vocal organs. Working with this 'beam of light,' he came to be able in a few months to enunciate all the tones correctly. Gradually the ear became educated; and though the memory was greatly taxed, he was able in the end to read and speak in a way which seemed to delight his hearers.

"II.—The second subject in which the grammars of Edkins were distinguished above any that preceded them was his analysis of the system of spelling the characters which was introduced from India into China. Previous to the fifth century, the idea of analyzing the names of their monosyllabic words by the initial and final elements of their sounds had not occurred to Chinese scholars, though we must suppose that something of the sort was in the minds of the early formers of the phonetic characters. The method then adopted, and which was first extensively employed in the dictionary *Yuh P'een*, published in 543, consists in indicating the name of each character by means of two others, the former of which gives the initial utterance of its sound, and the other the final. Thus, to use the words of Marshman, 'taou, a path, is produced from *T-ung* (*tung*) and *K-ao* (*Kaou*), the former, as the initial power, losing all but its first letter, and the latter, which performs merely the part of a final, dropping its initial.' The system arose in part from the extension of the Chinese empire westwards, which brought its scholars into contact with others of a different race possessing an alphabetic language; but it was owing chiefly to the Buddhist priests, the number of whom had been increasing in China for several centuries, and who had constant occasion to express in their writings, in the best way they could, Sanscrit words by means of Chinese characters. What they did in this way was most successfully set forth by M. Julien, in his *Methode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les Noms Sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les Livres Chinois*, which was published at Paris in 1861.

“Marshman, familiar with the Sanscrit, was struck with the surprising coincidence between the systems of the Sanscrit and Chinese initials more especially, and proceeded to speculate as to whether the latter could have been derived from the other, deciding the question in the negative. Edkins, familiar with the history of the Chinese spelling, approaches the subject with the necessary intelligence. By means of the different characters used in successive dictionaries to represent the initials and finals, he reaches important conclusions as to the changes that gradually came over the sounds or names of many Chinese characters; and this culminated in the third subject by which his researches have been distinguished, and which promises to bear the richest fruit.

“Before I touch on that, it is worth while to observe, that though Chinese scholars became acquainted fourteen centuries ago or more with an alphabetic system, they never seemed to appreciate the value of an alphabet, nor have tried to form one which might be substituted for their symbolic characters, leading gradually to an alphabetic language with its parts of speech and their inflexions, instead of their own monosyllables, ‘indeclinable and inconjugable.’

“III.—Edkins’s researches among different dialects, with their sounds and tones, and especially his study of the system of syllabic spelling, brought before his mind the possibility of determining the ancient syllabary of Chinese words,—of determining, that is, how those words were enunciated 3000 and even 4000 years ago. For instance, no word in Mandarin ends with the consonantal sounds of *k*, *m*, *p*, or *t*, which are abundant in the syllabary of Cantonese. In the same way it wants initials which are found elsewhere, and also vowels and diphthongs; and different dialects differ from one another in all these respects. His view is that these differences may all be explained by ascending to the most ancient pronunciation of the words. He holds that ‘it may be possible to restore the language to the form it had when the Chinese characters were made.’ Practically, this is unimportant to the interpreter and the missionary; but to the

philologist it is of the highest value. If we can but ascend to the original sounds of the phonetics, we are brought face to face with the fathers of the Chinese race, and hear them speaking as they did—then when they were emerging from an illiterate state, and taking one of the most important steps towards a higher civilization by the formation of a written character.

“The bases of Edkins’s system of old sounds are chiefly a comparison of the sounds in the various dialects with the syllabic spelling introduced from India, and which rests on the Sanscrit alphabet; and the rhymes in the ancient *Book of Poetry* and in the *Classic of the Yih*. That the conclusions to which he has come in regard to the ancient sounds of all the individual characters are correct, I am not prepared to say; I demur, indeed, to many of them. But of his general principles and method, as well founded, I have no doubt. As Julien said of Marshman’s brief remark that *all Chinese grammar is founded on position*, that it was ‘a capital idea,’ so I venture to say of Edkins’s method of determining the original sounds of Chinese speech.

“My way is now clear to speak briefly of the latest dictionary of Dr. Williams, of which I have already given the title. So far as it goes, it is a great advance on all previous Chinese dictionaries in its exhibition of the names of characters, and in the accuracy of its definitions of their meanings. A diligent Chinese student for forty years, an acute and careful observer of all that was done by other labourers in the field, and no tyro in lexical work, the author brought unprecedented resources to the accomplishment of his undertaking. After an introduction of eighty-four pages, in which most of the subjects I have touched on are discussed with candour and good sense, we have the dictionary and index of the characters in it arranged according to the Radicals, in upwards of 1200 pages, and containing more than 12,000 characters. Immediately below each of the syllables under which the characters are arranged in their tonal order, there are given its old sounds as proposed by Edkins, and then its sounds in the dialects of Canton,

Swatow, Amoy, Fuh-chow, Shanghai, and Chi-foo. The dictionary is thus available for use by students of dialects wide apart from one another, and a system has been introduced by which, as students become distributed all over the empire, the names of the characters can be brought together on the widest scale. Still the book has its deficiencies. It only contains 12,527 characters, of which many are duplicates; and though the definitions in general, and especially those of natural objects, are greatly in advance of what is to be found in Morrison or Medhurst, there is still room for improvement. Then the illustrative Chinese sentences are not referred by figures to the definitions to which they severally belong, while of many of the usages there are no illustrations at all; and of many of the sentences given from the Confucian classics the translation is not correct. His account of two important characters, *shān* on p. 737, and *tí* on pp. 880, 881, is in some respects misleading; and I am sorry he thought it necessary to append a controversial note on the latter. His dictionary was not the place for such a subject. Notwithstanding these and other deficiencies, the dictionary is the best which has yet been produced, and will be the most useful. Others will follow, and in the course of the next century a dictionary may appear which will leave little to be desired, and supersede the necessity of constant reference to the *K'ang-he* and other native Works, all that is valuable in them having been collected and digested by the more accurate lexicography of the west.

"It now only remains for me, on the plan of this paper, to make some reference to one other subject, which is the latest advance in Chinese philology. Very much, it will have been seen, has been done in that itself. The nature and grammar of the language have been set forth, and dictionaries have been abundantly prepared. The way to the treasures of its literature has been laid open, and by some of the dictionaries, as well as by numerous vocabularies and phrase-books which I have not thought it necessary to specify, the most important helps are afforded for the acquisition of several of the provincial and local vernacular modes of speech.

"After so much had been done for Chinese in itself, it was only natural that attempts should follow to carry it into the wide field of Comparative Philology.

"The first essay in this direction was made by the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, of Canton, in the *Origin of the Chinese; an attempt to trace the Connexion of the Chinese with Western Nations in their Religion, Superstitions, Arts, Language, and Traditions*; a small treatise, published at Hong Kong in 1866. On all the subjects mentioned in the title Mr. Chalmers makes ingenious and suggestive observations. The chapter on the Chinese spoken language concludes with a *Comparison of 300 words in the Chinese with those of other Languages*. This treatise was followed in 1871 by a work of a wider sweep and higher purport, published in London by Messrs. Trübner and Co.,—Dr. Edkins's *China's Place in Philology: an attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a common origin*. But the author does not confine himself to the languages of Europe and Asia. The work is not one to be criticized or characterized in the space at my command. Edkins traverses, without misgiving, the fields of the Semitic system of languages, the Himalaic, the three divisions of the Turanian system, the Malayo-Polynesian, the Sanscrit, and the European languages; and he finds abundant evidence to himself of the radical identity of them all. Some of the most eminent philologists of Europe have been unwilling to accept his processes and conclusions; and we shall receive from him, I have no doubt, vindications and corroborations of his views.

"I have myself read many parts of his book with admiration, and some with doubt. He brings us now to the margin of the widest linguistic field, and now to the brink of dark linguistic abysses, on which I am compelled to 'linger shivering.' I have, however, a strong conviction of his general accuracy, and the soundness of his principal idea. Give us the sounds of Chinese as exhibited in their phonetics, and the root-sounds of the Semitic, Turanian, Sanscrit, and other systems of languages, and it will appear that the fathers of the different races speaking them all sat or lay around the

same hearth, and could have oral communication with one another.

"I have now done what it was my object to do in this paper,—very imperfectly, indeed, but so, I hope, as to convey to my hearers or readers a distinct, though general, idea of what has been done in Chinese philology, and of what is its present state. I would be allowed to observe, in conclusion, that as most of the workers in the Chinese field have been missionaries, what they have done in philology has been almost entirely in subservience to their more direct and important object. They have not done little in it, but the work so accomplished is not a tithe of what has been accomplished in other departments. To say nothing of their translations of the sacred Scriptures, and the preparation of hundreds of tracts and larger works on Christian doctrines and duty, they have translated or written many books on Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Algebra, Natural Science, Geography, History, and various departments of Surgery and Medicine. The Religions and Literature of China have engaged their close attention. The religion proper of China and its ethics, what is generally termed Confucianism, has been very much my own peculiar field, and the results are to be found in my large work on the Chinese Classics, with a translation of them into English, and various other matter. Eitel and Edkins have worked on Buddhism, in which they have had as a collaborator the Rev. Mr. Beal, a Chaplain of Her Majesty's Fleet, now in this country; and Chalmers has worked on Taouism. From the Diplomatic and Customs Services several labourers are now in the field, the course of Mr. Wade being ably followed by Mayers, Watters, and others. In the Preface to his Dictionary, Dr. Williams observes that 'in order to the making of a complete Anglo-Chinese Lexicon, there is, as a preliminary, the vast extent of the literature of the country to become familiar with.' That literature, however, is gradually being mastered in all its departments; and very much will have been done by the end of the present century towards its sufficient exhibition."

SEMITIC.

Last year's 'Address' contained a very valuable and elaborate report on Semitic and Assyrian Philology by the Rev. A. H. Sayce. This year we are enabled to make acquaintance with the latest researches in these branches of linguistics through the kindness of a non-member, the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, whose Hebrew scholarship is too well known to need special mention of here.

"The fascinating study of comparative philology and mythology is being prosecuted more zealously than heretofore by Semitic scholars. Theories indeed have never been wanting, but the facts were till lately comparatively few and insecure. Now, however, thanks to the exertions of several indefatigable scholars, encouraged by a general sympathy such as rarely falls to the lot of such students, fresh facts are pouring in upon us in such abundance, that the scanty band of labourers cannot nearly keep pace with discoveries. It is at present, to a great extent, pioneering work, and our successors will doubtless find much to rectify in it. But the complaint of Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his Address to the Semitic section of the Oriental Congress, is, one may almost say, daily losing its appropriateness. It cannot be said of Mr. George Smith's paper¹ on 'The Eleventh Tablet of the Izdubar Legends,' containing the Chaldean text of the Deluge-story, with a translation and philological notes, or of Mr. Sayce's² translations of the astronomical tablets of the Babylonians, with a lucid and fact-full introduction, that they belong to 'the sensational rather than the practical branch of the inquiry,' and contribute to 'build up a superstructure on insecure foundations.' No doubt both of these meritorious scholars have availed themselves of the favourable wind now blowing, and catered for the appetite of the 'general public,' as well as of scholars. But who can blame them? And if the 'general public' will digest such solid reading as the inscriptions translated in Mr. Smith's³ account of his expedition, and in the series of 'Records of the Past,'⁴ published by the

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1874, vol. iii. pp. 530-596.

² *ibid.* pp. 145-339.

³ *Assyrian Discoveries.* By George Smith. London, 1875.

⁴ *Records of the Past.* Being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments. 3 vols. London, 1874, 1875.

enterprise of Messrs. Bagster, all I can say is that they fully deserve the time and trouble bestowed upon them. But I am not writing to defend the leaders of English Assyriology. If this were the time and place, I should be quite ready to criticize the very obvious defects which characterize the form and manner of much of their work. But it would be wrong to suppose that their German and French colleagues are perfect models of scientific method. Such a work as the 'Assyrian Studies'¹ of the younger Delitzsch, full as it is of new and important matter, is marked also by an excess of confidence in his etymologies, which offends less imaginative scholars. Names of animals are probably obscure in most languages. Is it likely that they should be less so in Assyrian? The novelty of Friedrich Delitzsch's researches consists in the use which he, as the son of the most learned of Christian Hebraists, has been the first to make of the language of the Talmud. The eighth excursus of his book shows conclusively that ancient Assyrian words (*e.g.* names of winds) were still current among the Talmudists in the time of the Sassanids. Dr. Delitzsch, like his accomplished teacher in Assyrian, Prof. Schrader, whose valuable work on the 'Descent of Ishtar'² I have only space to mention as one to be got and read by all Semitic philologists, is conscientious even to an extreme in giving a grammatical and etymological analysis of the texts quoted. A more general adoption of this practice is much to be desired, and I am glad to say that Mr. Sayce has given a grammatical analysis of the passages extracted from the inscriptions in his 'Grammar and Reading-book,' just brought out by Messrs. Bagster. I have also to mention the continuation of M. Lenormant's 'Etudes accadiennes,' containing texts of laws, hymns, and incantations in the original Accadian, mostly with the Assyrian versions, and in all cases transliterations and French translations; also of his 'Choix de Textes Cunéiformes,' consisting of bilingual and other texts from the British Museum. Just in time to be mentioned here, a copy has arrived of a new and great work³ by the same genial

¹ Assyrische Studien. Von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Heft 1.—Assyrische Thiernamen, u.s.w. Leipzig, 1874.

² Die Höllenfahrt der Ishtar. Ein altbabylonisches Epos. Nebst Proben assyrischer Lyrik. Von Dr. E. Schrader. Giessen, 1874.

³ La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes Touraniens. Etude de philologie et d'histoire, suivie d'un glossaire accadien. Par F. Lenormant. Paris, 1876.

writer and thoroughly learned philologist, which, under the form of a reply to the foolish challenge of M. Halévy, contains a complete verification of the statements of Assyriologues as regards the primitive Turanian language of Babylonia.

"It is only natural that a few provisional attempts should already be made to reconstruct Semitic mythology in accordance with the new facts of Assyriology. It is not necessary to caution genuine philologists against prematurely committing themselves to hypotheses, however plausible; and the pretenders to biblical criticism are too distant for us to reach. With that quickness of perception which characterizes him, Mr. Sayce has pointed out¹ a probable distinction between the two main groups of Genesis-narratives, those called (barbarously enough) Jehovistic being derived from Babylonia immediately, those called Elohistie mediated through Phœnicia. It is too soon to pronounce on the critical value of this hypothesis. A well-written summary by Dr. Schrader of his Assyrian researches must not be left unmentioned.² Dr. Spiegel, I regret to say, still clings to his views of the Iranian origin of parts of the early chapters of Genesis. My own studies, with a view to a historical work on Genesis, long ago convinced me that the affinities are greatly exaggerated, and that the Iranian myths cannot be the originals. It is satisfactory to me to find one of my private heresies converted into an orthodox dogma by Assyriology. Dr. Spiegel's present views on the relation of Semitic philology and mythology (chiefly the former) to the Avesta will be found in an essay in a new work of his, the title of which is given below.³ Among the grammatical debts of the ancient Bactrian to the Semitic, he specifies the expression of the neuter gender by the feminine ending, the limitation of the use of the dual, the collective use of the plural, the accusative of state, the indefinite temporal force of the imperfect, and the power of verbal nouns to govern the cases of their verb. This leads me to speak of Comparative Semitic Philology, and herein of two papers in a volume called 'Oriental Researches,'⁴ contributed to by seven

¹ The Origin of the Phœnician Cosmogony. By A. H. Sayce. *Academy*, March 20, 1874.

² In *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1875. Erstes Heft.

³ *Arische Studien*, von Fr. Spiegel. (II. 'Der Einfluss des Semitismus auf das Avesta.') Erstes Heft. Leipzig, 1874.

⁴ *Morgenländische Forschungen*. Festschrift Herrn Prof. Dr. H. L. Fleischer. . . . gewidmet von seinen Schülern, H. Derenbourg, H. Ethé, O. Loth, A. Müller, F. Philippi, B. Stade, H. Thorbecke. Leipzig, 1875.

pupils of Fleischer, the Nestor of European Semitic scholars. Philippi, already favourably known by his work on the Status Constructus in Hebrew, now writes on the fundamental stem of the strong verb in Semitic; Stade, mentioned by Mr. Sayce last year, gives the most accurate sketch we have yet had of the linguistic affinities of Phœnician; the interpretation of Phœnician inscriptions, has up to this time partaken too much of the arbitrary. It is natural to mention here the Phœnician publications of the year, viz. Prof. Wright's translation with commentary of the 'Melitensis Quarta,'¹ Prof. Euting's comment on six inscriptions from Idalion² (he throws more light on the names of the months), and M. de Vogüé's important publication of an inscription of Yehawmelek, King of Gebal (Byblos), belonging in all probability to the first half of the fifth century.³ This is the first monument discovered of the mysterious cultus of Baaltis, who here appears under her true name of Baalath. Linguistically, it is remarkable for the use of the present participle with the personal pronoun to express the present, and for a new form of the demonstrative pronoun, midway between the Aramaic and the Hebrew. Dr. Kaempf has added another (erudite rather than judicious) to the numerous interpretations of the inscription of Eshmunazar,⁴ and M. Derenbourg comments on the inscriptions of Malacba'al.⁵

"In Hebrew there is but little to report this year. The influence of theological and philological tradition has so clogged the study, that progress is next to impossible. Who will write, and if written, who will read, a really critical book on the language of the Old Testament? All that we can say at present is that the facts of one important part of the language have been lucidly arranged and commented upon by a young Oxford scholar,⁶ who has not only simplified the best part of Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch*, but corrected and improved the work of the "second founder," as Hitzig called him, "of scientific Hebrew grammar." The encomiums of which Mr. Driver's excellent work has been the

¹ In Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1874, pp. 389-399.

² Sechs Phönizische Inschriften aus Idalion. Von J. Euting. Strassburg, 1875.

³ Stèle de Yehawmelek, Roi de Gebal. Par M. le Comte de Vogüé. Paris, 1875.

⁴ Die Grabeschrift Eshmunazar's, Königs der Sidonier. Von Dr. S. I. Kaempf. Prag, 1874.

⁵ In Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions. 1874, p. 231, etc.

⁶ A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew. By S. R. Driver, M.A. Oxford, 1874.

subject sufficiently prove the deficiencies of English teaching of Hebrew. A good Neo-Hebrew dictionary has long been wanted, not only for the sake of Hebrew itself (for of course it was only ironically called just now 'the language of the Old Testament'), but still more for that of comparative Semitic philology. The success of Dr. Levy's 'Dictionary of the Targums'¹ gives every reason to anticipate an at least equal satisfaction from his 'Dictionary of the Targumim and Midrashim.' M. Halévy has published a volume of *Mélanges*,² which I should be sorry to characterize in a sentence. The most important of its component essays is perhaps one on the signification of *Eber-hannah* and *Aram-naharaim*, which the author explains in almost exactly the same way as the late Dr. Beke. Perhaps he does not allow sufficiently for the flexibility of ancient geographical terms, but his argument is in itself weighty, and more telling than that of his English predecessor. I can only give a passing mention to the latest and unhappily last work of Dr. Hitzig on Job (a philologist, and not a theologian); Dr. Kirchheim's edition of a tenth-century commentary on Chronicles; and the Hebrew commentary of Dr. Adler on the Targum of Onkelos. I might easily mention more names. The industry of the Jewish scholars is beyond all praise. Two of the greatest of them, Geiger and Frankel, have lately passed to their rest.

"In Samaritan, the difficult work of editing a Samaritan MS. of part of a Targum has been conscientiously performed by Mr. Nutt;³ of Dr. Brill's republication of a bad text, the less that is said the better.

"In Syriac, an important work has been begun by Professor Hofmann, of Kiel, viz. the publication of the lexicon of Bar-Ali;⁴ while Prof. Merx, of Giessen, who began, but never finished, the transformation of the old Hofmann's Syriac Grammar, has brought out, if I am not mistaken, the first methodical Neo-Syriac reading-book.⁵ The modern Semitic languages have

¹ *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim.* Von Rabbiner Dr. J. Levy. Nebst Beiträgen von Prof. H. L. Fleischer. [*In Progress.*] Leipzig.

² *Mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie sémitiques.* Par J. Halévy. Paris, 1874.

³ *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum*, edited from a Bodleian MS., with an Introduction, etc. By John W. Nutt, M.A. London, 1874.

⁴ *Syrisch-arabische Glossar.* Erster Band. Autographie einer Gothaischen Hdt., u.s.w. Kiel, 1874.

⁵ *Neusyrisches Lesebuch.* Von Dr. Adalbert Merx. Breslau, 1873.

evidently not been yet sufficiently utilized. Abbeloos and Lamy have brought out the second volume of their edition of *Bar Hebræus'* ecclesiastical chronicle. In Arabic we have, of course, to congratulate ourselves on a new part of Mr. Lane's '*Arabic-English Lexicon*,'¹ a work which none but that eminent Arabist could, and which, if deferred, never would have been performed. Prof. Wright has brought out a second edition, greatly enlarged, of his standard '*Arabic Grammar*.'² M. Meynard has published the eighth volume of *Masudi*;³ Signor Lasinio of Pisa, the text of an Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*; Prof. de Goeje, the *Diwan* of the poet Abu-'l-walid Moslim ibn-'l-Walid al-Anc (I adopt the editor's spelling) from a Leyden MS.; Dr. Mehrens, the translation of *Dimashki*; M. Boucher, the second part of his *Ferazdak*; and Prof. Delitzsch a translation of and commentary on some Arabic poems of Jewish origin in the *Hamasa*.

"There is one conspicuous omission in the above report, the Egyptological literature of the past year. I was led on insensibly from Assyrian philology to the historical inferences which are beginning to be drawn therefrom, and so through the intermediate step of Dr. Spiegel's essays to comparative Semitic philology. The Egyptologists have not been less productive than in former years. M. Mariette, M. Pierret, M. Lefébure, M. Grébaut, and M. Chabas, have each published or translated texts, and in the second volume of '*Records of the Past*' will be found literal translations by Dr. Birch, Prof. Lushington, Canon Cook, and Mr. Goodwin, besides foreign contributors. Prof. Lushington and Mr. Goodwin have also contributed Egyptological papers to the '*Transactions of the Biblical Archaeological Society*.'

"Not much has been written on the perplexing subject of Egyptian religion. M. Lefébure has published the first part of a study on the myth of Osiris. He thinks Horus and Set are personifications of the sky and the earth respectively. Brugsch-Bey of course treats of religion in the new edition of his lucid '*Histoire d'Égypte*,' but this is, I believe, the least satisfactory portion of that able and original work."

¹ An Arabic-English Lexicon, derived from the best and most copious Eastern sources. Part V. London, 1876.

² A Grammar of the Arabic Language. Second edition. 2 vols. London, 1874-75.

³ Maçoudi. *Les prairies d'or*. Texte et trad. par C. Barbier de Meynard. Tome VIII. Paris, 1874.

[The Proceedings of the American Oriental Society for 1874 contain the following interesting papers :—

1. On the use of **ה** in Hebrew with Negative Particles. By Prof. C. M. Mead, of Andover, Mass.

2. On Phœnician Inscriptions in the Cyprus Collection of Di Cesnola. By Rev. W. H. Ward, of New York.

3. On the Assyrian and Babylonian Monuments in America. By Rev. Selah Merrill, of Andover, Mass.]

SANSKRIT.

Sanskrit is a wide field of inquiry, and scholars are wisely limiting their investigations to special portions of it. Some to philosophy or law, others to literature or grammar. Vēdic literature will, of course, always attract to it the ripest scholars; and Vēdic grammar is highly important and necessary for the historical treatment of the Sanskrit language. For a succinct account of the latest researches in this department, I have to acknowledge the kindness of Prof. Eggeling, a personal friend of the late Dr. Goldstücker, whose interest in our Society was patent to all who were in the habit of meeting him at our fortnightly gatherings.

“The study of the Vedic writings has been materially aided during the last two or three years by several important publications. The completion of Professor Max Müller’s edition of the hymns of the Rigveda, with Sāyana’s comment, in six portly volumes, the first of which was brought out in 1849, is an event which must have given satisfaction to every Sanskrit scholar. The question as to the degree of authority which has to be ascribed to native tradition as embodied in comparatively modern commentaries, such as those of Sāyana, cannot be more than touched upon here. In the late Professor Goldstücker, as the members of the Philological Society must be aware, has passed away one of the most thorough-going champions of the traditional interpretation of the Veda. The difference, however, between his views on this point and those of other scholars was, practically, one of degree rather than of principle. Goldstücker never could claim for the

Hindu exegetes the authority of infallible guides in the explanation of obscure Vedic passages; but what he insisted upon was the continuity of traditional exegesis from times when those by whom the effusions of the ancient bards were handed down were comparatively familiar with their idiom and vocabulary. Even if such were the case—which is by no means admitted by other scholars—the very fact of more than one rendering being often suggested by the scholiasts for one and the same passage or word, a fact for which Goldstücker was inclined to account by differences of *śākhās*, or recensions, would suffice to show that much of the language of the hymns must have become obscure before the first attempts were made at explaining them. Professor Roth, of Tübingen, was the first to raise the standard of an independent Vedic exegesis. The results of his labours in this respect have been chiefly put forth in the *St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary*, jointly edited by him and Dr. Böhtlingk, a publication which is now rapidly approaching towards completion, and which has contributed more than any other work to the progress made in the study of Sanskrit literature during the last twenty years. The cause of the native interpretation has recently been taken up again by Professor Haug, of Munich, chiefly in a paper read by him before the London Oriental Congress in September last, and in a contribution to the '*Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*.' The latter paper is nominally a review of the *Vedic Chrestomathy* recently published by Professor Delbrück, of Jena; but as his explanations of the hymns he has selected are avowedly based chiefly upon the renderings of the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, this, as well as the former article, has to be looked upon as a new arraignment of the exegetic views and principles of Professor Roth. The strictures, however, contained in these papers, even if they were all equally well-founded, cannot be said in any way materially to shake the position of Professor Haug's opponents, though they do no doubt show that the interpretation offered by the native exegetes should always be taken into consideration before an independent explanation is attempted. It is precisely for these reasons that Sanskrit scholars may

congratulate themselves on having now the whole of Sāyana's comment on the Rik-saṃhitā made accessible to them in Professor Müller's edition. The two concluding volumes, published in 1872 and 1875 respectively, are the more useful as they also contain a complete *index verborum*, as well as an index of the uttara-padas, or last members of compound words. Prof. Max Müller has also recently brought out a complete edition, the first in the Devanāgarī character, of the text of the Rīgveda-saṃhitā, both in its combined and uncombined forms. These volumes must have been especially welcome to Hindu students, who are not as yet, as a rule, favourably disposed towards the Roman character in which Professor Aufrecht's edition, that has been so useful to European scholars, was printed.

"Another publication of considerable usefulness is a Glossary of the Rīgveda now brought out by Dr. H. Grassmann, of Stettin. This work, which, though mostly following the renderings of the St. Petersburg Dictionary, teems with valuable independent interpretations, is to be completed in six parts, of which three have hitherto been published.

"Of the second, enlarged, edition of Dr. John Muir's valuable series of 'Original Sanskrit Texts,' the fourth volume has appeared during the period under review. In it are brought together, with translations and full comments, all the more important texts, illustrating, in a highly instructive manner, the gradual development from their Vedic sources of the conceptions of the principal modern Hindu deities, viz. the triad Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva (Rudra), and the goddess Umā (Durgā, etc.).

"Dr. A. Burnell, of the Madras C. S., who is doing such excellent work in almost every branch of Indian research, has undertaken a complete edition of the eight Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda, together with Sāyana's comment. Three of these works, viz. the Sāmavidhāna, the Devatādhyāya, and the Vamśa Brāhmaṇas, have already been published, the last-named with an interesting preface, in which the identity of Sāyana and Mādhava, who are generally considered to have been brothers, is maintained with some amount of plausibility.

“Professor Benfey of Göttingen has made a beginning towards bringing out his long-expected Vedic Grammar. In an interesting paper lately published by him in the ‘Abhandlungen’ of the Göttingen Academy, he discusses fully the condition in which the Samhitā, or combined text, of the Veda has been handed down to our days, and arrives at the conclusion that, at the time when these collections were made, the ancient diaskeuasts must have had before them the identical text in which they have come down to us. Professor Benfey proposes, in a series of preliminary articles of a similar kind, to dispose of a number of important questions which could not be discussed in the grammar without materially increasing its bulk. The latter is intended to go over the whole ground of the Vedic language as presented to us in the five collections, including the two branches of the Yajurveda-Samhitā.

“Professor Delbrück of Jena, in his book ‘Das Altindische Verbum,’ has rendered a service to Vedic and comparative studies by furnishing a comprehensive scheme of the verbal forms in the Rigveda.

“In the eleventh and twelfth volumes of his ‘Indische Studien,’ Professor Weber of Berlin has published, in the Roman character, the first complete edition of the Taittirīya-Samhitā, together with extracts from the Padapāṭha, references to parallel passages, and indexes of the beginnings of chapters and verses. As the edition of Sāyana’s commentary, which is now printed at Calcutta, in the Bibliotheca Indica, will probably not be completed for some years, Prof. Weber has added in the latter part of the work extracts from that comment on passages of especial interest. Another feature of his edition consists in reference being made throughout to the Prātisākhya, or system of phonetics, belonging to this Veda, published by Professor Whitney of New Haven.

“The thirteenth volume of the same series also contains some valuable papers, by Professor Weber, on Vedic subjects, viz. an exhaustive disquisition on the peculiarities of the Padapāṭha of the Taittirīya-Samhitā, a translation and explanation of the second book of the Atharvaveda, reprinted

with some additions from the monthly proceedings of the Berlin Academy, and a further instalment of his essay on Vaidik ritual.

"After an interval of nearly twenty years since the publication of their joint edition of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, Professors Roth and Whitney are about to prepare for the press the second part of their work, which is to contain the critical apparatus, besides several useful appendages. Their manuscript material has since been increased by several copies from various parts of India. An acquisition of especial importance, however, is a Kashmir manuscript containing a different recension of the same Veda, viz. the text of the Paippalāda-Śākhā. In a programme of the Tübingen University, Professor Roth has given an account of this recension, which greatly differs from the text commonly found in Indian MSS. (and called by him *vulgata*), not only in its readings but also in the arrangement of the hymns, and even of the verses of the same hymn, whilst it also contains many pieces which do not occur in the other version,—circumstances which are justly dwelt upon as having a strong bearing on the question regarding the continuity of the native tradition.

"The subject of Dr. E. Grube's inaugural dissertation is a treatise called Suparṇādhyāya, which, though reckoned among the supplements of the Rīgveda, and containing many archaic forms and expressions, is evidently of comparatively modern origin. The work relates the well-known legend (also fully narrated in the Mahābhārata, and alluded to in some of the Vedic books) of the contest between Suparṇī (or Vinatā), mother of Aruṇa and Garuḍa (Suparṇa), and Kadrū, the mother of serpents, ending in the former becoming the slave of the latter, until she is restored to liberty by her son Garuḍa by means of the ambrosia which, after a terrible struggle, he has succeeded in taking away from the gods. Dr. Grube has supplied a critical text, with extracts from the Padapāṭha and an index verborum; and in the introduction has collected from the works hitherto published all that relates to the same legend.

“In an elaborate paper on the Sanskrit accent, published in the Transactions of the Munich Academy, Professor Haug presents, in a clear and excellent manner, an exhaustive account of the different modes and theories of Vaidik accentuation, partly drawn from works not hitherto accessible to European scholars, manuscripts of which he procured during his residence in India. One of the objects of the article is, moreover, to show the erroneousness of the views of European scholars in regard to the Vedic accent. In Professor Haug’s opinion, based upon the present recitation of the Vedic texts as heard by himself from the mouths of Mahratha Brahmans, the accentuation of the Vedic Samhitās represents by no means the real accent of the language, but merely a kind of poetic or musical modulation; and, instead of the udātta (corresponding to the Greek ὀξύς), which was hitherto considered to mark the accented syllable in our sense of the word, we should accustom ourselves to consider the anudātta as playing that important part. The only text which, according to Professor Haug, marks the real accents of the language, is the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Some fatal objections, however, have been raised to these views; especially the numerous analogies throughout the language between the udātta and the word-accent in allied tongues; and the close connexion between the udātta and the gunation of vowels in many grammatical formations.

“Our materials for the study of Sanskrit grammar have of late received several additions. Patanjali’s great commentary on the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya, which is indispensable for a correct understanding of that work, and of Kātyāyana’s criticisms on it, has at last been made accessible to scholars, together with the gloss of Kaiyaṭa, in a lithographed edition, by two learned Professors of the Benares College, Pandits Rājarāmaśāstrin and Bālaśāstrin. The India Government has also brought out, in Dr. Forbes Watson’s establishment, a photo-lithographic reproduction of three excellent MSS., containing the Mahābhāṣya and the comments of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa. This magnificent work, originally undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Gold-

stücker, consists of six volumes of together 4674 pages, of which 4400 had been passed through the press by himself when fate suddenly took him from amongst us. Until a really critical edition of the Mahābhāṣya is undertaken—a task for which no one was perhaps better qualified than Goldstücker—the Indian lithograph will be invaluable to scholars, whilst those who have the volumes of the India Office within reach may consult them whenever doubts should arise as to the correctness of the former. In the thirteenth volume of his 'Indische Studien,' Professor Weber has already given a summary of such gleanings from the work as appeared to him of historical and antiquarian interest. Meanwhile a discussion has been carried on in the Indian Antiquary between the same scholar and Professor Bhandarkar of Bombay with regard to the age of this work. The latter scholar, for independent (and in my opinion cogent) reasons, agrees with Goldstücker in placing the composition of the Bhāṣya about the middle of the second century B.C., whilst Prof. Weber assigns it to a date several centuries later.

"Professor Kielhorn's excellent translation of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's Paribhāṣenduśekhara, being a comment on a body of grammatical Paribhāṣas, or maxims intended to assist a correct interpretation of Pāṇini's rules, is now complete. In answer to the question, whether or not Pāṇini, in composing his grammar, adopted and was guided by these maxims, Dr. Kielhorn has arrived at the conclusion 'that by far the greatest number of these Paribhāṣas must, either consciously or unconsciously, have been adopted already by Pāṇini, and must therefore be adopted also by us, when we wish to explain and apply the rules of that great grammarian, and to ascertain the value and accuracy of their traditional interpretation.'

"The text of an original grammar, the Kātantra, has been recently brought out, together with the commentary of Durgasimha, by the writer of these remarks. This work, though presupposing Pāṇini and the earlier works connected with his sūtras, is of some interest, inasmuch as it presumably is the oldest grammar in which a philosophical

arrangement is adopted, and on account of its being closely connected with, and probably the source of, the oldest Pâli Grammar, that of Kachchâyana.

“The beautiful and sufficiently close translation of the Râmâyana, in rhymed octosyllabic verses, for which we are indebted to the poetical gift of Professor Griffith of Benares, and through which, it is to be hoped, a wider circle of the general public will become acquainted with this great national epic of the Hindus, is steadily progressing towards conclusion. The four volumes which have hitherto been published contain five out of seven cantos.

“Professor Kern of Leiden, the learned editor of Varâhamihira’s astrological system, the Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ, has presented us with another fruit of his astronomical studies, viz. an edition of the Âryabhaṭṭya, the author of which, Âryabhaṭa, was born in A.D. 476, as is stated by himself. Along with the text, Professor Kern has given the Bhaṭa-dîpikâ, a commentary on the work, by Paramâdîśvara. An excellent annotated translation of the Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ, by the same scholar, is in course of publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

“The latest results in the field of Sanskrit lexicography in Europe were fully reviewed by Dr. John Muir in Mr. Ellis’s Address in 1873. Professor Târanâtha Tarkavâchaspatis of Calcutta, best known by his excellent edition of the Siddhânta Kaumudî, is engaged in bringing out a dictionary, entirely in Sanskrit, entitled Vâchaspatyam. The work was originally intended to be completed in ten parts; but as the five parts hitherto published, consisting of 1198 quarto pages, only bring the matter up to about the middle of the fifth letter of the alphabet (viz. to *upakrama*), the compiler having apparently been unable to withstand the temptation of giving long extracts, the work is evidently in danger of sharing the fate of some other publications of its kind.

“The re-issue of Colebrooke’s ‘Miscellaneous Essays,’ which in their time contributed so much to the general knowledge of the ancient literature and institutions of the Hindus, must have been gratifying to all who take an interest in Indian

subjects. This new edition, which includes some essays not contained in Rosen's original edition, has been ably superintended by Professor Cowell, by whom references and notes have been added on points on which new light has been thrown by modern researches. The essay on the sacred writings of the Hindus has been supplemented by Professor Whitney with a considerable number of valuable notes, bringing it up to the level of our knowledge of the subject. The value of the new edition is further enhanced by an exhaustive and highly interesting biography of the great scholar, from the pen of his son, Sir Edward Colebrooke.

"The recent volumes of the German Oriental Society contain several valuable contributions on subjects connected with Sanskrit literature. Professor Roth has given an account of the oldest Hindu system of medicine of which we know, the Charaka-Saṃhitā, of which an edition has lately been begun at Calcutta, though unfortunately accompanied with so extremely prolix a comment by the editor, that, if it is continued in the same way, many years must pass before we can hope to obtain a complete text of the work. Professor Windisch has published the text, with a translation and explanatory notes, of an interesting Jaina treatise, the Yogaśāstra of Hemachandra; and Professor Aufrecht has contributed to the same Journal a selection, both text and translation, from the Śārngadhara-Paddhati, an anthology of moral, erotic, and descriptive verses, which is especially valuable on account of its containing specimens from the works of a considerable number of poets and poetesses whose names are here given, but of whom nothing further is known. A contribution by the same scholar to the knowledge of works hitherto accessible in manuscript only, deals with the principal commentaries on the Amarakośa, their probable date, and the authors quoted in them.

"Several interesting papers were read at the Āryan Meeting of the Congress of Orientalists in September last. Besides Professor Haug's paper on the Interpretation of the Veda, already adverted to, a full and lucid account was given by Professor Stenzler of Breslau of the Hindu doctrine of *prā-*

yaśchitta, or expiation; whilst Mr. Shankar P. Pandit discussed the date of Kālidāsa, and in a convincing manner maintained the identity (which had been doubted by some scholars) of the author of the Śākuntala and other dramas with that of the Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, and Meghadūta. Professor Thibaut also read a highly interesting paper on the Śulvasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, treatises which, in teaching the various modes of constructing altars, present to us the first beginnings of geometrical operations among the ancient Hindus; and prove, according to Dr. Thibaut's showing, that approximate solutions of important problems, such as the Pythagorean problem and the squaring of the circle, were independently arrived at by them at a very early period.

"The series of Sanskrit texts published under the name of Bibliotheca Indica by the Asiatic Society of Bengal has as usual received numerous additions. Among the works recently completed, Bābū Rājendralāla Mitra's edition of the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka, with Śāyana's comment, deserves especially to be noticed. In the interesting preface, an account is given of the ceremonies dealt with in the work, including a full discussion of the origin of the rite of widow-burning, or Sati (*i.e.* 'faithful wife').

"In the Bombay Sanskrit Series, Dr. Bühler has supplied a long-felt want by publishing a critical edition of Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracharita.

"In 1866, a Sanskrit Text Society was founded in London, with Dr. Goldstücker as principal editor. The operations of the Society, which have been suspended since his death, are at last about to be resumed, Professor Cowell of Cambridge having undertaken to complete the edition of the Jaiminiya-nyāyamālāvistara, a work of some importance for the study of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, left unfinished by Goldstücker. Several other scholars have already promised to assist in editing certain works, and there is thus every prospect of the Society soon realizing the expectations entertained at its foundation.

"The Indian Antiquary, a monthly magazine devoted to the

history, literature, and antiquities of India, and edited by Mr. James Burgess of Bombay, contains much useful information on various points connected with Sanskrit literature. Of especial interest have been the discussions carried on in its pages between Professors Weber and Bhandarkar and Mr. K. T. Telang with regard to the dates of the Mahābhāshya and the Rāmāyana; and some contributions by Dr. John Muir of moral and religious sentiments culled from various Sanskrit writings.

“For some years the official examination and cataloguing of Sanskrit MSS. in India has been carried on with considerable energy and success. The catalogues issued by Bābū Rājendra-lāla Mitra and Drs. Bühler and Kielhorn afford an admirable view of the MS. treasures in Northern and Western India; and from the *Catalogue Raisonné* of the extensive library at Tanjore, which has been prepared by Dr. Burnell, and is now about to be printed, considerable additions may be expected to our knowledge of Sanskrit books in the south. The labours of Dr. Bühler in searching for old and rare books in the northern division of the Bombay Presidency have hitherto been attended with signal success, a number of most important works having already been brought to light by him.”

PĀLI AND SINHALESE.

Of late years Sanskrit scholars have been turning their attention to Pāli, Prakrit, and the modern dialects of India; and their value to general philology cannot be over-rated. Pāli bears very much the same relation to later Sanskrit that Early English does to Old English. A moderate acquaintance with Sanskrit enables one to master Pāli with very little effort. The connexion of Pāli with the Buddhistic Scriptures has, to a certain extent, created an interest in its favour, and raised up zealous students of the sacred language and literature of Ceylon. The writer of the following report on Pāli studies, who is not a member of our Society, most kindly responded to my request that he should aid me

in the completeness of this Address. My friend Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids is well qualified for the task imposed upon him by his acquaintance with Sanskrit, Sinhalese, and Tamil. His papers, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, are original and independent contributions to our knowledge of a language the number of whose students in this country may be counted on one's fingers.

"Pāli scholarship has of late taken such rapid strides, and shown so much promise for the future, that it may fairly claim at last a position of its own; and as the subject has not been mentioned in former reports, the following brief account of what has been hitherto done in that field may be not unwelcome to the members of the Philological Society.

"Since the publication, in 1826, of the *Essai sur le Pāli* by Eugène Burnouf and Prof. Lassen, nothing further was done in Europe for nearly thirty years, except the editing of two short texts by Prof. Spiegel in 1841 and 1845,¹—all these three scholars having deserted their first love for fields of labour which then appeared more promising or more attractive. One of the chief causes of this was the want of MSS., there being then probably no Pāli MSS. in Europe, except a few at the Royal Library in Paris: a few years ago, however, that library added to them the magnificent collection, especially rich in sacred and philological works, made by the late M. Grimblot when French Consul in Ceylon; the University of Cambridge has since acquired another collection, especially rich in historical works; and several of the great libraries possess one or more MSS., mostly of grammatical books or parts of the Buddhist Scriptures. There is, therefore, now no longer such great lack of materials; and as a good grammar and a good dictionary will probably see the light before the end of the year, the path to further progress will be comparatively easy.

"The first important step in advance was the publication in 1837 at Colombo in Ceylon of the first volume of the *Mahāvamsa* by the Hon. G. Turnour, of the Ceylon Civil Service,—a work which was not only the foundation of all Pāli scholarship, but also of the highest importance for the history of India. It rendered

¹ *Kammavākyam*: liber de officiis sacerdotum Buddhistarum (Bonn, 1841), pp. xv. and 39.—*Anecdota Palica* (Bonn, 1845), pp. 92, containing the first four chapters of the *Rasavāhini* and a fragment of the *Sutta Nipāta*.

certain the identification of Sandracottus with Candragupta, thus fixing the one point of ancient Indian chronology which can be depended upon as a basis for further calculation, and furnished, as Prinsep said, 'an infallible *Tikā*' on the rock inscriptions of Asoka;¹ it showed that great reliance could be placed on the chronicles and records of Ceylon, where the historic sense, so lamentably deficient among the Hindus, still survived among the Buddhists; and it proved the existence of a connected and evidently faithful account of the history of Ceylon for more than 1900 years. The text, however, edited from a single MS. (now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford), is in many places incorrect, and the translation not always to be depended upon; the second volume also was never published, so that a new edition of this valuable book is much required.² There are three MSS. of the *Mahāvamsa* at Cambridge, and one at the India Office Library in London; while at Cambridge there is one copy, and at Paris another, of the author's own *Tikā* or Commentary upon it.

"After a long interval, Mr. Fausbøll, of Copenhagen, took in 1855 the next step by the publication of his edition of the *Dhammapada*, or Path of Virtue, of which Prof. Max Müller says,³ 'This *editio princeps* of the *Dhammapada* will mark for ever an important epoch in the history of Pāli scholarship; and though later critics have been able to point out some mistakes, the value of their labours is not to be compared with that of the work accomplished single-handed by that eminent Danish scholar.' This publication does for the sacred what Mr. Turnour's work does for the historical literature of Ceylon. Though the *Dhammapada* is a compilation from other books of the three caskets, and cannot therefore have originally belonged to the canon, it was included among the inspired writings at the Second Council of the Buddhist Church held under the Emperor Asoka about 250 B.C., and is not only an excellent specimen, but a nearly com-

¹ Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. vii. p. 264; vol. vi. p. 792.

² Mr. Turnour's edition gives the first 38 chapters and chapter 59. I have edited the 39th and 73rd chapters, the latter in the J.R.A.S. Ceylon Branch for 1873, and the former in the J.R.A.S. 1874, pt. ii. Mr. J. d'Alwis has edited part of the 93rd chapter in his Descriptive Catalogue, p. 114; Mr. Louis de Zoysa has translated the 68th and 69th chapters in J.R.A.S. Ceylon Branch for 1856-1858, and as these sheets are being sent to the press, I learn that the second part is to be edited in Colombo by two leading native scholars.

³ *Buddhaghosha's Parables*, translated by Captain T. Rogers (London, Trübner & Co., 1870), *vide* p. x.

plete compendium of Buddhist ethics. Prof. Weber, of Berlin, has since published a German translation of the *Dhammapada* in the fourteenth volume of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (reprinted in the *Indische Streifen*, vol. i.); and Prof. Max Müller, of Oxford, an English one in the introduction to *Buddhaghosha's Parables*. Both versions are accompanied by notes; and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1871 (new series, vol. v.), Mr. Childers has published some further notes, bearing especially on those passages which treat of Nirvāṇa. Mr. Childers had previously published in the *Journ. R. A. S.* for 1869 the *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, the shortest book in the Buddhist Bible, containing the creed and several short sutras, or sermons, in verse. Besides this and the *Upasampadā-Kammavācā*, the ritual by which Buddhist laymen are admitted to the order of mendicants—an excellent edition of which by Mr. Dickson, of the Ceylon Civil Service, was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1873,¹ and will quite supersede the above-mentioned edition by Prof. Spiegel,—the text of the *Dhammapada*, which occupies in Mr. Fausböll's edition the half of 75 pages 8vo., is the only portion of the Buddhist canon which has yet appeared. When it is considered that the Buddhist Scriptures contain about 1,800,000 words, that is, that allowing for the greater length of Pali words, they would fill about six 8vo. volumes of 1000 pages each of the size and type in which this article is printed,² it will be seen how large

¹ The *Upasampadā-Kammavācā*; being the Buddhist Manual of the form and manner of ordering of priests and deacons. By J. F. Dickson, B.A., 16 pp., of which the text occupies 3.

² Great misconceptions have prevailed with regard to the supposed enormous extent of the Buddhist Scriptures; thus Spence Hardy says (*Eastern Monachism*, p. 190) that "in size the *Pitakas* surpass all western compositions," and Sir Coomāra Swāmi (*Sutta Nipāta*, p. x) talks of "the vast mass of original writings, irrespective of the commentaries, in which the doctrines of Buddhism are embodied." From a calculation I have made as to the length of our own Bible, exclusive of the Apocrypha, it would appear that it contains between 900 and 950 thousand words, so that the Buddhist Scriptures are only about twice as long as the Bible is. The statement that the former contain about 1,800,000 words depends on the following calculation: I have counted the words in the first 221 verses of the *Dhammapada*, which are a fair sample of the whole, and find that they amount to 3001. The 431 verses in Fausböll's edition ought to contain therefore rather less than 6000 words. In the list of the *Tripiṭaka* given by Turnour in his *Mahāvāṇa*, p. lxxxv, the *Dhammapada* is said to occupy 15 leaves, and the whole *Tripiṭaka*, exclusive of the *Jātakappakaraṇa* and the *Niddesa*, to occupy 4382 leaves of about the same size. This gives 1,752,800 words for the whole text, exclusive of the two works just mentioned; but the calculation is of course only approximate.

is the yet unexplored field in this department only of our subject; not to speak of the orthodox commentaries, about equal in bulk to the text on which the comment, and of the many important Pāli books on secular subjects, historical, medical, grammatical and lexicographical, which still remain to be edited.

"Of the commentaries we have as yet only extracts, the most important being those added by Mr. Fausböll to his edition of the *Dhammapada*, and the Jātaka stories which he has published separately. These are found in the commentary on the *Jātakappakarana*, or book on the previous 550 births of Buddha, and have excited much interest from their containing many of the comical stories, fables, and fairy tales with which we are so familiar in the West. The *Makasa Jātaka* (where a son, in killing a mosquito on his father's head, kills his father too) was published with a German translation in the *Bericht der kön. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* for 1858; nine more Jātaka stories, five with an English translation, appeared under the title *Five Jātakas* in 1861; two more under the title *Two Jātakas* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1870; three more under the title *Dasaratha Jātaka* in 1871; and finally twelve more under the title *Ten Jātakas* in 1872. These twenty-seven texts, apart from their intrinsic interest, afford the best introduction to a knowledge of Pāli, both style and matter being very easy, and nineteen of them being accompanied by translations into English. Finally a complete edition of the *Jātaka aṭṭhakathā* has been announced (the first part having already appeared in Copenhagen), the text to be edited by Mr. Fausböll, while the translation is to be the work of Mr. Childers.

"In connexion with the orthodox commentaries should be mentioned the *Pāṭimokkha*, a compendium of the *Winaya Piṭaka*, or rules for the guidance of the priesthood, as the *Dhammapada* is of the general system of Buddhist ethics. Unlike the *Dhammapada*, however, the *Pāṭimokkha* was never included in the canon, and was probably therefore composed after or only shortly before the Council of Pāṭaliputra; of this work an edition in Devanāgarī character,¹ with Russian translation and notes, was published in 1869 by Mr. Minayeff, of St. Petersburg, who has now gone to Ceylon to study Buddhism on the spot. Another

¹ *Prātimokkhasūtra buddhiskij skudebniku izdannij i perevedennyj I. Minayeffymu. Sankt-Peterburgu*, 1869. 8vo. pp. lii. and 120, of which the text occupies 24.

edition, in Roman character, with English translation and notes, by Mr. Dickson, will appear in the next volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

"We come now to the grammatical works, among which the first was the *Pali Grammar* of Mr. James D'Alwis, published at Colombo in 1863, which, while making no pretensions to an exhaustive treatment of the subject, broke ground by giving us the text of one chapter from Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar, that on verbs.¹ On this work a long and favourable review was contributed to the nineteenth volume of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* by Prof. Weber; but Mr. D'Alwis did not continue his labours in this branch of the subject, and it was not till 1869 that any further portion of Kaccāyana's text saw the light. Mr. Ernst Kuhn then published as his Doctor-dissertation in Halle the third chapter of Kaccāyana, that on syntax, and followed this up in 1871 by his *Kaccāyanappakarane specimen alterum*, containing another chapter, that on nouns. Finally, in the same year, M. Senart published in the *Journal Asiatique* a valuable edition of the whole text of Kaccāyana, so that at last this standard native work was made accessible to the European scholar. Meanwhile in Ceylon a deeply read native scholar, Pandit Devarakkhita Baṭuwantudāwa, had published in 1869 a complete edition of the *Bālāvatāra*, the Pāli Grammar universally used by beginners in that island.

"Of European treatises on Pāli Grammar, the first was the *Compendious Pāli Grammar* of the Rev. Benjamin Clough, of the Wesleyan Mission (Colombo, 1824), founded on a translation of the *Bālāvatāra* by Mr. Tolfrey.² Dr. Storck's Doctor-dissertation in Berlin in 1858 was entitled, *De declinatione nominum in linguā Pālicā*, and he printed at Münster in 1862 a second short treatise, *Casuum in linguā Pālicā formatio*. In 1867 appeared at Tungu, in Burma, a *Pāli Grammar* by Dr. Mason, forming Nos. 123 and 124 of the New Series of the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and professing to be based on Kaccāyana, rearranging the facts given by him 'in the order of European Grammars.' Though published in 1867, this work was written and accepted by the Bengal Asiatic Society as far back as 1854;³

¹ *An Introduction to Kaccāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language*. By James D'Alwis. Colombo, 1863. pp. cxxxvi. and 132, and the text on pp. xvi.

² Compare Barthélemy St.-Hilaire, *Journal des Savants*, Feb. 1866, p. 106.

³ See Introduction, p. 6.

its accuracy is by no means unimpeachable, and it has not been of great assistance to European scholars. Prof. Friedrich Müller, of Vienna, contributed from 1867 to 1869 three valuable papers on Pāli Grammar to the *Sitzungsberichten der Wiener Akademie*, and M. St.-Guyard published in Paris in 1874 a translation of a Pāli Grammar in Russian by Mr. Minayeff, whose edition of the *Pāṭimokkha* has been noticed above. Finally, all that is at present known on this subject has been admirably grouped and epitomized in the *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, von Ernst W. A. Kuhn,¹ which has reached my hands just as this article was being concluded, and which will supply the long-felt want of a Pāli Grammar, written from a thoroughly scientific standpoint. It will, however, be readily understood that with so few texts published, the Grammar of Pāli can at the best be only very imperfectly treated; very opportune, therefore, is the publication of the *Kātantra* by Prof. Eggeling, the first part of which has already appeared in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, as it is particularly on that Sanskrit Grammar that the Pāli Grammar of Kaccāyana is supposed to be based.²

"Passing now to the dictionaries, the first notice is due to the *Abhidhanappadīpikā*, edited with Sinhalese and English renderings of the words, and with copious indexes, by Waskaḍuwa Subhūti Unnāse, Colombo, 1865. This is a Pāli Vocabulary in 1203 verses, containing about 3500 words, arranged on the plan of the *Amarakosha*, and was due to the revival of learning in Ceylon under the reign of Parākrama the Great, at the end of the twelfth century A.D., at which time it was composed by Moggallāna, a then priest at the Jetavanawihāra at Anurādhapura. At the end of his edition, the learned editor has edited two short texts, viz. the *Ekakkharakosa* in 123 verses, by Saddhammakitti Mahāthera, who lived in the last century at Ratanāpura in Burma, and the *Vibhatyattha* in 37 verses, written about 1480 A.D. by a Burmese Princess in Arimaddana. As their names denote, the former is a vocabulary of one-lettered roots, i.e. of roots written with one vowel, or with one consonant and one vowel only; and the latter gives examples of the use of Pāli cases.

¹ Berlin. *Dümmler* (Harrwitz and Goessmann), 1875, 8vo. pp. vi. and 120.

² Compare the *Mahāsaddanīti* quoted by D'Alwis, Pāli Grammar, p. xl.; and see also Weber, *Review*, etc., p. 11 of the English translation (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867), and Kuhn, *Kacc. ppak. specimen*, pp. 19-21.

“In 1872 Don Andris da Silwā Baṭuwantudāwa Dewarakkhita Paṇḍit, the editor of the *Bālāvatāra*, published at Colombo the *Kaccāyana-Dhātumañjūsā*, a root-dictionary in verse by Silavansa, a Sinhalese priest of unknown date, the prefix *Kaccāyana* only denoting that it was composed on the principles laid down by *Kaccāyana* in the *Sandhikappa* regarding the classification of verbs. It does for verbs what the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* does for nouns, giving in 148 stanzas the meaning of 421 radicals, and is probably like the latter of comparatively modern date. Great credit is due to the able native scholars who have given us such excellent editions of these two standard works, in spite of the many difficulties and risks attending any such undertaking in Ceylon. Let us hope that their success will encourage them to the publication of some of the many sacred and historical works which are at present accessible only in MS. At the present time, when Pāli and Buddhism are attracting so much interest among European scholars, it is much to be regretted that the learned priests and pandits in Ceylon should confine themselves to oral teaching, and do so little in the way of publishing, which is, after all, only teaching to a larger circle of students; and considering that both the above works are already out of print, editions of parts of the *Tripiṭaka*, or of some of the many Sinhalese or Pāli books on history,¹ would surely meet with an encouraging circulation.

“As regards English labours in Pāli lexicography, Dr. Mason mentions in his *Pāli Grammar*² that Colonel Fytch, late Chief Commissioner of British Burma, had commenced a Pāli Dictionary several years before that grammar was published, and it is well known that Mr. Gogerly in Ceylon had arranged the words in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* in alphabetical order, and that the Rev. S. Coles, of the Church Mission in Ceylon, had taken much pains in improving and preparing Mr. Gogerly's papers for publication; but none of these works were actually published. Mr. Clough's *Sinhalese-English Dictionary* contains the explanation of a good many Pāli words; but the great want of a Pāli-English Dictionary is only now being supplied by Prof. R. C. Childers's complete and accurate work, of which the first part was published in

¹ For a short account of some of the more important of these, see the Appendix to my article in vol. vii. (n.s.) of the J.R.A.S. on Three Inscriptions of Parākrama Bāhu.

² Preface, p. ii.

1872,¹ and the second and concluding one will probably appear within the next two months. It contains almost, if not quite, all the words occurring in the hitherto published texts, with numerous examples and citations; though not pretending to finality, it will be the basis of all future Pāli lexicography, and its publication will, it is hoped, give a fresh impulse to Pāli scholarship.

"The only Pāli work on Pāli prosody as yet known is the *Vuttodaya* by Sangharakshita Unnāse,² whose date has not been ascertained; but the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris has also three commentaries upon it, and M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire speaks of four others still in existence in Burma.³ Mr. Minayeff has published in the fourteenth volume of the *Bulletin* of the Petersburg Academy an edition of the *Vuttodaya*, of which a rather full account had been given by Mr. Childers in a note to his *Khuddaka Pāṭha* mentioned above. Several passages only differ from corresponding passages in Pingala and Halāyudha as much as is necessary when Sanskrit is translated into Pāli.

"We now come to the *Attanagaluvaṇsa* of the learned Mr. James D'Alwis, published at Colombo in 1866. This is a temple legend written in the latter half of the thirteenth century by Anomadassi, the then Chief Priest of the Attanagalawihāra, near Colombo, Ceylon, or one of his pupils. Prof. Weber says of it: 'If this temple legend be compared with similar works of the kind,—e.g. the so-called *Mahātīrīya* of the Brahmins,—a difference greatly in favour of the Buddhist legend will be apparent. Instead of the wonderful tales of gods and heroes of the *Purāṇas*, we here possess a sober narrative, which indeed, though not altogether free from some mythical exaggeration (who could expect such a thing!), is nevertheless very evidently, and possibly faithfully, related to the truth.'

"Nearly connected with this work is the correct edition of the *Dāṭhavaṇsa* published in 1874 by Sir M. Coomāra Swāmy. This work is a Pāli translation of a much older work in Sinhalese,

¹ *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language*. By Robert Caesar Childers, late of the Ceylon Civil Service (London: Triibner & Co.), large 8vo. pp. xii. and 276.

² This has always been a favourite name among Sinhalese Buddhist priests; the first Sangharakshita was a contemporary with Buddha, whose history is given by Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, pp. 313 et seq.

³ *Journal des Savants*, Février 1866, p. 108.

⁴ *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 13 July, 1867, apud J. Alwis, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 34.

and was composed in the first years of the thirteenth century by Dharmakīrti, who was possibly also the author of the *Mahāvamsa* from the time of Kāśyapa down to the end of the reign of Parākrama the Great. It gives the history of the celebrated Tooth-relic of Buddha, which is still preserved at Kandy, and, with the exception perhaps of the sacred Bo-tree at Anurādhapura, is the highest object of veneration to the Buddhist world. Like the last-named work, the *Dāṭhavaṃsa* contains, amid a good deal of legendary matter, a good deal also of what is of much historical value; and its highly polished style and versification are valuable proofs of the state of literary culture during that period of Ceylon-history. The same author has published a translation of part of the *Sutta Nipāta*, which is of much interest for the history of Buddhism; but as the second volume, containing the text, has not yet appeared, it scarcely comes within the range of this article, which only attempts to render a brief account of the work hitherto accomplished in the publication of Pāli Grammars, Dictionaries, and Texts.

"The relation between Pāli and the Prakrits, and Pāli and Sanskrit, is considered in the papers of Dr. Friedrich Müller referred to above, and in an essay by Professor H. Kern, of Leyden,¹ and is again discussed by Dr. Kuhn in the introduction to his *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*. The tradition of the Southern Buddhists is that Pāli is identical with the language of Magadha as spoken at the time of Buddha, but it certainly differs greatly from the Māgadhi of the Prakrit grammarians. Professor Kern thinks that it is decidedly later than any dialect of the third century before our era, and that it would be rash to try to decide from what popular dialect, or dialects, the principal elements of Pāli were derived; neither it and the corrupt Sanskrit of the Gāthās of the Northern Buddhists being living tongues for those who employed them, but artificial languages no longer under the wholesome control of the current forms of speech. Dr. Pischel, of Breslau, in a review of *Beames's Comparative Grammar* in the *Academy*,² maintains the exactly opposite opinion, viz. that Pāli

¹ Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka den Buddhist: door H. Kern. Uitgegeven door de koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. (C. G. van der Post, Amsterdam, 1873.) 4to. pp. 120, of which an abstract is given by Dr. Muir in the *Indian Antiquary* for March, 1874, pp. 77-81.

² The *Academy*, 1873, pp. 397 *et seq.* Compare also pp. 30-33 of the essay

was the popular form of Māgadhi, while the Māgadhi of the grammarians was an artificial language adopted by the Sanskrit play-writers. The so-called Pāli, i.e. the language of the text or canon, as opposed to Elu, the language in which the commentaries were first written in Ceylon, being the dialect adopted by Mahendra in promulgating the Buddhist Scriptures in Ceylon, it was probably his own mother-tongue, unless it can be proved that at that time already the Buddhists had begun to look upon some other dialect as sacred. If, as is probable, only about a century and a half had elapsed between the time of Mahendra and Buddha's death, this is unlikely to have been the case; and it is expressly related in the *Dīpavansa* that the different sects differed in their views 'as to nouns and their genders, and the beauties of style,' that is, made use in their sacred books of different dialects. Now Mahendra was born in Ujjayinī, the capital of Mālava, being the son of a lady of that country whom Asoka married during his governorship of that province; and Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen, has already pointed out¹ that Pāli is almost, if not quite, identical with the dialect of that one of Asoka's Inscriptions which was put up nearest to Ujjayinī, viz. that of Girnar in Guzerāt. Both himself and Dr. Kuhn have thence been led to the conclusion that the Pāli, as it has come down to us in the Scriptures of the Southern Buddhists, is the dialect spoken in Mālava in the middle of the third century B.C.

"Finally, on the word *Pāli* itself, it may not be out of place to note that Mr. James d'Alwis states² that the language now called Pāli was called Māgadhi *before the time of Asoka*, and refers to the Sanyuttaka Nikāya, but unfortunately without chapter and verse. The earliest work in which the term Māgadhi has been as yet found applied to Pāli is the *Mahāvansa*, p. 253: the *Payogasiddhi* and the *Vibhanga-atthakathā* quoted by Alwis belonging, both of them, to the later period of Ceylon-literature, and the quotation given by Turnour as from *Kaccāyana* (Mah. xxii.) being really from the *Payogasiddhi*.³ Spiegel⁴ quotes a passage

or 'dissertation' de grammaticis Pracriticis, read by Dr. Fischel on his admission as Privatdocent at Breslau University, on the 22nd January, 1874, and published by Goschorsky & Co., Breslau, 8vo. pp. 43.

¹ Indbydelsesskrift til Kjöbnhavns Universitets Aarsfest til Erindring om Kirkens Reformation. Kjöbnhavn, 1860, 4to. pp. 90. *Vide* p. 87 of the German Translation, Breslau, Goschorsky, 1862.

² Introduction to Kaccāyana's Pāli Grammar, p. iii.

³ See Alwis's Introduction, pp. xiv., cvii. Compare also Daṭṭh. ch. i. verse 10.

⁴ Kammavākya, p. 5.

from Asoka's Inscription on the Feroz Lāt as containing the word *Pālī*, but this is a mistake.¹ The word is used in the meaning of *text* in the *Mahāvansa*, pp. 252, 253: it never occurs in Pāli to my knowledge in the sense in which we now use it. Pāli-bhāsa would mean in Pāli the language of the sacred texts; but in Sinhalese, Pāli-bhāsāwa means the Pāli language—not only of the Scriptures, but also of the commentaries and of the historical and other works in Pāli. Our use of the word is probably, however, derived from the Siamese, the word having been first used in Europe by Laloubère, French Ambassador to Siam in 1678, in his *Relation du Royaume de Siam*.

"In Sanskrit literature, according to Böhtlingk and Roth, the word *Pālī* occurs in the sense of: 1. the lobe of the ear; 2. edge. The dictionaries also give the sense of row; for which Böhtlingk and Roth cite one passage from the *Āttagovinda*: and from this sense must be derived its meaning in Pāli. On its ultimate derivation, which is uncertain, no opinion is expressed by Böhtlingk and Roth, but other writers have not been so discreet. Dr. Mason, in his *Pāli Grammar*, p. 13, gives a quotation from 'native lexicographers' to show that they derive Pāli from the root *pā*, to preserve, 'because it preserves the sense;' while Dr. Mason himself² and Minayeff³ connect it with *pāṭha*: and Mr. Alwis⁴ would seem to derive it from *pra+ali*, a derivation which Dr. Kuhn⁵ considers 'very possible perhaps, though not probable.' These derivations sound indeed soberness itself when we remember that Burnouf and Lassen⁶ mention an author, d'Herbelot, who connected both language and name with Pehlvi; and another, Leyden, who identified them boldly with the 'language of Balk': and that Alwis combats the opinion of some one who has apparently had the temerity to derive it from Palestine, or from 'Pali-tur in Tyre, the so-called Pali tower or fort,' and even to connect it with the Palatine hills of Rome!

"A few words may now be added on Sinhalese, even though the principal thing to be said is that there is very little to say. The first and by far the most important work on the Sinhalese language or literature which has yet been published is Mr. James D'Alwis's edition of the *Sīdat-saṅgarāva* (Siddhāntasaṅgraha), a grammar of

¹ See the rendering of this passage in the J. A. S. B., July, 1837.

² p. 11.

³ Gram. p. xxvii.

⁴ Introd. p. iv.

⁵ Beiträge, p. 11.

⁶ Introduction, p. 6.

the artificial poetical dialect used in the late period of Ceylon literature, of uncertain date, but supposed to have been written in the fourteenth century by Wedeha, Chief Priest of Patirājapiriwena, and the author also of *Padyamadhu*, *Rasavāhini*, *Samantakūṭa-vannanā*, and perhaps of the Pāli Grammar *Bālavatāra*, the plan of which is very closely followed in the *Sidat-sangarāwa*. As usual, Mr. D'Alwis indulges in a lengthy introduction, addenda, and appendices; the text occupying only 21 pages out of 532, and the introduction containing a long and very interesting sketch of Sinhalese literature, the source at present of almost all our knowledge on the subject. Of the *Sidat-sangarāwa* itself Pandit Tuḍāwa has since published an excellent edition with a *padagatasannaya* or explanation of each word in modern Sinhalese, and a glossary; but of the sketch of Ceylon literature in the introduction to Mr. Alwis's work a new edition is very much required. The only editions of Sinhalese texts for English readers are:—

1. That of the *Sālahini-sandese*,¹ a poem on the model of the *Meghadūta*, composed in the fifteenth century by a priest named Śri Rāhula, of Toṭagamuwa, and edited, with text, translation, notes, and a complete glossary, by W. C. Macready, late of the Ceylon Civil Service² (a son of the great tragedian), whose premature death was as great a loss to the Service as it was to literature.
2. The *Nāmāwaliya*, a vocabulary of the poetical dialect, composed on the model of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, in 1421 A.D., by a Minister of State named Nallaratun, and edited by the Rev. Cornelis Alwis, with translation, complete indices, and notes, in 1858.³ Both these editions are excellently done, though in the text of *Sālahini-sandese* the words are not so well divided as in the text of the *Nāmāwaliya*. Mr. Macready left behind him an edition of the *Parawī-sandese*, also by Toṭagamuwa, with text, translation, notes, and a complete glossary, quite ready for the press; and a less complete edition of the *Kāvyaśekara*, by the same author; but neither of these have been published.

"All the works just mentioned were written in the curious dialect treated of in the *Sidat-sangarāwa*, one peculiarity of which is a passion for short syllables. Thus in the extract

¹ The *æ* in Sinhalese is pronounced like English *a* in *hat*.

² Colombo, 1865. 8vo. pp. 100.

³ Colombo, 1858. 8vo. pp. 123.

given by Mr. Alwis from the opening lines of *Sālabhīni-sandese*¹ we have 12 lines containing only four syllables long by nature to sixteen syllables long by position, and to 189 short syllables; four lines consisting entirely of 22, 16, 16, and 18 short syllables respectively!

"Now the Sinhalese language has had a history similar in many respects to that of English. It is based on the dialect spoken by the colony from Sinhapura in Lāla, on the west coast of India, who drove into the remote parts of the island the former inhabitants, borrowing very little indeed from their language. Later on the Sinhalese derived their religion and literature from the opposite side of India, but in dialects akin to their own. It is true that Pāli and Sanskrit were more nearly related to Sinhalese than Norman-French and Latin were to English; but the result was in both cases a composite language based on the popular dialect, whilst deriving a great part of its richness and power from the foreign tongues—a result which lies very clearly before us in the present language of Ceylon,' and, to go further back, in the twelfth-century Inscriptions of Nissanka Malla, published by me in volume vii. (N.S.) of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, which, like those of Asoka, were undoubtedly meant to be understood by the people. We find from these sources that while the Sinhalese has lost all gender except in the pronouns, and in the names of living things, all case-endings for adjectives, and many for nouns, and all personal endings in the verbal forms, it contains a large proportion of Sanskrit words, and has a fair average of long syllables and of compound consonants. Take, for instance, the following sentence from the *Lakṣīwikirana*, or *Ceylon Sunbeam* of the 27th July, 1872:—*Toṭa-gamuwē Śrī-Rāhula-sāmin-wahansēwisin racanā-karanalada Elu pot ataren, Parawi-sandēsaya arthālamkāradīyen atīṣayen ma gāmbhīra potaka; Eluwa iganagannā ayāta itāma upakāṛiya.* 'Among the Elu books written by Śrī Rāhula of Toṭagamuwa, the *Pigeon Message* is one very full both of thought and of elegance, and is very useful to a person learning Elu.' Here nearly one-third of the syllables are long, and about 9 per cent. of the words retain their Sanskrit form almost unaltered. It is

¹ *Sīdat-sangarāwa*, p. cxcii.

² See, for instance, the leading articles in the *Lakṣīwikirana*, the leading Sinhalese newspaper.

all very well for a philanthropic native philologist to declare, as one or two Sinhalese pandits would, that these latter are not Sinhalese words at all. They are just as much, and just as little Sinhalese, as common words in English of Latin derivation are English; and they would be understood by any Sinhalese man of average intelligence. On the other hand, there are many words in the later Elu books which would be unintelligible to any native of Ceylon not specially instructed in Elu; and this, not because they are words which have dropped out of the language, but because they are words which never, at any time, formed part of the living speech of the country. If it could be supposed that the Elu poets had retained unaltered the old Sinhapura language, uncontaminated by the influence of Pāli or Sanskrit, their dialect would be one of the most interesting to the philologist in all India; but it is not so, and in their horror of compound consonants, and in their love for short syllables, they have been led to reject and modify so many words, that, at the gain of some musical sweetness, they have lost much of the power and beauty of their language.

“Though, therefore, the Elu poets have doubtless preserved for us many ancient forms, their works must be used with great discrimination and care: and if we wish to study the Sinhalese language as it has existed under the wholesome control of living speech, we must principally direct our attention to the earlier works and to the later prose writings. As an example of what I mean, I would instance the word *itiri* used by Mr. Childers¹ to prove that there are many words in which Sinhalese does not agree with Pāli. Now I have heard *istri*, *gēni*, *bawalataya*, and *hirē* used in the sense of woman or wife, but never *itiri*, which now occurs only in the verb *itiri-wenawā*, ‘to survive, to remain over;’ or alone in the sense of excessive, other, in which sense it occurs in the *Sālahini-sandese*, verse 100, and in the Sinhalese dictionary *Nāmāwaliya*, verse 28. *Istri* is very common indeed in the popular Sinhalese of the present day, and it is open to question whether *itiri* in that sense ever formed part of the living speech of the Sinhalese, though it certainly belongs to the poetic dialect, as it is given in that sense in verse 151 of *Nāmāwaliya*. If, therefore, the existence of this word in the poetic dialect be held to prove that the word existed in the old Sinhalese some centuries

¹ Notes on the Sinhalese Language, Journ. R.A.S., vol. vii. (n.s.), p. 35.

before the Christian era, and remained in the language till the fifteenth century, we have the remarkable case of a word of such vitality and applied to so common an object being completely pushed out by a foreign word within a comparatively short period. This is possible but not probable: and I can only say that when a form with compound consonants and long vowels is still in use in the present day, the occurrence in the poetic dialect of a form with short vowels and no compound consonants does not seem to me to be sufficient proof of its ever having been used in popular speech. I do not however, of course, intend to deny the great value of this poetic dialect for philological purposes, if the distinction between it and the spoken language be always kept in view; and I entirely agree with Mr. Childers that there are many words in Sinhalese unaffected by the Pāli. Indeed it seems to me that the number of the words which have reached Sinhalese through the Pāli, or rather which have been derived directly from the Pāli, is extremely limited.¹

"Of the earlier works we know as yet next to nothing, although it is apparent from Mr. d'Alwis's sketch that there are still in existence in Ceylon Sinhalese writings of a very high antiquity. He places the *Kudusika* and *Mulusika* in the fourth century of our era, gives us a verse composed by King Kumāraśśa (A.D. 515), and one of his court poets (*Kalidāsa*!), and assigns two long works by Gurulugōmi, the *Pradīpikāwa* and *Amāwatura*, to the middle of the sixth century.² However this may be, we possess several works from the time of Parākrama the Great in the twelfth century, and may trust native tradition so far as to place the works just mentioned considerably before his time. The old Sinhalese commentaries of the time of Mahendra are hopelessly lost, but Mr. Turnour states³ that the *Daladāwansa* (i.e. *Dhātādātuvansa*), a history of the celebrated Tooth-relic mentioned in the 37th chapter of the *Mahāvansa*, and therefore at least older than the fifth century A.D., was still extant in 1837; and that the *Rajāwaliya*, which is still extant, 'was composed by different persons, at various periods,

¹ If we suppose that Pāli is, as it were, first cousin to the father of Sinhalese, and Sanskrit first cousin to its grandfather, we shall probably be not far from the truth.

² There are two MSS. of the latter and one of the former in the Library of the University of Cambridge.

³ *Mahāvansa*, p. 241, note.

and has both furnished the materials to, and borrowed from, the *Mahāvansa*.¹ It is possible, however, that in the former passage he referred to the Pāli translation of the Sinhalese original, which only dates from the thirteenth century, and has just been edited by Sir Coomāra Swāmy; and that the *Rājāwāliya* is later than the first part, at least, of the *Mahāvansa*. So also the *Thapavansa*, though a very ancient work, is of unknown date, and the translation of the *Suttapiṭaka* used by those priests who are ignorant of Pāli is not necessarily identical, as Turnour seems to have supposed, with that made in the early part of the fourth century by order of Buddhādāsa.²

"While speaking of ancient Sinhalese literature, it may be interesting to notice that two old works written in Sanskrit by Kings of Ceylon are still extant, viz. the *Sārāthasangraha*, a work on medicine by King Buddhādāsa, A.D. 339; and the *Janakiharana*, a long poem on the story of Rāma and Sitā by King Kumāradasa, A.D. 513.³

"Of European works on modern Sinhalese the first was a Sinhalese Grammar in Dutch by a Dutch Missionary named J. Ruell, which was published in Colombo, in 1699; the next was Mr. Chater's Grammar, published in English in 1815; the third the well-known Dictionary by Mr. Clough; and the fourth a Grammar published in 1834 by the Rev. S. Lambrick. These works are all out of print, and notwithstanding repeated endeavours I have not been able to acquire a copy of any of the Grammars. But two very useful Grammars of Sinhalese, as now spoken, have been lately published by the Rev. Charles Carter, of the Baptist Mission; the one for Europeans on Ollendorf's system, and in English; ⁴ the other for natives, in Sinhalese.⁵

¹ *Mahāvansa*, p. ii.

² *ibid.* p. 127.

³ Whether these works exist apart from the Sinhalese sanna is doubtful, but the sanna of each, containing every word of the original, is extant. *Vide* Turnour, *Mah.* p. 245; D'Alwis, *Sidat-sangarāwa*, pp. cl., cliii. Professor Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv. p. 280, wrongly calls the former work *Sārātāsangrāha*. At vol. ii. p. 519, he fixes the date of Sūruta the earliest Sanskrit work on medicine, at 'several centuries before Muhamed;' Buddhādāsa's work could not fail therefore to throw great light on the history of medicine in the East. Even in the West Galen flourished as late as the second century of our era, and the Arabs did not cultivate medicine before the fifth century. On the knowledge of medicine by Buddhist priests, compare Knighton's *Ceylon*, p. 114, and Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 318.

⁴ *The Lesson Book on Ollendorf's System.* Colombo Observer Office, 1873.

⁵ *Sinhala-vyākaranaya.* By the Rev. Ch. Carter. Colombo Wesleyan Mission Press, 1862, 38 pp. 8vo.

"There is no good Sinhalese Dictionary. Clough's laborious work¹ contains a very large number of words, but it is now very rare; and however admirable it was for the time when it was composed, its philology is very deficient, and it gives no authorities for the meanings it assigns. There is also a pocket Sinhalese-English Dictionary, by the Rev. W. Bridgnell, and another by the Rev. W. Nicholson, both out of print. Mr. Alwis mentions a fourth by the Rev. John Calloway, of the Wesleyan Mission, which I have not seen.²

"In Europe and India the Sinhalese language has met with very little notice, and Mr. Beames, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, omits it altogether from consideration. But Mr. R. C. Childers has commenced in vol. vii. of the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* a series of articles on the subject, No. 1 being 'On the Formation of the Plural of Neuter Nouns.' He there attempts to prove that the termination *wal*, which now forms in Sinhalese the plural of the names of inanimate objects, is derived from the Sanskrit *vana*; and suggests as the origin of the termination *fa* of the dative singular *srishfa* or some other Sanskrit substantive, meaning nearness.³ In his division of nouns into two declensions, the animate and the inanimate, which entirely corresponds with the facts of the language, Mr. Childers will meet with strenuous opposition from the believers in the *Sidat-sangarāwa*, and especially from Mr. James D'Alwis, who has already expressed a very confident opinion as to the erroneousness of this view;⁴ and I very much doubt whether Mr. D'Alwis would admit that the termination *wal*, which is not given in the *Sidat-sangarāwa*, nor used either in the Inscriptions of the 12th century, or in the Elu Poets of the 15th century, is a part of the Sinhalese language at all. But it is time that we freed ourselves from the thralldom of the poetic dialect, and looked the facts of the language in the face.⁵

¹ *Sinhalese-English and English-Sinhalese*. Colombo, 1821. Two vols. 8vo. pp. 628 and 852.

² Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo, 1821, pp. xxii. and 156, teste Alwis, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 93.

³ For the origin of this dative in *fa*, another suggestion has been made, viz. the Sanskrit *artha*, comparing the use of *atthāya* in Pāli: e.g. *sanvegatthāya*, for the affliction, at the end of each chapter in the Mahāvansa.

⁴ *Sidat-sangarāwa*, p. cclxx.

⁵ The poetic dialect, it should be mentioned, is here supported by the 12th century inscriptions; but the termination *wal*, though of late origin, is undoubtedly a part of the Sinhalese of the present day.

"From the native presses in Ceylon editions of the more popular works of their later authors occasionally issue, and of these the following may be mentioned:—The *Lo-wāḍa-saṅgarāwa*,¹ a didactic poem by Widāgama Unnāṇse (the author of *Budugunā-lankāra*), written, according to the editor's preface, in the year 1472 A.D., has been printed at Galle, with a commentary upon it in modern prose. The *Sandakinduru-jātaka*, a jātika poem by an unknown author.² The *Dakamgaṣṭa*, a religious poem, ascribed on p. 17 of this edition to Dharmasēna Sthawiraya, of unknown date; and the *Dakamgaṣṭamālāwa*, of unknown date and author, edited, with a glossary to the former work, by Baṭuwantuḍāwa.³ *Prāṭihārya śatakaya*, a descriptive poem on Buddha's miracles, ascribed on p. 1 to Śāli-śēlē-swāmipādāya, who lived at the end of last century, edited by Don Philip da Silwā Ēpā Appuhāmi.⁴ The *Guttīla*, supposed to have been written in the latter part of the fifteenth century, by Wættāwe Unnāṇse, edited by Baṭuwantuḍāwa, with a complete padagatasannaya or word for word commentary.⁵ Some extracts from this work, with English translation, appeared in the *Ceylon Friend* for March, 1870. The *Parawī-sandēsē*, edited by Sri Dias da Silwā, of Pāliyagoda,⁶ with a new sanna by Beruwila Guru: it was written by Śri Rāhula, of Toṭa-gamuwa, in the fifteenth century.

"Besides the above, a number of works on astrology, in which the Sinhalese are firm believers, are being published, among which may be mentioned the *Siwālikhita*,⁷ a Sanskrit work with Sinhalese explanations and additions, with which may be classed such works as the *Wāyasanimitta*, on the omens observable from the cries of crows and the laying of eggs, and the *Mekulpaṭalaya*, on the signs of the heavens.⁸

"Of works on medicine, the science of which is said to have remained stationary in Ceylon since a very early period, I have only seen the *Saraswati-nighaṇḍuwa*, a vocabulary, in Sanskrit, of botanical and medical terms by Śāsawata, edited by Samarasinha-

¹ Lankōpakāra Printing Press. Galle, 1866. 12mo. pp. iv. and 70.

² Lakriwikirana Press, Colombo, 1866. 12mo. pp. 61.

³ Lakminiphana Press, Colombo, 1866. 12mo. pp. 48.

⁴ Lankābhīnawawīṣṭuta Press, Colombo, 1864. 12mo. pp. 64.

⁵ Lankābhīnawawīṣṭuta Press, Colombo, 1870. 12mo. pp. 178.

⁶ Lakriwikirana Press, Colombo, 1873.

⁷ Lankābhīnawawīṣṭuta Press, Colombo, 1866. 18mo. pp. 67.

⁸ Published together at the Sarwajñāsāsanābhīwurdhidāyaka Press, Colombo, 1866.

āraccige Don Harumānis Appuhāmi with the help of Baṭuwan-tuḍāwa.¹

"Of more modern works may finally be mentioned the poems of Miripænna, a priest resident at the village of that name near Galle, and of Gajaman Nonā, a favourite poetess of this century ;² and the *Sangarājawata*, an autobiography in verse of Wæliwiṭa Sarankara Sangharāja, the founder of the Siamese sect, now the most numerous in Ceylon, containing an account of the religious embassy sent to Siam by King Kirti Śrī, of Ceylon, in the latter part of the last century."³

MEMORANDUM ON THE VERNACULAR LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

The following practical and useful report on Modern Indian Languages by our member Mr. Cust naturally comes after that on Pāli.

"In the extreme north-west we come on a work on the Races and Languages of Dardistan by Dr. G. W. Leitner. This is a debateable land betwixt India and Affghanistan, and off the great highway of conquest and civilization. The work contains a Vocabulary and Grammar of the leading dialects, and the character of the language is said to be Sanskritic. But our knowledge both of this and the Cashmiri language is still limited. The late Dr. Elmslie published a Dictionary of the latter.

"Passing down the Indus, we come to the Pushtu or Pukhtu language, the form of speech of the great Affghan people, who are Mohammedans. Grammars, Dictionaries, and Dialogues have been prepared on the European method by Major Raverty, late of the Indian Army, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Ernest Trumpp, of Munich. The Grammar of the latter is an excellent work of the best type. Some scholars have assigned to this language a position in the Iranian branch of the Aryan family : but it must not be forgotten that (1) the Pushtu has preserved the whole cerebral row of the Prakrit

¹ Colombo, 1865. Lankābhinawawīṣṭuta Press. Śāṣwata is mentioned by Böhlingk and Roth as the author of a Nānārthakoṣa, of which there are several MSS. in the Bodleian.

² Lakriwikirana Press, Colombo, 1867. 8vo.

³ Sarwajñāśāsanābhiwuddhidāyaka Press, Colombo, 1867. 8vo. pp. 26.

languages (aspirates excepted); (2) that a large stock of pure Pushtu words is derived from Prakrit idioms; and (3) that the whole formation of the declensional and conjugational process has the closest analogy with the Sindhi language: it must therefore be classed as an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Aryan to the Iranian family, and partaking of the characteristics of both, but with predominant Prakrit features. It is spoken by about one million, has several dialects, and has a certain amount of literature in the Arabic character modified.

“Still further down the Indus, below the junction of the five rivers of the Punjaub with the great boundary-river, we come to the Sindhi language, spoken by the people occupying the delta of the Indus, about two millions of souls, Hindu in origin, dominated by Mohammedans. To Dr. Ernest Trumpp we are indebted for an admirable Grammar of this language also. As students are aware, there are *grammars and grammars*: some which exhaust the language, and lay bare the structure, and in the case of modern vernaculars trace the progress of phonetic decay and dialectic regeneration: and others which are mere school-boy primers or student's manuals. Dr. Trumpp's belongs to the first class, and in India is only rivalled by his own on Pushtu and Dr. Caldwell's on the Dravidian languages, and to a certain extent by Platt's Hindustani Grammar. The Sindhi is an Aryan language, but it has the peculiarity of being more intricate and difficult than any of its Prakrit sisters, and of having preserved more of the original Prakrit forms; on the other hand, it has borrowed from the Iranian branch of the Aryan family a system of pronominal suffixes, quite peculiar to itself and the Pushtu, and forms a link betwixt the two branches, as its geographical position would lead us to expect. A Dictionary has been compiled by Stack. A selection of Sindhi Literature has been published by Trumpp. The Arabic character modified and expanded is used. If this language survives the struggle for life during the next century, it will not be on account of its merits, but the geographical position of the country. It has several dialects.

"Returning northward up the Indus, we enter the Panjab, and meet with the Panjabi, which, like the Sindhi, is one of the seven Aryan languages, springing from the same Prakrit sources of Northern India. Dr. Ernest Trumpp is engaged in translating the sacred books of the Sikhs, written in an archaic form (about 350 years old) of this language in the variation of Indian alphabet peculiar to this province, known as Gurmukhi. We look forward to a Grammar, or at least a treatise on the linguistic features of Modern Panjabi from the same hand, as it has never yet been handled scientifically. It is spoken by twelve millions, Mohammedans, Hindus, and Sikhs. At present it has no Grammar or Dictionary worthy of the name, and no pretence to any literature of a modern date; there is no question, that it will have to give way to Hindi; it has numerous dialects.

"Crossing the River Sutluj into Hindostan proper, we enter the confines of the great nation, which spread down the Gangetic valley from Sirhind, 'the head of India,' to the confines of Bengal proper, and all over Central India. The language is called the Hindi. It has several well-known and well-defined dialects, which are known by distinct names, but which have no independent literary life. The singular feature of this language is that, owing to political and historical causes, it has two distinct developments, two vocabularies, two alphabetical systems, but the same grammatical substructure, which make up one and the same language, belonging to the Indian branch of the Aryan family. The English language presents the nearest analogy to the peculiar linguistic features of this great, hardy, and beautiful language, susceptible of unlimited development, and promising to swallow up its weaker sisters Panjabi and Gujarati. When the vocabulary is supplied from Sanskrit and other Aryan sources, and the Indian Nagari alphabet is adopted (as in fact it is adopted by Hindus), the language is called Hindi: when, on the other hand, it is loaded with Perso-Arabic loan-words, in substitution of Aryan vocabulary, and is written in the Perso-Arabic character (augmented so as to

embrace the Indian sounds), it is called Urdu (the camp language) or Hindustani. In this form it is used by Hindus and Mohammedans. Grammars exist by Professor Dowson, Mr. Etherington, but that of Mr. Platts is far the best; and the best Dictionary is by Shakespeare. The Grammars, though good and careful of their kind, have no scientific merits, and make no attempt to solve historical problems. And at this point allusion must be made to Mr. Beames's Comparative Grammar of the Seven Aryan Languages of India, a work of much higher order, of which only one volume, treating of Sounds, with an excellent introduction, has been published, though the second, treating of Nouns and Pronouns, is in the press. This language has an ample literature, and is one of the vehicles of Anglo-Indian civilization. It is spoken by sixty millions as a vernacular, and the Urdu is a 'lingua franca' to Mohammedans, and the highest classes all over India. It is considered to be the eldest of the Sanskrit vernaculars, and its existence may be dated back to the tenth century A.D.; but its earliest existing literature does not date beyond 1200 A.D.

"Passing southwards along the course of the Ganges, we enter the great Gangetic delta, and find ourselves amidst a vast people, both Hindu and Mohammedans, who speak that form of Indian-Aryan language called Bengali, using another variation of the Indian alphabet character. Of this language there are numerous dialects, differing from each other beyond the limits of mutual intelligence; but only one has an independent literary existence, of an entirely modern date, subsequent to the English conquest, and the tendency has been in this (as in the language of Wallachia) to aim at a type too exclusively classic and archaic, and therefore sundering too far the language of speaking and writing. It is a strong, hardy language, already the vehicle of an enormous literature, under the influence of European ideas, and a free press. It is spoken by thirty-six millions at a low estimate. The best Grammars are those of Wenger and Shama Churun, but at the best they are only student's manuals. The best Dictionary is Haughton's. It is con-

sidered to be the youngest of the Sanskrit vernaculars; its earliest existing literature dates back to 1400–1500 A.D.

“In the adjoining province of Orissa we come on another language of the Indian-Aryan branch, used by a population of eight millions within a limited area, not susceptible, from geographical circumstances, of expansion, and not of any linguistic merit, yet still maintaining an independent existence, notwithstanding the political subjection of the Oriya-speaking people to the Marathi-speaking people in former times, and to the Bengali-speaking people in modern times, as Orissa has no independent political existence, but is part of the Bengal Government. The language is also spoken by one and half million of souls in the District of Ganjam of the Madras Presidency, and by more than a million in Sumbulpore in the central provinces. The Oriya language has its own variation of the Indian alphabet; but it has no original literature, ancient or modern. The best Dictionary is by Sutton, and the best Grammars by Hallam and Maltby. An English-Oriya Dictionary has been published by Miller, and a brief Grammar and English-Oriya Dictionary by two natives named Rout, but merely for purposes of instruction in schools. Its earliest existing literature dates back to 1500–1600 A.D.

“Before leaving the Gangetic valley, we must notice some other languages connected with it. On each side of the Hindi and Bengali-speaking races in the lower portion of the Gangetic valley are numerous non-Aryan tribes, occupying the lower ranges of the Vindya and Himalaya mountains, and a multiplicity of non-Aryan tongues, into which it would be vain in our present state of knowledge to enter. They have neither literature nor culture. Dr. W. Hunter has lately collected all that is known of them in his volume of Non-Aryan Languages. It is possible that, as civilization and education extend from Aryan centres, backed by political domination, these struggling patois may be effaced. The non-Aryan population exceeds five millions. Vocabularies of different degrees of perfection have been prepared, and, as far as is known, the languages appear to be ‘agglutinative.’

"We have alluded to the Prakrit dialects, from which the seven Aryan languages of India take their direct origin. The circumstances attending the decay and regeneration of these languages are closely analogous to the phenomena attending the contemporaneous decay of the Latin, and birth of the Romance languages of Western Europe. The chief Prakrits were six in number, and were corruptions of the Sanskrit, which had come into existence certainly as early as the time of Alexander. Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, has published the text and translation of a Prakrit Grammar with an introduction. Some go as far as to name twenty-two Prakrits.

"More need not have been said of the Prakrits, but for the fact that from one Prakrit, the Maharashtri, sprang the language adopted by the Jains as the vehicle of their sacred lore; and from another, the Magadhi, sprang the far-famed Pali, which, though a dead language, occupies to the Buddhists the position of Hebrew to the Jews, and Arabic to the Mohammedans. From the same, or a kindred Prakrit, sprang the vernacular language of the people of Ceylon, the Sinhalese, which bears unmistakeable proofs of its Aryan origin, though a remarkable instance of phonetic decay, with great wealth of forms and of a general philological interest. Prof. R. C. Childers and Mr. Clough have prepared a Dictionary and Grammar of Pali. An excellent sketch of Pali Grammar has just been brought out by Dr. Kuhn, of Leipsic. Mr. Clough and Mr. D'Alwis have prepared a Dictionary and Grammar of Sinhalese. It is spoken by at least a million and a half of the residents of the Island of Ceylon. The Prakrit, Pali, and Sinhalese have separate and distinct characters, variations of the old alphabets of India.

"We must now notice the two remaining vernaculars of the Aryan family in India, the Marathi and Gujarati.

"The Marathi is a vernacular of the highest importance, spoken by ten millions, occupying the centre and the west of the Peninsula of India; impinging in the north on Hindi and Gujarati; to the south, on Tulu, Canarese, and Telugu; to the east, on a group of non-Aryan languages; on the

west it is bounded by the sea. It has several dialects: though distinctly of the Aryan family, its vocabulary yields one-tenth of non-Aryan words: it has drawn, and does draw, upon Sanskrit without limit: it has admitted at least 3000 loan-words from Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani: it is copious without order, and energetic without rule; possesses a choice of words of boundless variety, with no recognized standard of classical purity: it has a varying orthography, but an excellent Dictionary, compiled by Molesworth: no Grammar exists of philological interest; but a good student's Grammar for the high schools, by an anonymous author: it uses the Nagari character: it is the vehicle of a yearly increasing literature, and of communication between Hindus, Mohammedans, and Parsis: it is a strong vernacular, and capable of unlimited development. Its earliest existing literature dates back to 1290 A.D.

"Gujarati is a language spoken by six to seven millions, in a country geographically circumscribed. On the west Kachi forms a link of transition to Sindhi; on the north it meets the powerful Hindi in one of its dialects, the Marwari; on the east and south it is shut in by the robust Marathi. It is only supplied with primers and vocabularies, instead of Grammars and Dictionaries; but they are good of their kind, and by a native, Shapurjee Edaljee. It has a character of its own, which resembles the Nagari with its upper line removed. The loan-words from Sanskrit are extensive; and Arabic and Persian words have crept in from the use of this language in commerce, and by the Parsi immigrants, who have lost their own vernacular and very much adopted this. It has a very corrupted orthography. It has been asserted, that this vernacular will not hold its own, but will give way to its stronger sisters; at any rate there is an entire want of books of any standing to be taken as authorities. Its earliest existing literature dates back to 1457 A.D., and the poetic works are very numerous.

"Passing on into the Peninsula of India, we enter a new world of languages, known as the Dravidian. They are not derived from or descended from Sanskrit, but are more or less

charged with Sanskrit loan-words. They are of Scythian origin, and carry us back to a pre-Aryan immigration of races into India. They are nine in number; but four of these, the Tuda, Kole, Gond, and Khond, are spoken by half a million, and are unimportant. A truly admirable Comparative Grammar of the whole group has been published by Dr. Caldwell, and is now passing through a second edition.

"The Tamil (called sometimes the Malabar) is the most southern, spoken by ten millions, with a separate character. The character used for copying Sanskrit manuscripts is called the Grantham, having a few additional characters to represent Sanskrit sounds non-existent in Tamil, and omitting certain characters peculiar to Tamil. The oldest, richest, and most highly-organized of the group has two varieties: the Shen Tamil, or the literary; and the Kodun Tamil, or colloquial; differing from each other very materially, but exceedingly rich in vocabulary, and cultivated from a very remote period. Beschi's Grammar of Shen Tamil is highly esteemed. The Grammar used by students is by Pope, and the Dictionary by Winslow. Its earliest existing literature dates back to the eighth or ninth century A.D. The number of prose and poetic works is very great.

"The Telugu, in respect of antiquity, of culture and glossarial copiousness, ranks next, and is spoken by fourteen millions along the east coast up to the confines of Orissa, and in the centre of the Peninsula, in the Nizam's dominions. It has a separate character of its own: it ranks first in point of euphonic sweetness. Brown's Telugu Grammar is far above the level of ordinary Grammars. The best Dictionary is by the same author. Like the Tamil, it is a strong vernacular, susceptible of great development, and likely to absorb its weaker neighbours. It has sometimes been called the Telinga, or Gentoo, language, but these names are obsolete. Its earliest extant literature dates back to the twelfth century A.D.

"The next of the Dravidian group is the Canarese, or the Karnataka, spoken throughout the plateau of Mysore, and some of the western districts of the Nizam's territory: it is spoken

by five millions, and has two cultivated dialects, the ancient and the modern : it uses nearly the same character as the Telugu : it has no Grammar or Dictionary of any scientific merit. The manual used by students is by Hodson, and the Dictionary by Reeve.

“The Malayalam ranks next in order : it is spoken along the Malabar coast, on the western side of the Ghauts, in the native states of Travancore and Cochin, and in some districts of British India, by a population of two and a half millions : it has a distinct character of its own. The Tamil language bids fair to absorb its neighbour, the Malayalam ; or, at least, to restrict its use to the hill countries and jungles. The Grammar of this language is by Peet, of the ordinary type ; but the Dictionary by Gundert takes rank as the best vernacular Dictionary in India ; it is compiled on the comparative method, with reference to all the Dravidian family.

“Last of the five Dravidian languages is the Tulu, occupying a position midway between the Canarese and Malayalam, but more nearly resembling the Canarese. It is spoken by only one hundred and fifty thousand souls, in a small tract of country near Mangalore. It has been encroached upon by its stronger neighbours, and is likely soon to disappear. It uses the character of Malayalam. This language does not possess a Dictionary ; its Grammar is by Brigel, but only a brief sketch.

“It is declared, by those best entitled to form an opinion, to be an error to connect the Dravidian languages in any way with the non-Aryan languages of Upper India, alluded to above, though they are also of Scythian origin ; but there are two notable exceptions. The language of Rajmahal and Uraon in Bengal is manifestly an outlying branch of the group ; and beyond the Indus, occupying the tract south of the Pushtu-speaking Affghans, is a people who speak the Brahu language, which is unquestionably of Dravidian stock, and the fact is interesting, as a linguistic intermediate station betwixt the millions of Southern India and the solitary tablet at Behistun, where, in the Median portion of the inscriptions, the same Scythian features are displayed at the time of

Darius; and as pointing to the fact that the Dravidian immigrations into India must have preceded the Aryan.

"In Southern India a corrupt Portuguese is spoken at Goa, and an indifferent French at Pondichery, and a so-called Hebrew by an ancient Jew colony; but in Bombay and its neighbourhood are the homes of the Parsis, the remnant of the ancient Fire-worshippers, and from their sacred books have been disinterred the ancient Zend, or Iranian sister of Sanskrit, and the comparatively modern but pre-Mohammedan language known as Pahlavi, Huzvaresh, and Pazand: they represent an extinct language, of which all tradition has been cut off, and the knowledge of them has been revived by the united action of palæography, numismatology, and comparative philology, of which Martin Haug, West, Spiegel and Dustoor Hoshanjee are the chief exponents.

"Beyond the Bay of Bengal lies British Burmah, where the Burmese, in its various dialects, is spoken by a vast population subject to the British Empire; and beyond the Himalaya on the north-east is a sparse population speaking the Thibetan, of which the learned Dr. Jaeske has compiled a Grammar and Dictionary: they are living languages, but without culture, and imperfectly known; and here we close our survey of the languages of British India. The Sanskrit and Arabic are dead languages, but cultivated by limited numbers for their religious interest. The Persian and English are living, but foreign languages; the former in days bygone, and the latter, at the present time, the language of official authority, and a knowledge of both is necessary to every person of education in India, as French and Latin are in England.

"In casting the linguistic horoscope of British India, the prediction may be hazarded, that the Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi of the Aryan family, and the Telugu and Tamil of the Dravidian family, will absorb, or throw into the shade, or tread down, their weaker neighbours, and developing themselves into magnificent vernaculars, spoken by 200 millions, fully charged, perhaps immoderately, with loan-words from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and English, but pre-

serving their own grammatical structures, will become the vehicles of a great Oriental civilization in the future. And at the present moment it is mainly in these languages that the laws and departmental orders of Imperial England are communicated to a subject people, who receive from English sources *alone* all that they know of European Science, Politics, and Progress."

SLAVONIC.

Englishmen have hitherto rather overlooked, if not slighted, the Slavonic tongues, the most synthetic of the modern Aryan dialects. For the following very valuable and interesting contribution to this Address I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kind and ready assistance rendered me by a member of our body, Mr. W. R. Morfill, a scholar who has long worked at Slavonic and its dialects. He has lectured, too, on Slavonic languages and literature at Oxford alternately with Mr. Ralston, whose translations of Russian Fables, etc., are well known to all lovers of old folk-lore, and he is now engaged on an important work on these subjects.

"The subject of Slavonic philology, although practically ignored at both our leading Universities, is daily pressing itself more and more upon the attention of the scholar. To say nothing about the impossibility of contemptuously passing over the languages of so large a portion of the human race—seventy-eight millions¹—the Slavonic tongues have so much intrinsic and ethnographic interest that they cannot safely be neglected. In a short sketch like the present we cannot do more than glance at a few of the most salient features of this family of languages, and allude to some of the most prominent names; especial attention being paid to their present state of culture and development.

"The old division, first suggested by Dobrowsky, the Nestor of Slavonic philology, and improved by Schafarik, occurs as the most obvious way of treating them, viz. to separate them into the Eastern and Western branches.

¹ See Schafarik. I use, for obvious reasons, the German spelling of the name.

"I. (A.)—Of the first of these classes,—the Eastern,—the Russian naturally claims the most attention, as spoken over the greatest extent of territory, and having the most promising future. Its artificial as opposed to its popular literature does not go back further than the early part of last century, when, in consequence of the impulse given by Peter the Great, Lomonósov, son of a fisherman at Archangel, of all places in the world, and at a later period Derjavin, composed their poems in the pseudo-classical style then reigning triumphant throughout Europe. At the beginning of the present century Jukovski introduced the so-called Romantic school, and, as an indefatigable translator, familiarized his countrymen with the best productions of the Western intellects. He was followed by the celebrated Alexander Púshkin, as yet the greatest name in the Russian Parnassus. Púshkin, whose life was prematurely terminated by a duel in 1837, wrote much and well. His Boris Godunov, a play on the Shakespearian model, was a fine attempt to domesticate the historical drama in Russia.

"Since the death of Púshkin no worthy rival has appeared. Lérmontov charms us by his elegant lyrics, in which the strength and grace of the Russian language are shown to their fullest extent; and Koltzov, the peasant poet, has caught the manner of the old Russian songs, just as Burns did that of the old Scottish.

"At present, poetry in Russia is represented by Nekrásov, who writes cleverly, but with a tinge of that all-sceptical irony, which is one of the latest fruits of the nihilistic school.

"Among novelists Tourghéniev stands pre-eminent. He may be said to have gained an European reputation, and has somewhat cast into the shade his predecessor Gogol, whose 'Dead Souls,' and sketches of Little-Russian life are written with much power, and show a vein of satire not unworthy of Thackeray. These two stand out conspicuously among the host of Russian novel-writers, whose name is legion. Among the latest authors Count Tolstoi, Gontcharov and others may be mentioned.

"As regards history, Solóviev still continues his almost interminable lucubrations. His book promises, when completed, to be rather a quarry of materials than an edifice. For the latter and more modern part, it seems hardly possible that an author under such a censorship as the Russian can tell us truth, as an honest historian; and from some previous specimens of his compositions, we see that Professor Solóviev can write to order. The earlier history of Karámzin, whatever its merits of style may be, is a work wholly falsetto in tone, an elaborate panegyric of despotism. The colourless official sketches of Oustrialov in most instances are not worthy of much attention. We must not, however, omit to mention the works of Kostomárov and Zabiélin in this field. The former is one of the few *really* critical historians produced by Russia. Pogodine, a professor at Moscow, has recently published a 'History of Russia till the Invasion of the Mongols.' He has further distinguished himself by defending the genuineness of the Chronicle of Nestor against the attacks of Katchenovski and Senkovski. Recently, also, an author named Ilovaïski has been ventilating some exploded theories in Russia. Among others he attempts to overthrow the long-received account of the Varangian origin of Burik and his companions, and connects the Russians with the Roxolani. This opinion has long been torn to tatters by Schafarik. At the Archæological Congress at Kiev, on 14th August, 1874, Ilovaïski essayed to prove that the Cyrillic alphabet was not really invented by the monk whose name it bears. He also argued that the Bulgarians were not a Ugro-Finnish, but a Slavonic people. If such opinions as these were to gain ground, we might say that Slavonic philology moved in a circle; for these were the crude theories which were so ridiculed in the case of Venelin, who circulated them about thirty years ago, and also in the rash speculations of the Servian Raitch.

"The Russians have latterly been busying themselves very much about their national tales and songs. The former are Slavonic variants of legends which appear to be the common property of all the Aryan races, a greater freshness and

naïveté being apparently communicated by the childish superstitions and grovelling barbarism of the Russian peasantry. The latter are eminently illustrative of the national manners, but in a linguistic aspect generally disappointing. They come to us almost always in a form more or less modern, and with their antique phraseology whittled away piecemeal by generations of itinerant minstrels who have adapted them for the occasion. Some of them, however, from their allusions to pagan customs, would appear to have a very ancient groundwork. Collections have been published by Ribnikov and others. The tales have been gathered together by Afanassiev, Sakharov, and Erlenvein.

"In Slavonic philology the Russians can boast of two names of high reputation, Vóstokov (of German extraction) and Sreznevski. The dialects of the Russian language present many most interesting features to the philologist, but, as may be imagined, have not been extensively cultivated, and boast but a meagre literature. The Little (Malo-) Russian (with which may be incorporated the Red) is a dialect—one might almost say a language—spoken by 13,000,000. Attempts have been made to give it a literary importance, and the efforts of a knot of enthusiasts, especially at Lemberg (or Lwów), have almost succeeded. It can boast of one poet of repute, Taras Shevtchenko, born a serf, and condemned on account of his political opinions to spend many years as a common soldier in Siberia. The adventures of this man are wonderfully interesting, but can be only glanced at in our brief outline. The novels of Marko Vovtchok (the *nom de plume* of Madame Eugénie Markovitch) have also obtained great celebrity. Professor Dragománov, of Kiev, is now publishing a very copious collection of Little-Russian songs, of which the first volume appeared last year. He is worthily following in the steps of Zakrevski and Maksimóvitch.

"The White Russian, spoken in some of the western provinces of the Empire, is very interesting in a linguistic point of view, but can boast of no literature except a few songs. A good dictionary was published a few years ago

by Nosóvitch. In this dialect the laws of the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania were originally written.

“(B.)—Of the modern Bulgarian, the next in order on our list, but little need be said. A few enthusiastic men—Drinov, Rakovski, Palaouzov, among others—have attempted to develop it; but it has to struggle on the one hand with the depressing policy of the Turkish Government, and on the other with the intrigues of the Phanariotes. Active centres of Bulgarian literary effort are Braila, in Wallachia (where there is a literary society which publishes its proceedings), and Bolgrad, in Bessarabia. Many books, nominally appearing at Plovdiv (Philippopolis) or Rustchuk, are, in reality, issued at Vienna. Like all Slavonic tongues, it is rich in ballads, as shown in the fine collection published about twelve years ago at Agram by the brothers Miladinov, who were doomed to expiate their patriotism by secret murder in a Turkish dungeon. The language has an additional interest for the philologist from the view taken by the majority of eminent Slavists, that it is the living sister, which, of all the modern languages, most resembles the oldest form, preserved in the Slavonic Bible (as shown in the Ostromir Codex), and the highly curious series of old Russian chronicles, beginning with Nestor. This language is called the Palæo or Church-Slavonic. Some philologists, as Leskien,¹ boldly call it Old Bulgarian. Miklosich, however, the Professor at Vienna, a name at the present time at the head of Slavonic philology, still adheres to his original nomenclature, Palæo-Slovenish; and in his latest work declares himself unconvinced by the arguments of his opponents.² It is this question and that of the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet which still divide the Slavonic camps. Perhaps the only other great name on the side of Miklosich has been Kopitar, who died in 1844, the editor of the Glagolita Clozianus, a work of primary importance to the student in this subject.

“(C.)—The third branch of the Eastern division is Servian.

¹ Handbuch der Altbulgarischen Sprache; Weimar, 1871.

² Altslovenische Formenlehre in Paradigmen von Franz Miklosich; Wien, 1874.

If we take the area over which this language is spoken, it is in reality a wide one, but political and religious differences have destroyed the fair prospects of the Southern Slaves. The Croatian and Dalmatian speak the same language as the Servian, but are under a different government, adhere to a different religion, and persist in a different alphabet. The aggregate of the Serbs and Croats would amount to more than six millions.

"All attempts, however, at a union, despite the patriotic efforts of Dr. Ljudevit Gaj and others, have failed. Some scholars have wished to group these people under the name of Illyrians. The Servians have a very early literature, monuments of which have come down in the 'Lives of the Kings and Archbishops,' written by the Archbishop Daniel, and the 'Lives of Saint Simeon and Sabba,' which date from the beginning of the fourteenth century; but they have become more celebrated by their marvellous collection of national songs, to which attention was first called by the Franciscan monk Kačić, and which were afterwards fully given to the public by Vuk Stephanovitch. Their modern literature is chiefly imitated from the German. Great activity is still exhibited at Agram and Belgrade. During the preceding year the Society called the Matica Srbska, originated partly by the celebrated Schafarik while residing at Neusatz, has been very busy. Several publications have made their appearance in Ragusa, renowned as the home of a great Slavonic literary development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the 19th of October of the last year, a University for South Slavonians was opened at Agram, which has long been a great centre of culture, and boasts of the presence of such men as Kukuljevitch Sakcinski, and Racki.

"(a.)—As a subdivision of this last branch I might allude to the Slovenes, the inhabitants of the greater part of Styria and the whole of Carinthia and Carniola. Their literature has always been very meagre, although at the time of the Reformation they could boast some genuine workers,—for example, Primus Truber, who, driven out of his native

country by Austrian persecution, was compelled to take refuge with the more tolerant Christopher, Duke of Wirtemberg. It is a great pity that the Slovenes have cultivated their dialectic peculiarities. They should have allowed their language to be merged into a general South Slavonic tongue, which could develop a healthy national literature. Instead of choosing to flow in one broad stream, they have wasted the volume of their waters in a thousand petty rivulets. Thus the Slaves have always been divided among themselves, and their enemies, especially the Germans, have known how to profit by their divisions.

"II. (A.)—If we leave the Eastern branch, and turn to the Western, we are first confronted by the melancholy spectacle of the moral and literary prostration of Poland. 'The Niobe of nations' lies mute and in dust and ashes, having to struggle against Germanism on the one hand, and absorption into Russia on the other. Since the death of Mickiewicz in 1855—a name never to be pronounced without reverence by any Slavonic scholar—no great Polish writer has arisen. 'Order reigns at Warsaw,' and even the publications of the University must be in *Russian*. A great deal of literary activity is visible in Austrian Poland (Galicia), but it proceeds from the Red Russian or Ruthenish element, which has no sympathy with the political visions of the Polish aristocracy. A few scientific periodicals make their appearance at Cracow and Posen.

"We are still unwilling to believe in the possible extinction of the Polish language, spoken as it is, even at the present time, after years of degradation and denationalization, by about ten millions of people.

"Valuable contributions, however, to Polish philology have recently appeared; among these must be mentioned, 'On the Old Polish Language till the Fourteenth Century,' by Baudoïn de Courtenay, published in Russian: also 'Ueber die vermeintliche Quantität der Vocale im Altpolnischen,' by Anton Semenovitsch (Leipzig, 1872). In a recent article contributed by Professor Perwolf to the Bohemian Literary Journal (*Časopis Musea Království Českého*), allusion is

made to many literary journals in Polish which regularly make their appearance at Warsaw; but since the revolution of 1863, the literary impulse of the country has been very much checked. In 1872 appeared at Warsaw 'A Survey of the Oldest Monuments of the Polish Language,' by Constantine Małkowski (Przegląd najdawniejszych pomników języka polskiego). Bielowski still continues his valuable 'Monumenta Poloniae historica,' published at Lemberg, of which a second volume appeared a year or so ago.

"(B.)—Leaving this Enceladus imprisoned under the mountain whose agonies are chronically made known by his volcanic upheavings, we can find a more cheering spectacle in the attitude of the Čech or Bohemian people. What a nation of resolute and patriotic men can accomplish is here very plainly visible. At the beginning of the present century their language seemed actually at its last gasp, and one of Bohemia's most noble sons, Dobrowsky, was compelled reluctantly to state that he foresaw nothing but its proximate extinction. The language of Hus and Ziska, of Ottakar, Przemysl, and George Podiebrad, was fast sinking into a patois of boors. But there was to be a stir in this valley of dry bones. The foundation of the National Museum, for gathering up the wide-scattered reliques of their neglected antiquities, and the establishment of the excellent Society called the Matice Česká, kept alive the feeble spark which still flickered in the socket. 'We are yet a nation,' was the cry heard in Prague. Fruits of these noble resolves were the History of Palacky, a monument of erudition and patriotism; the Lexicon of Jungmann; and the profound investigations of Schafarik,¹ whose name still stands at the head of the list of all students of Slavonic ethnography.

"At the present time the Čechs are educating themselves by growing familiar with the best products of foreign thought. Thus they have just completed an excellent translation of Shakespeare, the joint work of many labourers. About a year ago an Encyclopædia (Slovník Naučný) was brought to

¹ Slawische Alterthümer (originally published in Bohemian).

a conclusion; and great literary activity is exhibited in all branches of study. The magazine called *Časopis Musea Království Českého* still appears four times a year, and is of the highest importance to the Slavonic student. Besides articles on history, philology, etc., we have notices of the chief books which make their appearance on all Slavonic questions. Much has certainly been done by this spirited and enthusiastic people to resist the attempts at Germanization made by their rulers.

"The Slovaks, a people in the north-western corner of Hungary, who speak a dialect of Bohemian, which contains many curious old forms, and bears a strong resemblance to the earliest Čech, have developed an independent literature. This is to be regretted, as they have in this way assisted the common Slavonic foible of everlasting division. The most celebrated poet of the Slovaks was Jan Holly, a Roman Catholic priest, who died in 1849. His pieces are in the classical metres. To the reader, who does not bring to their perusal the enthusiasm of a native, they appear heavy and scholastic productions, such neatly-turned verses as a man of culture frequently writes, flattering himself meanwhile that he is composing poetry. The *Letopis Matice Slovenskej* (Journal of the Slovak Literary Society) still appears. Besides the Grammars of Bernolak and Dianiska, there is a new one by Victorin.

"(c.)—Not much need be said of the Lausitzer Wends, who come under the Western family. They are partly under the government of Prussia, partly of Saxony, and give but little signs of literary activity. These people are the débris of the Polabes, the powerful Slavonic race which at one time occupied so much of North Germany, and has left its language stamped upon many a town, village, and river. They can boast of a fine collection of songs, gathered together by Messrs. Haupt and Schmalzer; but the influence of Germanism is becoming too strong for them. In 1866 appeared a good Lusatian Dictionary by Pful 'Lužiski Serbski Słownik (w Budyšinje, 1866). They are yearly diminishing, as Andree

assures us.¹ To the student who wishes to make himself acquainted with the fragments still remaining of the Polabish, the admirable grammar published by the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg may be recommended. It is a posthumous work of Schleicher,² and is a wonderful monument of the profound erudition and philological insight of that truly great scholar. Much also has been done for the history and antiquities of these tribes by Hilferding, who died prematurely about three years ago."

GREEK.

Greek Philology would have been left out of this year's Address altogether had it not occurred to me almost at the last moment to ask my friend and colleague Prof. Mayor to supply the needed report. He is an active if not an old member of the Society, and very readily acceded to my request for his assistance. It is very assuring to find that Greek is likely to hold its place in any scheme of a liberal education.

"Taking the term Greek Philology in its wide sense to include the study, not only of the language, but also of the literature and life of the ancient Greeks, I think that the main feature of its recent development in England is one upon which we may fairly congratulate ourselves. The time is not so very far distant when the invasion of useful knowledge threatened to sweep away classical education altogether; and there were many who feared that in the re-organization of the public schools, with the introduction of modern subjects, as they were called, and especially with the greater importance assigned to Mathematics and Natural Science, Greek, at any rate, must go to the wall. Experience has shown the groundlessness of such fears. We see on all sides signs of the constantly increasing interest taken in the

¹ Wendische Wanderstudien, 1874.

² Laut- und Formenlehre der Polabischen Sprache, von August Schleicher; 1871.

history, the literature, and the art of Greece. Not to speak of the large number of poems and paintings which borrow their subjects and their style from the ancients,—Mr. Browning has just delighted us with another transcript from Euripides,—has there ever been a time since the revival of letters when such a stream of translations from classical authors has poured from the press; translations aiming, at any rate, at a high standard, and many of them possessing real literary merit? The past year has perhaps not been quite so prolific in this respect as some that have preceded; but we may call attention to the translations of the *Birds* of Aristophanes by Dr. Kennedy; of the *King Oedipus* and *Philoctetes* by Prof. Campbell; of *Pindar* by E. Myers; of the *Theætetus* by F. A. Paley; of *Thucydides* by Crawley. Another sign of the diffusion of Hellenism, if we may so call it, may be found in the popularity of works treating of Greek history and literature, and the more popular tone adopted by their authors. This year has seen the completion of the translation of Curtius' excellent *History of Greece*, and gives a first instalment of what promises to be a useful history by Cox. We have also the *Horæ Hellenicæ*, in which Prof. Blackie treats of the Theology of Homer and Aeschylus, of the relation of Modern to Ancient Greek, and of other interesting topics; and Mahaffy's lively book on *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander*, forming a sort of pendant to Symonds' *Greek Poets*. On a somewhat lower level comes the series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*, which has been completed within the last few months. The same tendency to diffuse and popularize the knowledge of Greek is shown in the improved elementary text-books which are being brought out in such abundance. This year we have *Elements of Greek Accidence*, *Selections from Lucian*, and *Selections from Greek Epic and Dramatic Poets*, by Evelyn Abbott; *Prometheus* by N. Pinder; further *Scenes from Euripides* by A. Sidgwick; and a most useful little *History of Greece for beginners* by Fyffe.

“It is when we come to the higher departments of Greek Philology that English scholars appear at a disadvantage as

compared with those of the Continent. The principle of division of labour seems to be hardly recognized at all amongst us. It is supposed to be the duty of every classical scholar to be equally acquainted with the whole range of what we vaguely term classics; and the demands of education and of examinations are so exacting, that the student who lives simply for learning has almost disappeared from the Universities. Still we have some books to show which will compare favourably with any that have been brought out in Germany during the year. One such is Field's critical edition of *Origen's Hexapla*; another, the *Atlas of Ancient Geography* by Grove and Smith; another, the beautiful volume of Greek Inscriptions brought out by the authorities of the British Museum. Part I., which has just appeared, contains the inscriptions in the Museum referring to Attica. The full explanatory notes will make this of great value to students. The Rector of Lincoln has given us a most interesting work on the history of Greek criticism in his biography of Casaubon; and Barclay V. Head's book on the *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse* is highly spoken of.

"Between these and the elementary works already mentioned come the *Private Orations of Demosthenes*, Parts I. and II., with explanatory notes by F. A. Paley and Sandys; *Antigone and Oedipus of Colonos* by Campbell and Abbott; Aristotle's *Ethics*, Books 1 to 4, by Moore; Homer's *Iliad*, books 1 to 12, by Reynolds; *Selections from Aristotle's Organon* by Magrath; the new editions of Grant's *Ethics*, and Congreve's *Politics* of Aristotle; and of Shilleto's excellent *De Falsa Legatione*. We have further a translation of a portion of Schleicher's *Compendium of Comparative Philology* by Bendall; a *Concordance to Homer* by Prendergast (privately printed); and Kennedy's *Studia Sophoclea*, containing a critique of Campbell's *Sophocles*.

"We ought not to conclude our review of Greek Philology in England without naming the three periodicals written in the English language which are mainly devoted to Classical Philology: the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*; the *Herm-*

thena, proceeding from Trinity College, Dublin; and the *Transactions of the American Philological Society*.

"If there is a difficulty in finding books to represent philology in England, in Germany the difficulty is all the other way; in fact, the contrast is so startling that our President agreed with me in thinking that it might be worth while for once to give a tolerably complete list of the editions of Greek authors, and of works illustrative of the same, which have appeared in Germany during the last year. Among philological works not included in the list may be mentioned particularly Christ, *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*; Fick, *Griechische Personennamen*; Dobree's *Adversaria*, edited by W. Wagner; Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*, part 2; Curtius, *Studien zur Griechischen u. Lat. Grammatik*, vol. vii. part 2; Didot, *Alde Mamuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*; Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste bei Griechen u. Römern*, vol. i. part 1; Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes u. die historische Kritik*; some more parts of the large French *Dictionary of Antiquities* now editing by Daremberg and Saglio; and a new periodical, most important for Classical bibliography, which has just been commenced under the superintendence of Bursian, assisted by some of the best German philologists, the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritt der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*. The yearly issue is to consist of twelve parts treating of the publications of the year next but one preceding. Thus the six parts which have come out since the beginning of this year contain an analysis and criticism of half of the books which appeared in Germany and elsewhere during the year 1873.

"For the list which follows I am indebted to my brother, Prof. John E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge."

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Æneae comm. poliorceticus. Rec. A. Hug. Leipzig, Teubner. 8vo, pp. xii, 88. 13½ Ngr.

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AESCHYLUS (see Euripides).

Agamemnon. Mit erläut. Anmerkungen hrsg. v. Rob. Enger. 2. Aufl. umgearb. v. Walther Gilbert. 8vo, pp. xxvi, 170. Leipzig, Teubner. 4 Thlr.

C. Loeschhorn, commentatio de Aeschyli anno natalicio. Poenaniae. Schrimm, Schreiber. 8vo, pp. 7. 6 Ngr.

Gust. Timm, Promethei Aeschylei versus 526-608 recensuit, commentario critico et exegetico instruxit. Rostock, Stillcr. 4to, pp. 24. 1/2 Thlr.

Roscher, W. H. zu Aeschylus Danaiden (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. cix).

N. Wecklein, zu A. (Rhein. Mus. 1874).

F. Blass, Aeschylus' Perser und die Eroberung von Eion. (ibid. 481-4).

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E. J. Kiehl emendations and essay on the wanderings of Io (Mnemosyne, 1875, pp. 227-240).

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Joan. Droysen, de Demophanti Patroclidis Tisameni populiscitis quae inserta sunt Andocidis orationi *περί μυστηρίων*. Berlin. 8vo, pp. 48.

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APOLLODORUS.

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A. Gemoll, emendation of Ap. III. 6 and 8 (Hermes viii, 231).

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Paul Bailleu, quomodo App. in bellorum civ. libris ii.-v. usus sit Asinii Pollionis historia. Göttingen (Berlin, Weber). 8vo, pp. 54. 1/2 Thlr.

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ARISTOPHANES.

Le Nuvole, tradotte da Vincenzo Mannini. Napoli, Fibreno. 16mo, pp. 80. 1 l.

Braeuning, über A. Frieden. Halle. 4to, pp. 27.

J. Hellen, extraits d'Aristophane. Traduction franç., accompagnée d'analyses et de remarques philologiques. Paris, Delalain. 12mo, pp. 168. 2 fr.

H. Kruse, quaestiones Aristophaneae. Berlin, Calvary. 4to, pp. 30. 12 Ngr.

C. G. Cobet, adversaria critica ad Aristophanem (Mnemosyne 1874, pp. 411-423).

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Ar. Werke. Gr. u. deutsch u. mit sacherklär. Anmerkungen. Vol. iv. Arist. üb. d. Dichtkunst. Hrg. v. Prof. Dr. Frz. Susemihl. 2nd ed. 8vo, pp. xxxvi, 313. Leipzig, Engelmann. 1 1/2 Thlr.

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V. J. Loebe, commentationis de elocutione Callimachi pars II. Putbus. 4to, pp. 20.

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— ausgewählte Reden, erkl. v. C. Rehdantz. I. (2). Rede über den Frieden; 2–3. Reden gegen Philippos; über die Angelegenheiten im Chersones; Hagesippos Rede über Halonnes. Indioes. 3 Aufl. Leipzig, Teubner. 8vo, pp. 296. 1 Thlr. 3 Ngr.

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W. Teuffel, zu Eur. taurischer Iphigenie (Rhein. Mus. 1874, pp. 191-4). Zu Euripides (ibid. p. 509).

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— das System der hesiodischen Kosmogonie. Dazu ein Plan, enth. die Vorstellung Hesiods v. Himmel, Erde u. Tartarus. Leipzig, Teubner. 8vo, pp. v, 134. 28 Ngr.

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C. G. Cobet, Hes. glossa comica [*παισιβόκτων*, l. *παισιβ.*] emendata (Mnemosyne 1874, p. 162).

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A. Krichenbauer, ein Schluss auf das Alter der Ilias aus der Differenz zwischen dem Sirius- und Sonnenjahr (Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1874); also separate issue. Wien, Gerold. 8vo, pp. 16. 6 Ngr.

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G. Hirschfeld, zwei athenische Inschriften, welche den *ἄγος λαρός* angehen (ibid. 350-360).
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Choix des dialogues des morts. Edition classique conforme au texte adopté par le conseil de l'instruction publique, accompagnée de notes où sont indiqués les paragraphes de la grammaire grecque de M. Burnouf relatifs à l'intelligence du texte, et de vingt-deux tableaux étymologiques, contenant les mots latins et français dérivés des racines qui se trouvent dans les dialogues, par L. Dumas. Nouvelle éd. Paris, Delalain. 12mo, pp. viii, 116. 90 c.

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— I dialoghi nuovamente volgarizzati da Eugenio Ferrari. III. Padua. 8vo, pp. 536. 6 l. 50 c.

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 P. Müllemeister, de fontibus Pyrrhi Plutarchei. Göttingen, Dieterich. 8vo, pp. 32. 6 Ngr.

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- Althaus, Ern., quaestionum de Iulii Pollucis fontibus specimen. Berlin, Weber. 8vo, pp. 40. $\frac{1}{3}$ Thlr.

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- R. Hercher (Hermes ix. 112-3).

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- H. v. Herwerden, Polybiana (Mnemosyne 1874, pp. 73-79).

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- C. Wachsmuth über die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung von Pr. Comm. zu Euklid's Elem. (Rhein. Mus. xxix, 317-320).

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- V. Rose, Pt. und die Schule von Toledo (Hermes viii, 327-349).

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- L. Ulrichs, ein neues Stück des Achaeos (Rhein. Mus. xxix, 356).
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- Eug. Pappenheim, de S. E. librorum numero et ordine. Berlin, Weber. 4to, pp. 17. $\frac{1}{3}$ Thlr.

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- A. Fouillée, La philosophie de Socrate. Paris, Ladrangé. 8vo, pp. xx, 1007. 16 fr.

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- Théâtre. Traduction nouvelle, précédée d'une notice biographique accompagnée de notes explicatives, par E. Personneaux. 2e éd. Paris, Charpentier. 18mo, pp. viii, 473.
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 G. Krüger, zu Sophokles (Rhein. Mus. 1874, pp. 189, 634).
 W. Teuffel über den Schluss des sophokleischen König Oedipus (ibid. pp. 505-9).
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STRABO.

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K. Frick, kritische Untersuchungen über das alte Chronikon, die ägyptische Königsliste des Eratosthenes und Apollodoros, das Sothisbuch und die ägyptische Königsliste des Synkellos (Rhein. Mus. xxix, 252-281).

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Fr. Schultz, die Mischung der Dialekte bei Theokrit. Berlin, Calvary. 4to, pp. 27. 12 Ngr.

K. Zettel, zu Theokrit (Blätter f. d. bayer. Gymn. x.).

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O. Kirchner, die botanischen Schriften d. Theophrast v. Eresos. [From Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher.] Leipzig, Teubner. 8vo, pp. 89. 24 Ngr.

C. G. Cobet, ad Theophr. characteres (Mnemosyne 1874, pp. 34-72).

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C. Buenger, Theopompea. Strassburg, Trübner. 8vo, pp. 71. 12 Ngr.

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lib. I., II. Ex recensione Bekkeri in usum scholarum ed. A. Schöne. Berlin, Weidmann. 8vo, pp. vi, 266. 2½ Thlr.

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qui fertur libellus de republica Atheniensium. In usum scholarum academicarum ed. A. Kirchhoff. Berlin, Hertz. 8vo, pp. xii, 23. 8 Ngr.

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A. Krohn, Sokrates und Xen. Halle, Mühlmann. 8vo, pp. x, 179. 1½ Thlr.

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Geist, Xenoph. Hellen. I. 1, § § 27, 28. Kurz zu Xenoph. Hellen. I. 2, § 8, 6 and 14. Miller zu Xenoph. Anab. III. 1, § 21 (all in Blätter f. d. bayerische Gymnasial-schulwesen x).

Th. Gleininger, de Xen. libello qui *πρόποι* inscribitur. Halle (Berlin, Mayer and Müller). 8vo, pp. 67. 12 Ngr.

E. Pohle, die angeblich Xenophonteische Apologie in ihrem Verhältnisse zum letzten Capitel der Memorabilien. Altenburg, Bonde. 8vo, pp. 66. 12 Ngr.

Gail. Vollbrecht, de Xen. Hellenicis in epitomen non coactis. Hannover (Leipzig, Teubner). 4to, pp. 47. 16 Ngr.

A. Zurborg, de Xen. libello qui *πρόποι* inscribitur. Berlin, Weber. 8vo, pp. 46. 12 Ngr.

ZONARAS.

Jo. Zonaras epitome historiarum. Cum Caroli Ducangii suisque annotationibus ed. Lud. Dindorfius. V. Leipzig, Teubner. 8vo, pp. ccciii. 1 Thlr.

LATIN.

Dr. Wagner, of Hamburg, whose name is so well known to us in connexion with Modern Greek studies, to whom the Society has been greatly indebted in former years, kindly undertook to furnish us with a report on the progress of Latin Philology.

"The foremost event in Latin Philology during the year 1874 is no doubt the publication of the first volume of Corssen's great work on the Etruscan language. Though doubts may be entertained as to many details propounded in this work, and though many explanations and derivations of Etruscan and other words found in it can be controverted, the most competent critics appear to be agreed as to the soundness of the theory itself on which the work is constructed, and which it is intended to prove. It is at all events a great gain to know that the Etruscan language should henceforth be considered as closely akin to the other Italic languages, though it has apparently gone furthest of all in the decomposition of its vowel-system. The second volume of Corssen's work remains to be expected; it will contain a systematic grammar of the language, as far as this can be elicited from the extant monuments. It will thus form an almost indispensable supplement of the first volume, though this furnishes most of the materials for it. A very interesting and full

account of the grammatical peculiarities of the Etruscan language—and it is its inflexion and grammar that proves the Etruscan language to be of Italic origin—has been given by Moritz Schmidt (of Jena) in an article on Corssen's book, printed in one of the latest numbers of the *Annals of Philology* edited by Fleckeisen.¹

"The other branches of the Italic dialects have likewise been carefully studied and reviewed in the course of this year. We will chiefly mention Savelberg's '*Umbrian Studies*,'² which are replete with sagacious observations and ingenious theories bearing upon the whole group of the Italian languages, though here too the observation might be made that not all will agree with all. But the remark would be trite; for in what department of philological labour would it and could it be otherwise? Suffice it to say that Savelsberg enters very carefully into the various interchanges of letters between Umbrian and Latin, and that he touches upon the derivations of many Latin words. The interchange of *v* and *h* leads him to discuss a new theory concerning the Latin vowel-conjugations in *a-*, *e-*, *i-*, which he supposes to have originally ended in *ar-*, *ev-*, *iv-*; and analogously he holds that *aF*, *eF*, *iF*, were the original endings of the corresponding classes of verbs in Greek. In treating of this point, the author enters upon such a curious form as *restaverit* in Propertius iii. 26, 53 (Paley), which he attempts to defend as a peculiar form of the future. But this is surely going too far, and it should be borne in mind that the reading in the passage referred to is much too uncertain to be depended on. I am convinced that the Naples MS. of Propertius should always be treated as the chief authority, and that reads *restabit*, not *restaverit*. But in spite of such exaggerations as this, Savelberg's *Studies* appear to deserve the most careful consideration.

"The popular or vulgar Latin has been re-considered and

¹ Since the above has been written, Corssen's theory has been attacked by Aufrecht and Bréal, and principally by Dr. W. Deeke, '*Corssen und die Sprache der Etrusker*.' Stuttgart. See also J. G. Cuno's *Etruscan Studies*, *JaArb.* 109.

² *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Band 21, s. 97—237.

elucidated by a scholar whose mere name is a guarantee for sound and accurate work, E. Wölfflin, in his 'Observations on Vulgar Latin,'¹ which abound in illustrations collected from various sources. There is also an essay by O. Rebling on the same subject.²

"For the etymology of the Latin language, A. Vaniček, a pupil of George Curtius, has presented the teachers of Latin with a very serviceable manual, published by Teubner. The book is very sound, and the only exception we can take to it is that it is somewhat too short and concise. This is, however, a fault on the right side, and may easily be amended in subsequent editions, which we feel certain that the book will reach. Vaniček has also published a Latin Grammar on the model of Curtius's work for Greek; but it will probably be a long time before Latin comes to be taught in Germany in this manner. Mr. Key's Latin Grammar upon the crude-form system is very little known in Germany, and it is to be regretted that the opposition in which this excellent scholar has placed himself to the German school of philology would no doubt prevent German scholars from going very far into it. It would, however, amply repay accurate study, and Mr. Key's Syntax is certainly one of the best in existence.

"The well-known work of *Neue* (better known to many students of Sophocles as *Nevius*) has just come out in a second edition—at least, so far as the second volume is concerned. It forms a great storehouse of learning, but is now sadly in want of an index. It would be desirable that such an index should also comprise Schneider's 'Formenlehre,' of which *Neue* professes to be a continuation.

"Speaking of Latin grammar, we will not forget to add that the first part of the Lectures of the late Prof. F. Haase on 'Lateinische Sprachwissenschaft' has been published. Haase himself had acquired his great reputation as a Latin scholar by editing, in 1839, Reisig's Lectures on the same subject with most valuable notes—a book which remains a standard work on Latin grammar (chiefly the syntactical part).

¹ *Philologus*, xxiv. pp. 137-165.

² Kieler Gelehrtenschule.

Haase's own Lectures will form a valuable supplement of Reisig's.

"The sixth volume of the great collection of the Latin grammarians by Keil is now complete. It contains the 'Scriptores artis metricæ,' among whom Marius Victorinus and Terentianus Maurus hold the first place.

"The late Professor Klotz's Lectures on Latin style have also been published, but do not seem to be a great addition to our knowledge of the subject. There is now a rage in Germany to publish great scholars' lectures after their decease—rather a questionable practice!

"Passing on to Latin literature itself, we have not to report of many new editions of paramount interest. The number of writers whose text has not been to a great extent settled by the indefatigable critical labours of this century is daily becoming smaller, and in some authors the task of merely textual criticism seems to be nearly exhausted; while there is much to be done yet for the thorough interpretation of nearly all Latin writers. Such commentaries as Prof. Conington's on Virgil, and Munro's on Lucretius, are exceedingly scarce, and it is to be desired that the exertions of scholars will be directed to similar exhaustive studies on Latin authors more and more, after the critical materials have been collected. We have lately received the first volume of Mr. Wickham's edition of Horace, published by the Clarendon Press—a work elaborated with a good deal of the Coningtonian spirit, though not nearly so detailed as Conington's Virgil. But in Horace a wise limitation of the illustrations to be brought forward is after all preferable to fruitless endeavours at anything like completeness. Too much has been said in illustration of this favourite poet, and to make appropriate selections is in him almost more difficult than to put forth new and original matter. In this we can honestly say that Mr. Wickham's edition has greatly pleased us. He has produced notes on this most 'tasteful' of all Roman poets, in which good taste is always conspicuous. A neat edition of the whole of Horace has been published by Lucian Müller, so well known as one of the first authorities in the department of Latin

poetry; his 'Lectiones Venusinæ' (originally published in the Transactions of the St. Petersburg Academy) contain his arguments for some of the readings adopted by him. The Scholia of Porphyry on Horace—the only ones of authority with which Aeron and the so-called Commentator Cruquianus cannot compete—have been carefully edited by a young Bavarian scholar, Mr. Meyer. Pauly's and Hauthal's editions are utterly untrustworthy.

"A reprint of M. Haupt's *édition de luxe* of Virgil (which we have not, however, seen) is stated to contain that scholar's revision of the curious poem 'Ætna,' commonly ascribed to Seneca's friend Lucilius, a poem edited by Mr. Munro some time ago with the readings of the excellent Cambridge MS. Haupt had previously published numerous emendations of the very corrupt text of this poem—one of the most difficult problems of textual criticism in Latin literature. We have no doubt but that the edition, which was, however, published after Haupt's death, will be found to contain new and ingenious contributions to the emendation of the text.

"In the Teubner collection of Latin authors we notice two editions of considerable interest. The first is Gardthausen's edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer whom Mommsen has called the greatest historian in Roman literature. Eyssenhardt's edition, published some five years back, had been universally condemned by the most competent judges, Mommsen among them, and turns out to be indeed very superficial and careless. Gardthausen's text and critical notes convey a different impression; and besides this, the editor has succeeded in amending his author's text in not a few places. Ammianus Marcellinus is a peculiar writer, and not easy to understand. He writes Latin like a foreigner and a soldier; but he is thoughtful and energetic. The second work is E. Bährens's edition of the Panegyrici, who are just as polished in their style as Ammianus is uncouth; but still they contain important materials for the history of the latter time of the Roman Empire, and a careful edition was indeed a desideratum. The text is, however, dependent upon very late MSS., while in the case of Ammianus we possess at least one MS. of considerable antiquity.

"Among those writers whose text deserves to be settled and elucidated, we should mention Claudian and Ausonius. There are hopes of obtaining a critical edition of the first, but nobody speaks of the latter.

"Before concluding our report on Latin, we have yet to mention two contributions to Latin philology, both of them English productions. In the first place we would mention Mr. Wordsworth's *Specimens of Early Latin*, published by the Clarendon Press. This is a work which does honour to the studies carried on at the University of Oxford, and to the practical spirit in which the knowledge of the earlier forms of Latin is brought to bear on the more thorough appreciation of the so-called 'Classics.' Mr. Wordsworth has gone over the works of the German scholars with untiring zeal and independent judgment, and it is this feature that renders his book a valuable contribution to Latin philology. In Germany there are what is commonly called 'schools' or philological sects, and there nothing is more frequent than the 'jurare in verba magistri,' especially in the department of Latin grammar, in which so great a revolution has been wrought by the works of Lachmann and Ritschl. But great men are apt to be dictatorial, and the little follow in their wake. Controversies arise, and are carried on in a style difficult to describe. In such things where the 'school' stand up for all the master has said, it is desirable to hear the opinion of an intelligent outsider whose judgment may be supposed to be unbiassed. Mr. Wordsworth is impartial and independent throughout, and that renders his opinion highly valuable. In the grammatical introduction prefixed to his work we should disagree with him in perhaps a considerable number of places; but we always recognize that he has a right to his opinion, as he has fully considered the various theories put forward. In the texts he has selected, his illustrations are to the point, and several times he appears to have produced good emendations of corrupt passages.¹

¹ See also an article by Mr. Munro in the *Academy* of July 3, 1875.

"The second and last work we have to mention is our former President's work on Latin Pronunciation, a book I have read with much interest, and not a little profit. Owing to my residence in Germany, I cannot but find it difficult to realize what has been done, since 1870, towards the improvement of the English pronunciation of Latin. But I have carefully read the discussions carried on in the *Academy*, and have gone over Mr. Ellis's work. Mr. Ellis's theories of Latin accent I am fully prepared to accept, and they are, as far as I see, in harmony with the traditions of the best time of antiquity. I am glad to find that Mr. Ellis insists on the careful observation of accent and quantity, but may be allowed to add that at least in the last twenty years we Germans have been very careful in observing the very rules he insists upon. We have not, indeed, pronounced *sapiēns* and *cōsul* with the *e* and *o* long, but we do not admit *hōminēs*, but train our pupils to pronounce *hōminēs*, with the pitch on the first syllable and the ending long. In another point, the practice of many good teachers in Germany has likewise anticipated Mr. Ellis's results, I mean the pronunciation of 'slurred vowels,' while conservative people still cling to the antiquated practice of completely 'eliding' the vowels in question. With regard to final *m*, I am willing to accept Mr. Ellis's general conclusions, though I confess to finding a *terraruddominos* rather strange, nor do I exactly see why a Roman should not have pronounced *terrarundominos*, as I should prefer to do. In the matter of Latin verse pronunciation, I should like to hear Mr. Ellis's *vivā voce* teaching; it is difficult to realize this part from the printed page. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Ellis's book is of value, not only to the British teacher of Latin, but to the Latin philologist in general.

"One more observation, and I have done. It is noticeable that the German philologists still maintain their superiority in the field of Latin philology, but it is equally noteworthy that the English scholars are rapidly working up to them, and have already attained to a certain independence in treating Latin authors.

“The editions published with English notes have no doubt helped this development in many ways, and among these some of the works in the ‘*Bibliotheca Classica*’ and in the Clarendon Press Series are of real importance to Latin philologists. The sound practical sense which is such a prominent feature in the English character manifests itself in the department of Latin philology as well as in other parts of study, and the materials amassed by German scholars begin to be digested and put to use. It is to be hoped that this development will continue; the labours of English scholars would then again exercise an influence of their own on German scholarship, which is painstaking and industrious throughout, but apt to overdo things. We are sorry to find that not a single contribution to Latin scholarship has been made by the French in 1874¹—many school-books have been published, but what we have seen did not appear to be very scholarly. No independent French work, that may be called an actual contribution to Latin philology, has lately come to our knowledge. The Italians do not seem to produce anything important in the same branch of study, nor do the Spanish and Portuguese. Among the smaller nations, the Danes have produced respectable Latin scholars, notably Madvig. The Germans, the English, and the Danes—i.e. the Teutonic race—are doing the honours of Latin philology!”

ROMANCE.

M. Paul Meyer, of the *Ecole des Chartes*, etc., one of our Honorary Members, and one of the founders of the Old-French Text Society,—which has, to our great gratification, sprung into existence since my predecessor’s last Address,—has been good enough, notwithstanding the immense pressure of his other engagements, to continue for us this year the summary of progress in the philology of the Romance languages which his former long and valuable Report for Mr. Ellis’s last Address began. M. Meyer has also laid us under

¹ In the *Revue Critique* of March 27, 1875, M. E. Jacob’s edition of Tacitus receives a favourable notice; but I have not seen the work, and do not know whether it was published in 1874.

further obligation by obtaining for us from the first authority on Wallachian, *i. e.* M. Picot, a Report on the late works on that language, a language which is now for the first time included in your President's Annual Address.

“Il ne s'est produit dans le domaine des études romanes aucun ouvrage réellement éminent depuis que la Société philologique a bien voulu me charger une première fois de lui exposer le progrès de ces études. Je n'aurai à signaler présentement aucun travail qui pour l'importance du sujet, l'étendue et la sûreté des recherches, soit comparable aux *Saggi Ladini* de M. Ascoli, au *Saint Alexis* de M. G. Paris, au *Villehardouin* et au *Joinville* de M. de Wailly. Toutefois le progrès est sensible : le nombre des travailleurs s'accroît ; les essais, les dissertations, les éditions, s'accumulent, au point qu'il devient difficile de se tenir au courant de tout ce qui se publie sur les langues et les littératures des pays latins. Le mouvement en avant se dessine : fécond en résultats dès maintenant et plein de promesses pour l'avenir.

“L'Allemagne continue encore à tenir la tête, ici comme en d'autres directions. Elle domine par l'abondance et par la valeur moyenne de sa production. Sans doute, entre tant de publications romanes qui nous viennent d'outre Rhin il en est peu qui s'élèvent au dessus d'une respectable médiocrité, mais il faut aussi reconnaître que celles auxquelles toute valeur fait défaut sont infiniment rares. Rien d'excellent, rien de décidément mauvais. Tel est l'effet d'une forte discipline scientifique qui ne suffit pas assurément à susciter des œuvres de génie, mais qui du moins amène chacun à faire le meilleur usage possible de ses facultés.

“Dans les pays romans, au contraire, où cette discipline existe à un moindre degré, les œuvres dépourvues de méthode, les élucubrations vaines ou même ridicules sont loin d'être des accidents isolés ; mais en revanche un goût supérieur et une intelligence vive et nette sont des qualités relativement fréquentes, et lorsqu'elles s'unissent à l'usage de la critique, on voit se produire des œuvres d'une haute distinction, où se trouve le gain réel des études romanes pendant ces dernières années.

“ Je suivrai dans cette rapide revue l'ordre adopté dans mon précédent rapport. On remarquera qu'à mesure que les études romanes se développent, les philologues, et ceux là même qui possèdent la connaissance scientifique de l'ensemble des langues latines, tendent de plus en plus à concentrer leurs efforts sur un idiome en particulier. Cette tendance, qui n'a rien que de conforme à la marche ordinaire des sciences, explique comment nous n'aurons à enregistrer, à part certaines collectanées étymologiques, aucun ouvrage qui traite simultanément de plusieurs langues romanes.

“ *Italie.*—*L'Archivio glottologico italiano* se poursuit d'une manière digne de ses débuts. L'importance des *Saggi Ladini* de M. Ascoli, dont je n'ai pu donner l'an dernier qu'une bien rapide et *inadequate* appréciation, consiste non pas seulement dans la valeur des résultats obtenus, mais encore dans la conception d'un plan qui se laisse aisément adapter à l'étude de tout dialecte italien, et même, *mutatis mutandis*, de tout dialecte roman. Ce plan, M. Nigra, qui est, comme chacun sait, non moins philologue que diplomate, l'a suivi dans un exposé très complet du dialecte de *Val Soana*,¹ petite vallée située au pied des Alpes, dans l'arrondissement d'Ivrée. On lira avec intérêt, à la suite de ce mémoire, de curieuses recherches sur le jargon que les habitants de Val Soana emploient entre eux pour éviter d'être compris par les étrangers. Ce jargon est une modification, tout artificielle et de convention, de leur patois.

“ Aux documents authentiques, en petit nombre, que nous possédons sur le dialecte de la Sardaigne, s'est récemment ajoutée une charte de la fin du *xi^{ème}* siècle, publiée dans la *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*² par les soins de M. Blancard, qui l'a trouvée dans les archives de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor, à Marseille, et de M. Wescher, qui l'a déchiffrée. La pièce est en latin, mais en un latin plein

¹ Dans le tom. iii. de l'*Archivio glottologico*.

² T. xxv. p. 255 et suiv. A cette publication est joint un fac-simile lithographique qui sans doute ne vaut pas une photographie, mais la couleur foncée de l'original s'opposait à une reproduction photographique.

de mots et de formes vulgaires. De plus, elle est écrite en caractères grecs par conséquent de manière à noter les sons, sans préoccupation de l'orthographe latine. M. G. Paris prépare un mémoire sur ce curieux document.

“La *Rivista di Filologia romanza* accorde aux recherches d'histoire littéraire, dont nous n'avons pas à nous occuper ici, une place prépondérante : elle a toutefois commencé (t. i. p. 207-225) la publication d'un travail étendu de M. Canello sur les voyelles toniques en italien. La partie mise au jour se rapporte à l'i.—Un philologue qui, de même que M. Canello, a commencé de se faire connaître dans ces dernières années, M. N. Caix, a fait paraître dans l'*Ateneo* (t. i.) une importante critique du mémoire de M. Storm sur les voyelles atones du latin, des dialectes italiques et de l'Italien.¹ Dans l'*Ateneo* encore ont été présentées par le même savant de judicieuses observations sur quelques unes des étymologies contenues dans l'*Etymologisches Wörterbuch* de M. Diez. On doit aussi à M. Caix un écrit d'une plus grande portée : la *Formazione degli idiomi letterarii, in ispecie dell'italiano, dopo le ultime ricerche*,² où il s'étudie à prouver que l'italien littéraire n'est pas uniquement toscan ou florentin, mais que d'autres dialectes (notamment ceux du nord de l'Italie) et des emprunts au latin classique ont contribué à sa formation. C'est, comme on voit, une opinion qui peut-être plus ou moins juste, ou plus ou moins fausse, selon l'extension qu'un lui donne.

“Voici un bien court travail de M. Mussafia : *Cinque Sonetti antichi tratti da un codice della Palatina di Vienna*,³ mais la valeur des écrits de M. Mussafia ne se mesure pas au nombre des pages. Ces sonnets, qui sont aussi remarquables par leur élégance qu'intéressants par leur ancienneté (XIII^{ème} siècle) et leur caractères dialectaux, ont été depuis leur publication, étudiés par M. Caix dans la *Rivista Europea*.

“Bien que la nouvelle édition du célèbre poème de Ciullo

¹ Publié dans les *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, t. ii. (1873).

² *Nuova Antologia*, Septembre, 1874.

³ *Sitzungsberichte d. Phil.-Hist. Classe d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften* (Wien), t. lxxvi. p. 379-88 (1874).

d'Alcamo, due à M. d'Ancona,¹ ait surtout un intérêt littéraire, il ne serait pas légitime de passer ici sous silence un travail qui apporte à la philologie italienne un contingent important de notions nouvelles et précises, non seulement en donnant pour la première fois un texte critique d'une poésie longtemps regardée comme le plus ancien document de la littérature italienne, mais aussi en déterminant la date de cette poésie (entre 1231 et 1250), en lui restituant son dialecte (le sicilien), et en faisant connaître son véritable caractère, qui est dans une grande mesure celui d'une poésie populaire.

"La *métrique*, ou pour parler plus correctement quand il s'agit des langues romanes, la *rhythmique* est une partie de la philologie. A ce titre une mention est due au travail distingué que M. Schuchardt a récemment publié sous le titre de *Ritornell und Terzine*² sur la poésie populaire amoureuse de l'Italie, considérée principalement dans sa forme.

"Je ne fais point doute qu'il a dû paraître sur la philologie italienne d'autres travaux dignes d'attention, mais même à Paris il est difficile de se tenir au courant du mouvement érudit, et je ne puis mentionner que ce qui est parvenu à ma connaissance.

"*Pays roumains*.—Pour cette partie de ma tâche le sentiment profond de mon incompétence m'a conduit à demander le concours d'un des érudits les plus versés dans la connaissance de la littérature des Valaques. M. E. Picot, de qui je signalais l'an dernier un travail intéressant sur le dialecte roumain du Banat, a bien voulu répondre à mon appel, et je lui laisse la parole.

"L'année 1874 n'a produit dans le domaine roumain qu'un petit nombre de travaux linguistiques. Le *Diction-*

¹ *Il Contrasto di CIULLO D'ALCAMO*, ristampato secondo la lezione del cod. Vaticano 3793, con commenti e illustrazioni di Al. d'Ancona. Bologna, 1874, in-8°.—C'est un extrait, publié d'avance, de la *Raccolta di rime antiche* qui fait (ou plutôt fera) partie de la *Collezione di opere inedite o rare*, publiée avec l'appui du gouvernement italien.

² *Ritornell und Terzine*, Begrüßungsschrift der Universität Halle-Wittenberg zum sechzigjährigen Doctor-Jubiläum des Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl Witte, von Dr. Hugo Schuchardt. Halle, 1875, 4to.

nariulu limbei romane, publié par la Société littéraire de Bucarest, en est arrivé à son 24^{ème} fascicule qui termine la lettre *O*, mais les auteurs de ce lexique, MM. Laurianu et Massimu n'ont tenu aucun compte des critiques qui leur ont été adressées. Ils ont continué leur œuvre avec sérénité, élaguant de l'idiome national tous les mots qui ne leur semblaient pas avoir une physionomie assez latine, et les remplaçant par des créations *scientifiques* qui devront rendre à la langue sa pureté primitive. Cet échaffaudage de néologismes est sorti de la tête des deux auteurs, qui auraient beaucoup mieux employé leur temps en nous donnant un dépouillement des mots employés par les écrivains roumains depuis le xvi^{ème} siècle. Il est vrai que MM. Laurianu et Massimu nous présentent leur ouvrage comme un simple 'projet.'

"Un livre conçu en dehors de ces préoccupations pédantesques jette un jour nouveau sur un coin peu connu de la linguistique roumaine; nous voulons parler de l'*Itinéraire en Istrie* de Jean Maiorescu (*Itinerar in Istria și Vocabular istriano-român*), publié par le fils du voyageur, M. Titu Maiorescu, aujourd'hui ministre de l'instruction publique de Roumanie (Iassi, 1874, in 8°). On est surpris, en parcourant le vocabulaire dressé par M. Maiorescu, de trouver une similitude aussi complète entre le dialecte parlé par les quelques milliers de Roumains qui sont venus échouer en Istrie à la suite d'événements inconnus, et le dialecte parlé sur les bords du Danube. Ainsi se confirme une observation déjà faite plusieurs fois: c'est que le roumain est de tous les idiomes romans celui qui possède le moins de différences dialectales. Il eût été désirable seulement que M. Maiorescu joignît à son vocabulaire quelque texte en langue vulgaire, qui nous eût donné une idée des formes grammaticales et syntactiques des Roumains de l'Istrie.

"M. Titu Maiorescu, qui est en Roumanie, et plus spécialement en Moldavie, le chef d'une école littéraire dont les *Convorbiri literare* de Iassi sont l'organe, vient de réunir en volume les articles critiques publiés par lui dans ces dernières années (*Critice*, Bucuresci, 1874, in-12). On trouve dans

ce volume plusieurs études sur la poésie roumaine actuelle, et une reproduction légèrement augmentée d'un travail publié en 1866 sur l'orthographe roumaine (*Despre scrierea limbii române*).

"Les contes, les chants, les proverbes et les usages populaires roumains sont bien loin d'être connus comme ils le méritent; aussi doit-on mentionner avec intérêt quelques publications nouvelles. Sans nous arrêter aux contes populaires insérés dans divers journaux, nous citerons un petit recueil édité par le directeur d'une imprimerie de Bucarest (*Snove seu Poveste populare*; Bucurescî, 1873-74, 2 vol. in-16). En Bucovine, M. Simeone Marianu a fait paraître les deux premiers volumes d'un recueil de chants nationaux (*Poesie poporali române adunate și întocmite*; Cernăuți, 1874, in-8), mais il a eu la malencontreuse idée de les remanier, et la science sérieuse profitera peu de sa collection.

"Un jeune homme de Bucarest, M. G. Dem. Teodorescu, entre dans une voie également digne d'encouragements. Il a publié un recueil d'intéressants articles sur les usages et les superstitions populaires (*Incer cari critice asupra unor credințe, datine și moravuri ale poporului român*; Bucurescî, 1874, in 8°), et prépare d'autres publications sur le même sujet. Pour le remarquer en passant, ceux qui aborderont cet ordre de travaux feront bien de ne pas trop se hâter d'établir des rapprochements entre les usages actuels du peuple roumain et les usages des anciens Romains.

"Quelque rapide que doive être cette revue, nous ne pouvons omettre l'Histoire critique des Roumains (*Storia critică a Românilor*) de M. B. P. Hâșdeu. Ce livre qui atteste beaucoup de recherches dans des directions diverses, touche souvent à la linguistique, mais, en dépit de son titre, l'auteur manque souvent de critique et de prudence. La langue dace, par exemple, n'a pas de secrets pour lui, mais il ne prend pas même le soin de déterminer le groupe d'idiômes dans lequel il convient de la classer. Avait-elle des affinités particulières avec les langues germaniques, avec les langues slaves ou celtiques? le point n'est même pas abordé dans le livre de M. Hâșdeu; toutes les questions y sont résolues avant d'être traitées.

"*Espagne et Portugal.*—La philologie, telle qu'on l'entend de nos jours, n'est encore que faiblement représentée au sud des Pyrénées. Je ne trouve rien à signaler en Portugal (et je voudrais que ce fût faute d'informations) sinon une fâcheuse nouvelle: la *Bibliographia critica de Historia e Literatura* que M. Coelho dirigeait, avec une science trop peu proportionnée, peut-être, au milieu qu'il s'agissait d'éclairer, n'a pas trouvé un accueil suffisant, et a dû cesser de paraître. En Espagne du moins, malgré les difficultés du temps présent, il s'est publié quelque bons travaux d'histoire littéraire où une certaine place est faite à la philologie. Je puis citer un précieux chapitre sur la versification de quelques anciens poèmes espagnols et des *romances*, dans l'excellent livre de M. Milá y Fontanals de la *Poesia heróico-popular castellana* (Barcelona, 1874, 8°). Au même savant est dû un court essai sur la phonétique du catalan, qui n'est sans doute que le précurseur d'une œuvre plus considérable.

"C'est en France qu'a été publiée la meilleure étude dont un texte espagnol ait été l'objet depuis bien longtemps. M. A. Morel-Fatio a présenté en Janvier 1874, à l'Ecole des Chartes une thèse sur le *libro de Alexandre*, où ce précieux monument de la littérature espagnole et du dialecte léonais est examiné à tous les points de vue avec autant de critique que d'érudition.¹ Le texte si corrompu du poème est restitué en maint endroit, par conjecture malheureusement, l'auteur n'ayant pu collationner le MS. unique (et certainement très-fautif) du *libro de Alexandre*. Dès maintenant l'étude de M. Morel-Fatio sur la langue de cet ouvrage remplace avantageusement le mémoire que M. Gessner a publié sur le même sujet en 1867.

"*France.*—La division des dialectes romans de la France (y compris ceux de la Belgique et de la Suisse) en deux groupes: langue d'oïl et langue d'oc, est commode et correspond passablement au développement de la littérature de ces mêmes pays. Cependant, à ne considérer que les faits lin-

¹ *Romania*, iv. 7-90.

guistiques, elle peut n'être pas à l'abri de toute contestation. Ainsi en a jugé M. Ascoli, en proposant de former un nouveau groupe pour certains dialectes que jusqu'ici on avait coutume de distribuer entre la langue d'oïl et la langue d'oc. L'objet des *Schizzi franco-provenzali*,¹ où on reconnaît toute la précision, tout le talent d'exposition qui distinguent le savant auteur des *Saggi Ladini*, est de montrer que les dialectes romans de la Suisse occidentale, de la Savoie, du Nord du Dauphiné, d'une partie de la Bourgogne, de la Franche-Comté, du sud de la Lorraine, constituent un type linguistique spécial, ayant sa place à part dans la grande famille romane. A ce type M. Ascoli donne le nom de 'franco-provençal' en raison des caractères qui s'y rencontrent. Je dois avouer qu'il ne m'a pas paru que M. Ascoli ait pleinement démontré sa thèse, ni même qu'il y ait beaucoup d'utilité à ce qu'elle soit démontrée. Selon moi, ce qui importe le plus c'est de reconnaître en chaque pays les faits du langage; ce qui importe le moins, c'est de déterminer des circonscriptions dialectales, opération qui ne peut se faire qu'à la suite d'un choix, toujours plus ou moins arbitraire, entre certains des faits étudiés. Mais cette remarque, que je ne puis développer ici, ne diminue point la valeur des recherches de M. Ascoli, qui a su tirer tout le parti possible de textes patois orthographiés d'après des systèmes variés, et conséquemment d'un emploi difficile.

"Les études provençales sont en progrès et font de nouvelles recrues. Les fêtes, à la fois scientifiques et littéraires, qui ont eu lieu en Avril dernier à Montpellier, sous les auspices de la Société pour l'étude des langues romanes, ont donné l'occasion à nos compatriotes du Languedoc et de la Provence de faire paraître l'affection qu'ils portent à leur passé. —La *Revue des langues romanes*, se partageant entre l'état ancien et l'état moderne de la langue d'oc et de sa littérature, a mis au jour un grand nombre de poésies populaires et de textes du moyen-âge, chartes, coutumes, etc., qui sont d'ex-

¹ Font suite, dans l'*Archivio glottologico* au mémoire de M. Nigra mentionné plus haut.

cellents matériaux pour l'étude des dialectes.—La *Romania* (iii. 433-42) a publié et commenté au point de vue de la langue, une charte (1268 ou 1269) écrite en un dialecte jusqu'ici bien peu étudié, celui des Landes.—Deux poèmes provençaux, l'un très-long, la vie de Saint Honorat, l'autre très-court, les Litanies des saints mises en roman par un franciscain, ont été édités en Provence et par des Provençaux.¹ Certes ces éditions sont bien fautives, et l'éducation philologique de leurs auteurs est toute à faire, mais il faut surtout y voir une marque d'intérêt pour la littérature provençale.—De l'Allemagne, le pays classique de la philologie, nous avons droit d'exiger mieux. Aussi ne pouvons nous faire bon accueil à la 3^e édition de la Chrestomathie provençale de M. Bartsch (1875), où le vice originel d'une composition hâtive se laisse encore trop apercevoir.²

“L'activité est plus grande dans la domaine de la langue d'oïl, qui, il faut le dire, fournit une plus ample matière aux recherches. La langue et les textes sont en ce moment chez nous l'objet d'études très variées et généralement bien conduites. A la pure phonétique appartiennent les travaux de MM. Havet et Schuchardt³ sur les diphthongues *oi*, *ui* en français. Je n'en dirai rien y ayant compris peu de chose. Des recherches de M. Storm⁴ et de M. Suchier⁵ sur la phonétique des serments de 842, il y a peu de résultats sûrs à tirer. Et du reste il n'est pas surprenant que sur un texte aussi souvent étudié on ne trouve plus guère à faire que des conjectures plus ou moins vraisemblables. Il y aussi des recherches de phonétique dans le *Dialecte poitevin au XII^{ème} siècle* de M. Boucherie,⁶ mais fort incomplètes et d'ailleurs

¹ *La Vida de sant Honorat*, légende en vers provençaux par Raymond FÉRAUD, troubadour niçois du XIII^e siècle, publiée par M. SARDOU. Nice, 1874. — V. LIEUTAUD, *Un troubadour aptésien de l'ordre de Saint François* (dans la *Revue de Marseille*, 1874).

² Voy. à ce sujet *Romania*, iv. 130.

³ Schuchardt, *Romania*, iii. 279-82, et iv. 119-22; Havet *ibid.* 321-38; cf. les notes jointes par le même un second article de M. Schuchardt.

⁴ *Romania*, iii. 286-90; cf. mes objections, *ibid.* 371-3.

⁵ *Jahrbuch für romanische Literatur*, nouv. série, i. 383-5.

⁶ Paris et Montpellier, 1873, in-8°. Extrait du *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*. Voir la critique de M. Tobler, *Göt. Gel. Anz.*, 11 Nov. 1874, et cf. *Romania*, iv. 156-7.

présentées selon un ordre qui laisse bien à désirer. On peut aussi regretter que M. Boucheria, au lieu de prendre pour base de son travail des documents datés de temps et de lieu, tels que les chartes (qui existent en abondance dans les archives de l'ouest de la France), ait fondé son étude à peu près uniquement sur un texte littéraire—un recueil de sermons—dont la date et le lieu d'origine ne peuvent être déterminés avec précision. M. G. Raynaud, qui a présenté en Janvier dernier à l'Ecole des Chartes une thèse sur le dialecte picard (particulièrement celui d'Abbeville), n'a pas commis cette faute, et son mémoire, qui paraîtra prochainement dans la *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* avec un riche appendice de chartes abbeilloises, épuise pour longtemps le sujet.

“L'étude des dialectes sous leur forme moderne, c'est à dire des patois, est et demeure chez nous fort en retard. Cette étude peut procéder de deux façons : ou par voie de glossaires, comme en Angleterre selon la méthode de la *Dialect Society*, ou, comme en Italie, sous l'impulsion de M. Ascoli, par voie d'exposé grammatical. Le point important est que les travailleurs qui cultivent cette branche de la philologie joignent à la connaissance approfondie des patois celle non moins indispensable de la méthode selon laquelle les faits doivent être exprimés et classés. Or la seconde de ces connaissances fait ordinairement défaut à ceux qui chez nous écrivent sur les patois. J'ai mentionné l'an dernier, à titre d'heureuse exception, la grammaire limousine de M. Chabaneau, toujours *in progress*, et je ne vois point, cette année, de nouvelle exception à signaler. Ce ne sera certainement pas l'ouvrage de M. Talbert sur le dialecte blaisois,¹ thèse de doctorat où l'on ne peut reconnaître ni véritable connaissance du sujet, ni méthode. Il faut cependant se hâter, si l'on veut conserver quelque souvenir des idiomes populaires qui, chez nous comme ailleurs, s'éteignent peu à peu.

“Les recherches étymologiques, qui pour une grande part ne sont que l'application des lois de la phonétique, exercent

¹ *Du dialecte blaisois et de sa conformité avec l'ancienne langue française*, 1874. Voy. la critique de M. Darmesteter, *Revue critique* du 16 Janv. 1876.

depuis quelque temps une attraction dont il ne faut pas trop se plaindre, car elle a valu aux études romanes le concours de philologues dont l'activité, ne s'était point encore exercée sur notre terrain. M. Rönsch, connu surtout par ses études sur les anciennes versions latines de la Bible, nous a apporté des notes recueillies en lisant les auteurs des derniers temps de la littérature latine.¹ Ces notes, qui se présentent sous l'aspect d'un supplément à l'*Etymologisches Wörterbuch* de M. Diez, n'ont guère de valeur que lorsqu'elles confirment par de nouvelles preuves les solutions proposées dans ce livre fondamental, les étymologies propres à M. Rönsch étant le plus souvent contestables.—M. S. Bügge, philologue scandinave, a fait sur le terrain roman une heureuse apparition. Ses étymologies² presque toutes françaises, sont généralement ingénieuses et souvent certaines. Ingénieuses, trop ingénieuses même, sont celles qu'a proposées M. Boucherie,³ parmi lesquelles bien peu supportent la critique.—En somme, quoique tout ne soit pas or dans le produit des fouilles étymologiques de ces derniers temps, il est dès maintenant évident que la quatrième édition de l'*Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, qu'elle soit donnée par M. Diez ou par l'un de ses disciples, devra différer de la troisième bien plus que celle-ci des deux précédentes.

“Il ne faudrait pas que les études phonétiques, maintenant assez à la mode, fissent négliger d'autres parties de la grammaire où le génie national et l'action des individus ont plus de part que dans l'altération toute matérielle des sons. Aussi ai je plaisir à signaler le *Traité de la formation des mots composés dans la langue française comparée aux autres langues romanes et au latin*, de M. A. Darmesteter,⁴ qui me paraît être le meilleur ouvrage que la philologie romane ait produit dans ces derniers temps. Bien que çà et là on rencontre des traces de subtilité ou quelque menues

¹ *Nachlese auf dem Gebiete romanischer Etymologien*, dans le *Jahrbuch für roman. Liter.*, nouv. série, t. ii. p. 173 et 336.

² *Romania*, t. iii. p. 145-63.

³ *Revue des langues romanes*, t. iv. p. 520-57, et v. 340-51. Voir les objections de M. G. Paris, *Romania*, iii. 116 et 419.

⁴ Un vol. 8° de xix-331 p., forme le 19° fascicule de la *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*.

erreurs, on ne saurait trop applaudir aux efforts de l'auteur pour grouper les mots composés selon un ordre naturel, ayant pour base les procédés de formation. Par sa conception comme par le nombre des faits rassemblés et classés, le livre de M. Darmesteter marque un progrès très-sensible sur la partie correspondante de la grammaire de Diez.

"Les noms de personnes n'ont été chez nous l'objet d'aucun travail d'ensemble, et les recherches particulières qui ont été faites sur tel ou tel point de l'onomastique sont en fort petit nombre.¹ La brochure que M. Eug. Ritter, professeur à l'Université de Genève, vient de publier sous ce titre *Les noms de famille*,² servira peu à ceux qui écriront sur la même matière. Ce n'est pas en cinquante pages qu'on pouvait traiter le vaste sujet qu'annonce le titre.

"Le progrès de la philologie est, pour la France, bien plus que pour aucun autre pays, lié à la publication des textes. C'est que peu de nations possèdent un passé littéraire aussi riche que le vôtre, et ont été aussi lentes à le faire connaître. Faute de textes, que l'on sait exister, mais qui restent inédits, mainte recherche linguistique ou littéraire est empêchée, ou n'aboutit qu'à des résultats tout à fait provisoires. C'est actuellement une nécessité pour les philologues de consacrer une grande part de leur temps et de leurs efforts à préparer des éditions. Mais les éditeurs qui entendent leur métier sont peu nombreux et procèdent avec une sage lenteur; car nous ne sommes plus au temps où toute personne ayant une certaine connaissance de la paléographie se pensait en état d'éditer un texte roman. Cependant l'année 1874 a vu paraître quelques textes français assez importants presque tous publiés, je dois l'avouer, hors de France. De Vienne nous est venu le roman de Richart le bel, fort bien édité par M. W. Förster,³ jeune philologue qui aborde les

¹ Il faut dans ce petit nombre, citer honorablement le mémoire de M. R. Mowat *De la déformation dans les noms propres*, dans le t. i. des *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, reproduit dans les *Noms propres anciens et modernes* du même auteur (Paris, Franck, 1869, 8°), p. 41.

² Paris, Franck, in 8°.—Le même auteur avait déjà publié en 1866 dans le *Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Literat.* (vii. 174), quelques pages sur les noms de famille à terminaison diminutive.

³ *Richars li biaus*, zum ersten Male hgg. von Dr. W. Förster; Wien, 1874.

études romanes avec une forte préparation classique.—M. Scheler, qui est en Belgique le principal représentant de la philologie française, a édité pour l'Académie royale de Belgique deux poèmes d'Adenet, *Berthe au grand pied* et les *Enfances Ogier*, ce dernier jusqu'alors inédit, y joignant, comme à ses précédentes publications, de précieux commentaires philologiques. Le même savant a rédigé le glossaire de l'édition de Froissart publié pour la même Académie par M. Kervyn de Lettenhove. Ce glossaire n'est pas et ne prétend pas être le répertoire de la langue de l'auteur, comme sont par exemple les glossaires des *Grands écrivains de la France* publiés par la maison Hachette sous la direction de M. Regnier : il se borne à un choix de mots assez limité, mais tel qu'il est il n'a pas de peine à être de beaucoup la meilleure partie de l'édition dont il est le complément, et qu'il corrige heureusement, sur bien des points, soit par conjecture, soit à l'aide de l'édition de M. Luce.¹—Dans la *Romania* (t. iii. et iv.) M. Mussafia a édité le poème de *Berta*, tiré d'un MS. de Venise souvent mis à contribution dans ces dernières années, et y a joint des notes destinées à faciliter la lecture de ce texte écrit dans l'idiome bizarrement mêlé de français et d'italien qui a été dans une certaine mesure la langue littéraire du nord de l'Italie au XIII^{ème} siècle.—Dans la *Romania* encore (t. iii. 443 et suiv.) a paru une complainte sur le supplice de treize juifs brûlés vifs à Troyes en 1288. Cette complainte, que nous a conservée un MS. du Vatican, est écrite en caractères hébraïques, et fournit par conséquent d'utiles indices de la prononciation. Elle a trouvé en M. Darmesteter un éditeur et un interprète doublement compétent, et comme hébraïsant et comme romaniste.²—Enfin, des poésies religieuses composées à Liège au XIII^{ème} siècle, et publiées selon deux leçons assez différentes par l'auteur du présent rapport³ ont donné lieu à un rapide

¹ L'édition de M. Luce publiée par la Société de l'histoire de France, compte jusqu'à présent cinq volumes (1869-74) qui conduisent l'histoire jusqu'en 1360. Pour le texte comme pour le commentaire elle est sans comparaison supérieure à celle de M. Kervyn.

² M. Darmesteter s'est principalement aidé pour établir son texte d'une copie due à M. Neubauer.

³ *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, 5^e série, t. vi. p. 236 et suiv.

examen des caractères du dialecte liègeois, d'où il résulte qu'il y a très-probablement lieu d'attribuer à ce dialecte l'ancienne traduction des sermons de Saint Bernard, et quelques autres textes qui ont été jusqu'à présent considérés comme bourguignons.¹

"Nous espérons qu'il nous sera possible de procéder dorénavant avec plus de rapidité à l'impression de notre ancienne littérature. Par suite d'un heureux concours de circonstances la Société pour la publication des anciens textes français, que l'an passé j'entrevois à peine dans un avenir éloigné, a été fondée au commencement de cette année. Elle débute dans des conditions relativement favorables, profitant de l'universel bon vouloir que rencontrent depuis quelques années toutes les entreprises qui ont trait à l'histoire de notre pays. Avant toute publication nous comptons près de 350 membres, parmi lesquels, je me plais à le constater, 30 appartiennent au Royaume uni. Ils ne regretteront pas, je l'espère, de s'être joints à nous, car dans l'un de nos premiers volumes ils trouveront la réimpression d'un texte anglais peu commun : *The debate betwene the Heraldes of Englande and Fraunce, compiled by Jhone Coke* (MDL).

"Nous espérons faire pour la France ce que l'*Early English Text Society* a fait pour l'Angleterre. Nous ne prétendons pas exciter pour notre vieille littérature un enthousiasme romantique, qui serait peu durable. Nous ne désirons point qu'on aille chercher dans nos vieux auteurs des modèles de style. Leur langue était belle, mais le style, il faut bien le dire, leur faisait défaut. Nous voulons seulement qu'on puisse étudier commodément nos anciens textes. Nous espérons que lorsqu'on le pourra, on le fera. Par suite, ainsi qu'il est arrivé pour l'anglais sous l'influence de l'*Early English Text Society*, le niveau des études françaises (soit grammaticales, soit littéraires) s'élèvera, et l'on verra enfin disparaître de nos classes les livres ineptes d'après lesquels des professeurs mal préparés enseignent à la jeunesse le fran-

¹ Au moment où je corrige l'épreuve de ce rapport, M. L. Gautier met au jour une édition populaire de la *chanson de Roland*, avec traduction, qui paraît obtenir un succès de bon augure.

çais et la littérature française. Ce sera là une conséquence lointaine peut-être, mais infaillible. Pour le présent, le but immédiat que nous nous proposons c'est qu'on sache au vrai comment nos ancêtres ont pensé et ont parlé."

CELTIC.

I had hoped that our absent member, Dr. W. Stokes, would have found leisure to furnish us with the most recent advance in Celtic Philology, but he is too busy with the Codification of Hindu Law to have spare time for his favourite studies. Most fortunately, Mr. J. Rhys, a well-known Celtic scholar, but not a member of our Society, kindly came to the rescue at the request of our Hon. Secretary.

"After M. Gaidoz' comprehensive report on Celtic Philology, which the President read to the Society this time last year, very few words will suffice to describe what has since been done, or was left unnoticed then. Speaking generally, the work destined for Celtic scholars for some time to come seems to be to fill in, with more and more detail, the outlines broadly drawn by Zeuss and Ebel in the *Grammatica Celtica*, and to marshal the forces of the Celtic languages fairly into the field of comparative philology. So we have not, on this occasion, the good fortune of having to record the appearance of any Celtic work which the Germans would call 'epochmachend;' but there has been a good deal of desultory writing on various Celtic matters, the intrinsic value of which leads one to expect some works of importance to appear ere long.

"To begin with a book recently published, Fick's work on *Greek Proper Names*, Dr. Windisch has given Celtic names their proper place in Fick's theory of Indo-European nomenclature. Further, a passing allusion by Ebel in the last number of Kuhn's *Beiträge*, raises the hope that the Celtic tongues are not ignored in Fick's new edition of his *Comparative Dictionary*. The book has not, as yet, I am sorry to say, reached me. The last number of Kuhn's *Beiträge*, just referred to, is, alas! not far from being the last of all, for it

has just been announced that it is to be merged into the *Zeitschrift* as soon as the present volume is complete. Dr. Windisch, not long since, contributed to it an important article on the consonant *p* in the Celtic languages. There he maintains that Indo-European *p* not in combination with another consonant has everywhere disappeared in them. This is contested by Mr. Whitley Stokes; and a considerable portion of the last number of the *Revue Celtique* is devoted to the discussion of the question. The issue now seems to depend on the ability of Dr. Windisch and those who, like myself, think with him on this point to account satisfactorily for the presence of *p* in Welsh and Irish words without considering it to be original, but the continuator of earlier *qu*, *mb*, or protracted *b*. In most of the instances in point this has been done, but there are still some which refuse to yield, though their number is admitted to be growing less. If it should turn out that the Celts dropped *p* in some words and retained it in others, nothing very particular follows; but should it, on the other hand, be found that they—the Gauls included—dropped it generally, then we should be on the way to prove that Ptolemy's *Μαδάριοι*, etc., were not Celtic. Further, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, edited by the Rev. Daniel Silvan Evans, than whom no man living is more widely acquainted with Welsh literature, is by no means confined to the cult of flint fetiches, but continues to be the means of collecting valuable items of information in the rugged domain of Welsh epigraphy: from what it has from time to time already brought to light, we now know that our ancestors did not modify *qu* into *p* till considerably after the departure of the Romans from Britain, and thus is removed the main support of the theory which classifies the Celts into Goidelic and Gallo-British nations. Further investigation will probably establish the superiority of that which regards them as Goidelo-Kimric nations and Gauls. In mentioning the *Arch. Cambrensis*, special attention is demanded by the brilliant series of 'Studies in Cymric Philology,' contributed by Prof. Evans of the Cornell University: these, if continued, will eventually make the Gododin and other difficult

Welsh poems intelligible. Lastly, I am glad to be able to announce that our Post-Roman Inscriptions will soon appear in an accessible form, edited by Dr. Hübner of Berlin, to whose edition of the Roman Inscriptions of Britain, as part of the series issued by the Berlin Academy, we are so much indebted.

“Reverting to the *Revue Celtique*, which continues to be edited by M. Gaidoz with his wonted tact and success, as is proved by his having prevailed on Ebel to break his long silence with a paper on ‘Gaulish accusatives in -as,’ we find that, among other portions of the Celtic world which figure in its pages, Britany is ably represented by M. Luzel and M. d’Arbois de Jubainville: it supplies them with the materials, mythological and phonological, which they know so well how to use.

“Turning to Ireland—and how long must we turn from Ireland to India!—Mr. Whitley Stokes has followed the publication of the last edition of Curtius’s *Greek Etymology* (enlarged by Dr. Windisch’s Celtic contributions) with a number of *Remarks*, critical and supplementary, thereon. These have just gone through a second edition, revised and greatly enlarged. The title-page now reads ‘Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius’s *Greek Etymology*, and on the Celtic Comparisons in Bopp’s *Comparative Grammar*, with notes on some recent Irish publications, by Whitley Stokes. Calcutta, 1875.’ The publication of the Christian Inscriptions of Ireland is progressing steadily under the superintendence of Miss Stokes. The Kilkenny Association and the Royal Irish Academy have lost none of their zeal and activity in the cause of Irish epigraphy. Among their most active members in this direction must be mentioned Dr. Samuel Ferguson and Mr. Brash; and all those who feel interested in the early history of the Irish language will hail with joy the suggestion made to the Royal Irish Academy by its veteran president, Dr. Stokes, in his inaugural address last November: our triple debt to the Stokes family is daily increasing. The words I allude to more particularly are the following:—‘Many valuable papers have already appeared in our Pro-

ceedings on Ogham Inscriptions, but they are only illustrated by wood engravings from drawings. In such cases the human eye cannot be trusted as an infallible and reliable medium for representation, and without absolutely accurate representations we cannot have the aid we ought to seek in such studies from our fellow-students abroad. Therefore, I should advise that no more wood-cuts of these monuments should appear in our Proceedings, but that all our efforts should conduce to the publication of autotypes from Dr. Ferguson's photographs, for which purpose the sum of fifty pounds has already been allotted.' Thus we may venture to hope that before many years more have passed we shall be in possession of a complete *Corpus Inscriptionum Ogmicarum*. Lastly, the publication of an English translation of the *Brehon Laws* proved the means of inducing Sir Henry S. Maine to write a volume of highly interesting lectures on the *Early History of Institutions*, a work which forms, as it were, the last stone in the structure of a third comparative study of the Indo-European family of nations; the other two being, of course, those of glottology and mythology. In point of detail, however, the history of institutions, especially on Celtic ground, seems to be still in its infancy."

ENGLISH.

The Early English Text Society has not been quite so active during 1874 as in former years, when its subscribers actually complained of a plethora.

Unedited MSS. are by no means exhausted, editors are forthcoming when wanted, but the great drawback to the Society's exertions is want of funds. Owing to a number of new societies that owe their existence to the Early English Text Society, members have fallen off and have not been replaced by a corresponding number of new ones.

Considering the impetus that the Society has given to the historical study of English, it has met with a rather ungrateful return from the public that has most benefited by its efforts. Subscribers are somewhat exacting; they

fancy the Society can cater for the especial likings of individual members. One wants romance, another history; one demands philology, and another fun. It is difficult to please all, so the Society pursues the even tenor of its way, trusting that it has done, and will yet do, its duty by the language whose records it seeks to make public.

The *Cursor Mundi*, of which it behoves me to say but little, is still dragging its slow length along. The second part, issued this year, contains no less than 430 pages, bringing the work, in its present state, up to 720 pages. About 900 pages more will complete the text.

Its chief value lies in its dialectical illustrations of Middle English; but it will also be found to throw much light on historical changes, such as *that ne* to *but*, *owe* to *ought*, *forme* to *former*, *ferrer* to *farther*, etc.

It has not a few Scandinavian words hitherto unregistered, like *spadom* (prophecy), *sanke* 'to assemble,' *kerling* 'a woman,' the fem. of *carl*, *bike* 'hive,' *bi* 'a town.' It contains forms that rarely occur even in the earliest period, as *wike* 'city,' 'village,' *eber* 'a caitiff,' etc.

It shows, too, the way transcribers dealt with their originals, of which I shall offer a few examples. The term *bi* 'dwelling,' would only be intelligible to a Northern man; a Midland man would be sure to alter it in transcribing a Northern text. But it is not often the Midland copyist makes such a hash of his original as he does in the following passage:—

Cotton and Göttingen, the Northern texts, have—

"Folus forth that ilk man right into þe *bi*,"

which appears in Fairfax, altered by a West Midland scribe, as follows:

"Folowes forþ þat ilk man, alway *bi and by*."

The Trinity version is equally absurd:

"Foloweþ forþ that ilke mon, mekely þat ȝe *hy*."

In another passage, where Cotton and Göttingen have

panteners, Fairfax has *felons*, and Trinity *pardoners*. In the description of Herod's sickness, Cotton has—

“ Wit the crache him tok þe scurf;
The fester thrið his bodi thurgh” (p. 678, ll. 11823-4),

which Fairfax elegantly renders by :

“ And with skratting he toke the sourf;
He barked over as a turfe.”

Mr. Skeat's valuable three-text edition of *Piers Plowman* has been finished some time, and we are naturally looking for his “Notes and Glossary.”

A grammatical treatise on the three texts has already been written, not by an Englishman, I need hardly say, but by a German, Dr. Emil Bernard, of the University of Bonn.

The Early English Text Society's prize offered to the students of the Cornell University, for the best essay on “The History and Development of the English Verb,” was gained by Mr. Emil Schwerdtfeger, who has published his treatise in a separate form. It is a valuable contribution to English historical grammar. German students are still interesting themselves in Early English studies, and we have another very excellent “Altenglisches Lesebuch,” by Dr. R. P. Wülcker, which has been very severely handled by Dr. Zupitza, who himself has edited a similar book of Early English specimens.

Closely connected with English Philology is the appearance of the fourth part of Mr. Ellis's work on “Early English Pronunciation,” the last page of which is numbered 1432. Only a trained phonologist can criticize the work; but it is a mine that may be worked for years to come, without any fear of exhausting it. It has already begun to be worked, and the first great out-put is Mr. Sweet's valuable treatise on “The History of English Sounds,” the title of which, however, is somewhat misleading, since the reader would look in vain for the history of many of our consonantal sounds.

The history of English sounds is most important for etymological purposes, and we require much more information upon certain forms than Mr. Sweet has given us.

Some words in Mr. Sweet's list want a note; for instance, the *bar* of *barley* is traced to Old English *bere*, but we should like to know the history of the change of *ley* from the older *-lic*, still existing in *garlick*. The termination *-ley* may have been brought about by the analogous change in the suffix *-lic* of adjectives and adverbs.

But Mr. Sweet's book will save future English etymologists from blundering. Inattention to regular sound-change in English led Drs. Guest and Latham to derive the termination *-ry* in *Jewry* from the Old English *-ru*, overlooking the fact that *ru* became *-re*, *-er*, or *-ren*; and it is surprising to find so acute a scholar as Gudbrand Vigfusson connecting this *-ren* in *brethren* with the Icelandic *-erni* in *bróð-erni*, *móð-erni*, etc.

We are glad to see that the Dialect Society, now in its second year, has issued Mr. Sweet's volume to all its subscribers.

THE ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY.

Our indefatigable member, the Rev. W. W. Skeat, has kindly contributed the following report on what one of the latest children of the Early English Text Society has achieved during the past two years.

"The general progress of the English Dialect Society during its first two years of existence, viz. 1873 and 1874, has been extremely satisfactory upon the whole, though some difficulty was at first experienced in overtaking the work, as the Society was not fairly started till the month of May in the former year. Hence it was that two of the three publications for 1873 were not issued till the beginning of the present year; but the publications for 1874 were completed at the same time, so that in future each year's work can be printed within the year, and issued shortly afterwards. The principal object at first was to issue handy reprints of such glossaries as, for any reason, were difficult of access, with a view to bringing the materials for the study of the dialects within a more convenient compass. Already seventeen such glossaries have been reprinted, the principal of them being Ray's celebrated Collection of North and South-Country

Words; Thoresby's Collection, communicated to Ray in 1703; Dr. Willan's List of West-Riding Words, nearly buried in an old volume of the *Archæologia*; and Marshall's Glossaries, which are only to be obtained by purchasing his various works upon agriculture.

"Besides these, Mr. Small succeeded in bringing to light a curious list of old Lowland-Scottish words, from Duncan's Appendix Etymologiæ, printed in 1595; Mr. Tapping re-edited, for the Society, his edition of Manlove's Poem upon the Liberties and Customs of the Derbyshire Lead-miners, with an appended Glossary of the mining-terms used in that district; and Prof. Mayor extracted all the provincial words that could be found in Hearne's editions of Robert of Gloucester and Peter Langtoft.

"An attempt was also made to compile a Bibliographical List, as complete as it well could be made, of all the works that in any way illustrate the various provincial dialects. The first Part of this, already issued, contains a list of all the principal English Dictionaries, a list of such books as illustrate our dialects generally, and a detailed list of the various special dialect-books arranged by counties, beginning with Bedfordshire and continued down to Dorsetshire.

"Not much has been yet issued of a more original character, the sole original glossary being the collection of Swaledale Words by Captain Harland, who set an excellent example to younger members of the Society by writing out his list in a neat, clear, and legible handwriting, notwithstanding his advanced age of more than eighty years. He just lived to see his work issued from the press, dying on the 20th of March in the present year, at the age of 87.

"The subject of English Phonology has been excellently illustrated by Mr. Sweet, in his History of English Sounds, not the least useful part of which is the full and careful index, which enables us to trace the history of the sounds of many of our most important words.

"Perhaps the most satisfactory part of the work of the Society has been the successful collection of the names of the workers who understand the subject. We now know to

whom to apply for special information upon many dialects; and this is so important a matter that it is worth while to observe that these names may be found at p. 12 of the Dialect Society's Report for 1874.

"The advantage of thus working together in concert is very great. Many members of the Society now consult with others on various points, whereas, only two years ago, each was almost entirely isolated, and unacquainted, perhaps, with the names of those who understood the same dialect.

"The future prospects of the Society are very satisfactory. As much work has already been contributed or promised as can well be printed in three or four years; and promises of further contributions are made from time to time.

"At p. 13 of the Report for 1874 will be found a list of some of the proposed publications for 1875, and succeeding years. Mr. F. K. Robinson's Glossary of Whitby Words has been sent to press, and has been printed to the end of the letter C. Messrs. Britten and Holland's List of Plant-names is also in the press. Mr. Easter has completed his Huddersfield Glossary. Dr. Pegge's Kenticisms has also gone to press for the Society, having already been once printed for the Kentish Archæological Society, in consequence of which many Kentish words have been obtained from various contributors. And lastly, Mr. Payne, treasurer of our Philological Society, has completed his text of Tusser, and prepared a very full and useful index to it. Mention should also be made of the progress of the Lancashire Glossary (E. D. S. Second Report, p. 10).

"The present number of members of the English Dialect Society is about 300. This is sufficient to allow of the work being carried on, but an increase of the number is much to be desired, in order that the various contributions may be printed and issued with increased rapidity."

I should be most ungrateful were I to bring this Address to a close, without deeply acknowledging our indebtedness to each of the scholars who have so cordially and ungrudgingly

assisted me in presenting to you this evening our annual budget. I tender them my best thanks for their aid to me personally; and as your representative I venture to express to them your collective appreciation of the services they have rendered to us and to philology, by their contributions to the pages of our Transactions.

Philologists, like all sincere searchers for truth, are ever ready to share the fruit of their toils with others; and of each of them I may truly say, as Chaucer said of the clerk or scholar of his age—

“Gladly would he learn, and gladly teach.”

II.—ON SOME OF THE SOURCES OF ARYAN MYTHOLOGY. BY E. L. BRANDRETH, Esq.

I SHALL endeavour this evening to give an account of some of the Mythology of the Aryans, which had its origin, as I infer, in their earliest religious instincts or beliefs. The mind of the Aryan man, in the earliest ages, was unable to dwell on any abstract idea of divine power; but anything wonderful, or eminently useful in nature, was, for him, such power in a concrete form—the sun, the sky, the earth, the winds, the dawn, a river, a tree; such were his gods, and these were living beings, which conferred blessings and punished evil, and which were moved by prayer and propitiated by praise and offerings.

I will give a few instances from the earliest Aryan records of the traces that remain of this worship. Thus prayer was addressed to the sky and earth in the Rig-Veda, “May the mighty heaven and earth bestow on us great renown and power;”¹ to the earth, in the Homeric hymn, which is there styled “wife of the starry sky,” “grant me a pleasant life;” to the sun, in the Rig-Veda, “render us sinless,” “send away all calamities,” “send us what is good;” to the sun, in the Homeric hymn, “grant a pleasant life.” In the Rig-Veda, the *maruts*, or stormy winds, are frequently in-

¹ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 22.

voked for all kinds of blessings; and in Greece, also, the winds were prayed to;¹ and Boreas, in particular, had a temple on the banks of the Ilissus; and at Megalopolis was more honoured than any other divinity.² To the dawn, in the Rig-Veda, several prayers are preferred. In the Iliad (iii. 277), on the occasion of the single combat between Paris and Menelaos, Agamemnon thus prays to some of the great objects of nature: "O sun, who seest all things and hearest all things, and ye rivers, and thou earth," etc., "be ye witnesses, and preserve the faithful league." In the Rig-Veda the river Sarasvatī is prayed to, "to grant us happiness," "hear prayer," "grant riches," etc.³

The foregoing are a few instances only of a worship of natural objects which was probably universal at a still earlier time; as will be seen also from the most ancient myths having been nothing but descriptions of natural phenomena, and from the names of the earliest gods having originally denoted natural objects. The authors of such prayers also said the best things they could of the objects to which they were in the habit of praying, and they said them, too, in the figurative language common to all poetical descriptions, which we meet with in modern no less than in ancient poetry, of the great objects of nature, by which the mind invests them with a life which is more than their own, and seeks to rise to a more vivid conception of them than it would be able to reach with ordinary language. As a few instances of such descriptions; of *savitri*, "the sun," it is said in the Rig-Veda, "the many-rayed adorable *savitri*, having power to disperse darkness from the world, has mounted his high-standing chariot, decorated with many kinds of golden ornaments, and furnished with golden yokes."⁴ *Surya*, another name for the sun (identified with the Greek *helios*), is described as moving in a car drawn by fleet horses; "he is far-seeing, beholds all creatures, and the good and bad deeds of mortals, "he rolls up darkness like a hide."⁵ Of the sun, in the Homeric hymn, it is said, "he looks dread-

¹ Herod. vii. 178; and Iliad xxiii. 193.

² Pausanias, viii. 36.

³ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 337 ff.

⁴ Wilson's Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 92.

⁵ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 166 ff.

fully, with his eyes out of his golden helmet," "his beautiful garment shines round his form," "at even he stops his golden-yoked chariot and steeds." The *maruts*, or tempests, in the Rig-Veda, have weapons of various descriptions—spears, bows, quivers, and arrows; they ride with whips in their hands, in golden cars with golden wheels, drawn by ruddy horses.¹ At Athens, on the outside of the "Temple of the Winds," there are eight bas-reliefs, representing figures of the winds, each with wings; and Boreas, who most resembles the *maruts*, "blows into a conch-shell which he holds in his hand as a sign of his tempestuous character."² Of the dawn *ushas*, who corresponds to the rosy-fingered *eos* of the Greeks, it is said in the Rig-Veda, "She, the daughter of the sky, has been beheld breaking forth, youthful, clad in shining attire," "the bright goddess has chased away the dark veil of night; arousing the worlds, *ushas* advances in her well-yoked car drawn by ruddy steeds."³ The river Sarasvatī, in the Rig-Veda, is called "the daughter of the lightning." She is also represented as "unctuous with butter, and as stimulating, directing, and prospering the devotions of the worshippers;" again, "the worshipper seeks to suck prosperity and riches of all descriptions from her prolific breasts."⁴

The foregoing is the sort of language used by the teachers and prophets of former times, which, from being afterwards taken in other cases in too literal a sense, and consequently misunderstood by the popular mind, has become the source of a great deal of mythology. This poetical or figurative language was apparently, however, less, consciously so, less different from the common language, and uttered with less effort than the language of later poetry. This may have been owing, in part, to the earlier poets supposing that the great objects of nature were really endowed, in some degree, with a life like their own. It was a belief handed down no doubt with the authority of very remote times, and which was not easily reconcileable with the later theology of other

¹ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 147.

² Tozer's Geography of Greece, p. 146.

³ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 189.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 340 and 341.

parts of the Vedas, and still less of the greater part of Homer; but it had its effect on the minds of those early poets, and rendered their language, from their point of view, less fanciful than that of more modern poets. Further, the use of similes by Homer and the Vedic poets was much more frequent than is found in more recent writings. It seems to have been a necessity with them, in order to present an adequate idea of any great occurrence, to compare it with some other occurrence with which their minds were perhaps more familiar. These comparisons are often made by the insertion of an *ὥς* in Greek, or an *iva* in Sanscrit; but in the Vedas in particular the *iva* was constantly omitted, and the language therefore became more decidedly metaphorical. It does not seem difficult, then, to understand how such language, preserved as a sacred record, when it became somewhat antiquated and less familiar to the minds of the people, tended to produce mythology.

The author of a recent popular work on mythology, Mr. Fiske, remarks, that Max Müller's theory in regard to the use of metaphor seems to him "wholly at variance with the facts of history." He says that "primitive men, strictly speaking, do not talk in metaphors; they believe in the literal truth of their similes and personifications." Admitting the correctness of this view to a certain extent, I observe that it may easily be carried too far, and Mr. Fiske carries it much too far in remarking, as he does, for instance, in another place, that the ancient Indians regarded "the rain-clouds as cows with full udders milked by the winds of heaven," and that "their Veda contains indisputable testimony to the fact that they were so regarded;" and taking the description as he does in a literal sense, he may well add, that it "is beyond our comprehension." And if there is thus no poetry in the Vedas, which is what the explanation comes to, we cannot draw the line there; we should have to conclude also that there was no poetry in the so-called epic or other poems. Mr. Fiske, however, is quite right in maintaining that the religion of the ancient Aryans was a worship of the great objects of nature.¹ Mr. Cox, on the other hand, holds that

¹ *Myths and Mythmakers*, pp. 17, 109, and 210.

they paid no religious regard to these objects. Phoibos Apollōn, in his view, was not worshipped until the name had ceased to denote the sun. "Words," he says, in describing what the process was, "applied at first to outward objects or phenomena, would become the names of personal gods, and the phrases which described those objects would then be transferred to what were now deities to be adored."¹ The conclusion, however, expressed here and in other places, cannot be reconciled with the distinct traces of an ancient nature-worship we meet with in Homer, and still more in the Vedas. Nor does Prof. Max Müller, as it seems to me, regard this ancient nature-worship quite in its true light. He credits the early Aryans with a much greater power of admiring the beauties of nature as manifested in the sun, the dawn, etc., than they ever in all probability possessed.² In the Lectures on the Science of Language, after referring to some of the poetical descriptions of the dawn in the Vedic hymns, he says, "That silent aspect awakened in the human mind the conception of the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine; and the names of the dawn became the names of higher powers."³ But I infer that under the influence of the religious instinct, which is quite independent of any extraordinary admiration of the beauties of nature, the sun and the dawn were worshipped as powerful beings, who gave and withheld at their pleasure all that was wanted in life before any such poetry as that we meet with in the Vedas was composed about them.

So far I have not mentioned any of the Aryan myths, but have only alluded to the mode of thinking and the sort of language out of which the mythology connected with nature-worship appears to have sprung. The original meaning of the language was not probably forgotten all at once; it may have remained for some time in a transitional partially obscured state, in which its meaning was evident enough to many minds. A special interest attaches to the Vedas, because they present to us so many myths in this state.

¹ *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i. p. 51. ² *Chips*, vol. ii. p. 94 ff.

³ *Science of Language*, sixth edition, vol. ii. p. 546.

The next step is where there is no longer any consciousness of the original meaning of the language, and if to this is added the loss of the meaning of the central word of the myth, though this is by no means necessary to mythology, as will hereafter be shown, then there is no limit to the course which the myths may run. The sky, for instance, might first have been prayed to for rain, a blessing which might obviously be given or withheld by it; but as it was a divine being, it was thought to have many other gifts in its power also. And if we consider how many names there were in ancient language for the objects which most attracted men's attention, it is easy to see how some of these names, for the sky, or other natural objects that were worshipped, might have been diverted from their original meaning when such thoughts were connected with them.

What appear to be the earliest myths that have come down to us, and the most important as relating to the highest gods, were, in their origin, simply descriptions of natural phenomena in metaphorical or poetical language, and which can be turned with obvious ease into the ordinary language of these days. Thus Zeus is the same word as *dyaus*, "the sky," in Sanscrit, which is evidenced also by such epithets as "rain-bringing," "cloud-wrapt," "lightner," "high-thundering," and many other epithets and expressions which are constantly applied to him. This Zeus, in the eighth book of the *Iliad*, for instance, "yoked to his chariot his brazen-footed steeds, swift-flying, adorned with golden manes; he, too, arrayed himself in gold, and took his golden whip, well wrought, and mounted his chariot;" then "he came to many-fountained Ida," and there "he stayed his steeds, loosed them from the chariot, and spread a thick mist around;" and from Ida "he thundered mightily, and hurled his burning lightning amid the Grecian ranks." All which is an evident sky-myth; in fact, but for the original meaning of Zeus having been obscured, would not be mythical language at all. Of a like transparent nature is the sun-myth we meet with in the first book of the *Iliad*, where Phoibos, "the shining" Apollōn, identified also with

the sun by such epithets as "the far-working," "the far-darting," "stirred up an evil pestilence through the army," with which the mules and dogs were first attacked; "but afterwards, darting a pointed arrow against the Greeks themselves, he smote them," and "nine days through the army went the arrows of the god;" which, it can hardly be doubted, is the description of a pestilence caused by the rays of the sun on marshy ground; and therefore it was necessary to appease the wrath of the sun, deemed to be the intelligent cause of the pestilence, and pray to him as Chryses did on behalf of the Greeks, to avert the dreadful pestilence from them. Then we have a dawn-myth in the birth of Athēna, as explained by Max Müller, quite in the spirit of the original nature-religion, even if the derivation of the word suggested by him cannot be accepted as beyond doubt, where we read how "the son of Kronos (i.e. Zeus, 'the sky') begat glorious Athēna (identified by Max Müller with the Sanscrit word *ahanā*, 'the dawn'), ἐν κορυφῇ, in the top of his head." I have quoted this myth from the Homeric hymn to Apollōn; but I do not find so early an authority assigned for it either in Smith's Dictionary or by Max Müller, who speaks of it as, "though post-Homeric," "no doubt of ancient date."¹

I will next give a few instances of the earliest Indian myths of the same sort. The great Vedic god Varuna, has been identified with the Greek *ouranos*, with the consent, I believe, of all scholars. The original meaning of the word Varuna has been obscured in Sanscrit, just as that of Zeus has in Greek. Varuna is generally invoked with another god Mitra, meaning more especially the god of day, while Varuna presides rather over the nightly sky. In the mythical language of the Rig-Veda, Varuna "is arrayed in golden mail;" associated with Mitra, "the two deities ascend their chariot, which is drawn by horses, and is golden-coloured at the break of day and takes the hue of iron at the setting of the sun." "Mounted on their car, and soar-

¹ Science of Language, sixth edition, vol. ii. p. 550.

ing in the highest empyrean, they beheld all things in heaven and earth," and "they discharge the rain."¹ The meaning of such language, with the key we have to Varuna's name, is obvious enough; and the resemblance of the language to that employed regarding the movements of the Greek sky-god, which has been just quoted, and in other parts of the *Iliad*, is no less apparent. The chief work of another Vedic god, Vishnu, according to the hymns, was the measuring of the universe in three steps—hence his epithets of "the maker of three strides," "the wide-stepping," "the wide-going." That Vishnu meant originally the sun (from a root *vis*, to pervade), and that his three steps have reference to the three most striking positions of the sun—rising, meridional position, and setting—is the conclusion not only of modern scholars, but was maintained also by a native commentator, Aurnavābha, some centuries before our era.²

The most important of the Indian myths, however, is that of the combats of Indra and Vritra. M. Bréal, who has treated of this myth at some length, considers that the following are its essential elements:—"Indra is the herdsman of a herd of celestial cows of a brilliant colour. Vritra, a monster with three heads, and the form of a serpent, entices away the herd, and conceals it in a cave. Indra, as soon as he discovers the fraud, pursues the robber, whom he destroys with his repeated thunderbolts, and restores to the sky the cows, whose milk falls in showers to the earth."³ It seems rather, however, that the myth should be regarded under two principal aspects. Under one aspect the clouds are represented as mountains, or as cities, or fortresses of Vritra, "the concealer," who appears under a variety of other names—as Ahi, "the snake," Śushna, "the dryer-up," etc., and this is the more frequent form of the myth. Under the other form the waters, when perhaps no clouds are visible in the sky, are represented as cows stolen by the monster, which have to be searched for, and are found concealed in a cave, from

¹ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 59 ff.

² Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 66.

³ Hercule et Cacus, p. 93.

which Indra rescues them after killing the monster. The conflicts of Indra in the cloud-regions are alluded to over and over again in the Rig-Veda. If sometimes the description appears to be entirely mythical, yet most frequently the events are so described that it cannot be doubted they refer, in the consciousness of the authors of the hymns, to atmospheric phenomena. Sometimes it is simply said of Indra, that "he clove the cloud, he cast the waters down;" or the event of the freeing of the waters is inseparably connected with the destruction of Vritra, as, for instance, Indra "has struck with his bolt the jaw of the trembling Vritra, setting the waters free to flow;"¹ or the clouds are characterized as "the autumnal," and also "the moving" cities which Indra overthrows. He also "casts down his enemies when he discovers them on the aerial mountains, or hurls them back when they attempt to scale the heavens."² In the other form of the myth, though the cows are often spoken of as hidden in a cave, without any special reference to them as representing the rain of heaven, yet in other passages Indra makes the discovery with the aid of the *maruts* or stormy winds, and the waters, when freed by him, are said to be "like cows (recovered from thieves)," or as "hastening to the ocean like cows to their calves;"³ so that it cannot well be doubted what the cows are when the more mythical-seeming language is used, nor that the cave represents the cloud in which the waters are concealed. These conclusions are confirmed by the circumstance that the slaying of Vritra is a thing constantly requiring to be done, and which is made the subject of frequent prayers,⁴ and like other benefits which different gods are regarded as capable of conferring, this benefit is bestowed not only by Indra, but occasionally by other gods also. The Vedic language, in fact, would hardly be mythical at all, if it were not that Indra has become a god distinct from the sky, and that Vritra, though in some places he is clearly enough identified with the clouds, in accordance, no doubt, with the original meaning of the word, yet in

¹ Rig-Veda, i. 70, 6.² Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 97.³ Rig-Veda, i. 32, 2, and 61, 10.⁴ Rig-Veda, iii. 37, 6, and iv. 24, 2, etc.

other places he is an atmospheric demon distinct from the clouds. In the later Indian mythology the slaying of Vritra is represented as a literal slaying, without any reference to the production of rain. The first-mentioned form of the myth seems to have given rise to the contests of the gods and Asuras, or Indian Titans, so frequently described in the poems and the Purānas. The Asuras are constantly referred to as resembling mountains, or else "they hurl masses of mountains against the gods, and, like to fallen clouds, they rush against the sky."¹ Among the Asuras are enumerated all the cloud-monsters of the Vedas; and when finally overcome, they are sent, like the Titans, to inhabit the underworld.² With this myth also corresponds the Titanomachia of Greek mythology, and the war of the Giants, monsters of the same brood, who, as related by Ovid, "aspired to the sovereignty of heaven, and piled the mountains heaped together even to the lofty stars."³ The other form of the myth, that of the hiding of the cows in a cave, is the origin probably of such myths as the Greek myth of Herakles and Geryon, in which the two-headed Orthros is supposed to be the same word as the three-headed Vritras; and still more clearly of the Latin myth of Hercules and Cacus, in regard to which it appears not only that the original hero of the myth was Jupiter, called by his Sabine name of Sancus,⁴ but that the account of the myth given, for instance, by Virgil, in his eighth *Æneid*, as regards most of the details, will serve almost for a translation of several passages of the Rig-Veda relating to this form of the myth. To the same source also is perhaps to be attributed the Germanic myth of the recovery of the hidden treasure of the Nibelungs (from the Germanic *nebel*, *νέφος*, *nubes*⁵), by the slaying of the serpent Fafnir. One other Indian myth must be mentioned, that of Sarasvatī, who in post-Vedic times was identified with Vāch, the goddess of speech, and was called "the mother of the

¹ Mahābhārata, i. 1173.

² See especially the Harivansa or last book of the Mahābhārata.

³ Met. i. 151.

⁴ Hercule et Cacus, p. 54.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 143.

Vedas;" the probable origin of it having been before indicated, in that this river was regarded as aiding the devotions of the worshippers on its banks; and also, as Mr. Muir suggests, it may have been imagined to have had an influence on the composition of the Vedic hymns.¹ Perhaps, too, in consequence of the smallness of this river, which was most likely the boundary of the earliest settlement of the Hindus, while the memory of the name lived in connexion with the hymns, the material existence of the river was to some extent forgotten, as the Hindus spread themselves further East, and the more important Ganges took the place of the Sarasvatī in their worship.

Nor was the northern mythology any less productive of simple nature-myths, which, it can hardly be doubted, were preceded, like those of Greece and India, by the worship of natural objects. Cæsar tells us of the Germans, that "they rank in the number of their gods those only whom they behold, and by whom they are openly benefited, namely sun, fire, and moon."² This account cannot be entirely reconciled with that of Tacitus, who describes a more advanced stage of religion, at which the gods are no longer objects of nature, some of them being likened to Mars, Mercury, Hercules, etc.; but it may well be that among the northern races at that time, as the earliest records of Greece and India show us was the case there, there were the remains of an earlier nature-worship, surviving by the side of a later and more spiritual religious development, when other than visible things had become objects of worship.³

To give a few instances, however, of simple nature-myths in the north. Thus Thor, "the thundering sky," like the sky-gods of Greece and India, has his chariot, which in his case is drawn by goats, probably the storm-clouds, which are also thought to be represented by the terrible ægis, "goat-skin," of Zeus.⁴ His usual attendant is Loki, "the

¹ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 339.

² B. G. vi. 21.

³ Grimm's Deutsche Myth., vol. vi. p. 91.

⁴ See Preller's Gr. Myth., vol. i. p. 94.

fire-god ;" while his crushing hammer, which no doubt means the thunderbolt, and which nothing can resist, how ever far it may be cast, is never lost, but always returns to his hand. Thus, again, Loki, the fire, had Farbauti, "the ship-beater," that is "the wind," for his father, and Lanfey, "the leafy isle," for his mother,¹ which, no doubt, describes his physical origin, like that of the Indian Agni, who, though the highest divine functions are attributed to him in the Rig-Veda, is described also as having been produced by the friction of two sticks. Of this sort, again, is the myth of Baldur, meaning "the warm summer," slain by the darkness, Hød; his death being mourned by all things, "men and beasts, earth and stones, wood, and all metals."²

Now all these myths, in their simplest form, are what may be called primary. They are simply descriptions, in what was formerly metaphorical language, of physical phenomena, and can be translated at once into ordinary language. They become secondary myths, or myths of more remote degrees, when the weapons, or the vehicles, or whatever else formed part of the original metaphorical language, are applied to different actions to those which gave rise to such language; when the personified or otherwise changed natural objects are surrounded with new images adapted to their altered condition; when additions are made to feed the insatiable curiosity of mankind; when they are adapted, as is often the case, to teach some lesson of morality; when they find their way into nursery tales, and in various other ways.

I will now give an explanation of an Indian myth of a later character—that of the creation of the four castes from different parts of Purusha's or Brahmā's body. If it can be shown that this myth, like so many others, has arisen from the meaning of the language originally used having been misunderstood in later times, the explanation would solve a great social problem, namely, the cause of the excessive development of the caste system in India. The original

¹ Thorpe's North. Myth., vol. i. p. 182.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 76.

meaning of the word Purusha was "man." Now the primitive man has always been an object of reverence. Such, in Greece, was Minos, the lawgiver, and Kekrops, the institutor of civil rights and marriage. In India, Manu, the first man, is honoured in the Rig-Veda as the first kindler of fire, and the institutor of religious rites; in later times he is identified with Brahmā.¹ Nara, another name for man, called also in the Institutes of Manu Nārāyana (son of man), is there identified with Brahmā.² Purusha, also a name for man in the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda, has come to mean the supreme spirit or source of the universe in the Purusha-hymn; and, according to Manu, Purusha "is celebrated in the world as Brahmā."³ The hymn has been translated by Mr. Muir,⁴ and most scholars agree with him in considering it as belonging to a much later date than that of many of the Vedic hymns. The account of Purusha in this hymn is mixed up with much of the pantheistic doctrine which the metaphorical language of earlier times has helped no doubt to produce. It is here said of Purusha that "himself is the whole universe, whatever has been and whatever shall be," and that he "became diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate." "The Brāhman was his mouth; the Rājanya became his arms; the Vaiśya was his thighs; the Śūdra sprang from his feet. (These are the four castes.) The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni (fire) from his mouth; and Vāyu (wind) from his breath. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters." Now, as in other parts of the Rig-Veda, no original distinction between the different classes of society is anywhere indicated, neither does this passage regarding the creation of the four castes, considered with reference to the context, give any countenance to the later notions of a difference between the various castes as to their moral qualities. It seems probable, there-

¹ Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 7.² Manu, i. 11.³ Manu, i. 10.⁴ Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 368.

fore, that the allusion in this hymn to the different parts of Purusha's body from which the different castes were created was merely a figurative way of describing the diversified power exercised by the creator, in forming men with a capacity for the various occupations of life. The whole account of Purusha before quoted seems to be the development of such an expression as that all things are contained in, or are parts of, the body of the creator; and throughout Sanscrit literature the deity who inspires, animates, or fills an object, is often spoken of figuratively as if he were the object itself, or as if the object were a part of him, in order thus to express the very intimate relations between them. Thus in the Rig-Veda it is said of Indra, "he comprehended all things (within him), as the circumference comprehends the spokes of a wheel."¹ In the Atharva-Veda it is said of Brahmā, "the earth is the basis, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head, of whom the sun and the ever renewed moon are the eye."² Of Indra, in the Mahābhārata, that "he is the earth, the sky, the ocean," etc. Of Agni, "the whole world dwells in thee," "thou art the sun, the moon, the fire."³ Many other passages might be quoted to the same effect. Nor was this way of speaking unknown to the Greeks. In the Orphic poems in particular, there is a description of Zeus, which might almost be taken for a translation of a great part of the Purusha-sūkta. It is there said of Zeus that all things are contained in him, and whatever things are born, or should be born hereafter, are born in him; he moves round about all things; he is male and female; his eyes are the sun and moon; he is the force of the unwearied fire; his mind is the ether; his shoulders and back the atmosphere; his head is the sky; the lower part of his body the earth with its mountains; the soles of his feet are the depths and extreme limits of the earth; his belt the ocean; his horns the east and west.⁴

In the later times of Manu and the Purānas the four

¹ Rig-Veda, i. 32, 15.

² i. 1292 and 8360.

³ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 383.

⁴ Frag. Phil. Græc. Müllachius, p. 168.

castes are certainly conceived as literally produced from the different parts of the creator's body, and their rank and qualities are determined by the parts of the body from which they proceeded; thus, for instance, in the Vishnu Purāṇa it is stated of the Brāhmins, who sprang from the mouth of Brahmā, the creator, that in them "goodness prevailed;" whereas the Śūdras "he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness," the other castes coming between these two in regard to their qualities,¹ and up to the present time the same notion is very generally entertained. The alleged inferiority of the other castes to the Brāhmin is well known to every Hindu. Of course the soil was congenial, or the idea would not have taken the root it has done; but if this mythical account of their creation has arisen, as so many other myths have done, from the mere putting a literal interpretation on figurative language, it may be, but for such a misrepresentation, and the distinction of caste being thus considered of divine origin, the caste system would not have assumed the enormous proportions it has done in the post-Vedic ages and down to the present time. Many different accounts have been handed down of the origin of mankind from the earliest ages; but none of them have struck such deep root into the minds of the people of India as the one of which mention for the first time is made in the Puruṣa-sūkta. The authors of the Purāṇas have endeavoured to explain these different accounts by supposing they refer to different creations; but if they all had their origin, as is likely enough, in the misunderstanding of the metaphorical language of the earlier teachers, any attempt at reconciling them as if each was a separate fact, must of course be utterly hopeless.

The myths which we have so far been considering have arisen in connexion with the names of visible objects, the original meaning of which has been obscured; and in order to trace the myth to its source, it was necessary to consider what that meaning was. It seems, however, as I before re-

¹ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. i. p. 62.

marked, that this is not at all necessary to mythology, but that many myths have arisen from a misunderstanding, no doubt, of the purport of the language originally used, for that is the cause of the greater part of mythology, but not at all necessarily from any mistake as to the meaning of the word which is the centre of the myth. Thus we are told in the *Mahābhārata* that Prithā, the wife of Pāndu, besides the three sons she bore reputedly to Pāndu, but who were really the sons of gods, one of them being the son of the wind, had also a son called Karna, by the sun. She had some conversation with the sun, and it is expressly said that he appeared to her in a personal form. Karna was also called Vaikartana, that is, the son of Vikartana, one of the names of the sun.¹ In the same poem, again, Sāntanu, the grandfather of Pāndu, was married to the river Ganges, who appeared to him in the form of a very beautiful woman. She became his wife only on the condition that he was never to object to anything she chose to do, nor to ask any question as to her origin. She had eight sons by him, and threw seven of them into the river as soon as they were born; but when she was about to deal with the eighth in the same manner, Sāntanu forgot his promise, and remonstrated with his wife, who, after explaining that she was the river Ganges, and giving some other particulars, vanished from his sight, taking the last born child with her. Once again, after the boy had grown up, she re-appeared, leading him by the hand, and made him over to the care of his father. The name of the boy was Devavrata, called also Gāngeya, from his being the son of the Ganges.² Thus, also in Homer, Asteropaios was descended "from the wide-flowing Axios, who pours the fairest flood upon the earth."³ Aiētās and his sister Kirkē "were both born from the sun, who gives light to mortals;" and Persē, their mother, was the daughter of the ocean.⁴ Memnon was the glorious son of the shining dawn, the divine Memnon, the most beautiful among men.⁵ Such

¹ *Mahābhārata*, i. 4389.² *Mahābhārata*, i. 3890 ff.³ *Il.* xxi. 167.⁴ *Odyssey*, x. 136.⁵ *Odyssey*, iv. 188, and xi. 522.

myths as these may have arisen out of the supposed answer to prayer for offspring. "Grant us offspring!" was one of the most frequent prayers in the Vedas. The sun, or the dawn, or whatever other object it may have been, having hearkened, as was supposed, to the prayer, became the spiritual parent of the child, and was often, no doubt, called father or mother as the case might be; and the belief that this was a real parentage soon followed. This is one way of accounting for such parentage. In some of the cases, with perhaps more probability, the myth may have arisen from a person dwelling, for instance, towards the rising of the sun, or near the ocean, or a river, and thus being called the child of the sun, or the ocean, or the river, and afterwards regarded as the real child. But in whatever way such a parentage was first attributed, other circumstances would soon be added, and the power of assuming a human shape had then almost necessarily to be conferred.

But though the formation of such myths may be in part owing to metaphorical language, it is evident they could not have been fully developed unless the natural objects had been originally regarded as possessing a life something like that of human beings. In such a myth, for instance, as that recorded in the twenty-first book of the Iliad, where the river Xanthos is described as attempting to overwhelm Achilles, this must have been more than metaphorical language, and have meant, no doubt, a conscious effort on the part of the river, though it is likely enough that the actual words spoken by the river were a later addition to the myth, or rather what turned the description into a myth; and further, when Hephaistos, "the fire," came to the assistance of Achilles, and "turned his all-resplendent flames against the river," consuming the trees on the banks, and drying up the fair streams, the description became mythical when words were supposed to have been spoken by the river. Thus, again, that was more than a mere metaphorical description in the first book of the Mahābhārata, when *agni*, "the fire," "with the smoke for his banner," after a violent contest, overcame the rain, and destroyed the great forest of Khān-

dava. The life that the fire was originally supposed to have in itself gave rise, no doubt, to the myth of the fire appearing at the commencement in a human form, and of its again rendering itself visible after the burning of the forest, and of the various other proceedings there recorded. But to return to the rivers: being smaller objects, they were no doubt not regarded as such great divinities as the sky or the sun. The Ganges, however, attained to a high rank, far superior to that of any river with which the Greeks were acquainted; and no more devout prayer was apparently ever breathed than that of the incomparable Sītā, when, accompanying her husband and brother-in-law into exile, she prayed to the Ganges to protect them, and to grant them a safe return to their home when the term of their exile was accomplished.¹ Afterwards, when they came to the refreshing shade of a "banyan," she addressed a somewhat similar prayer to that magnificent tree. The rivers are not so liable to lose their identity as greater objects of worship, like the sun, the sky, or the earth, because they are not called by so many different names. One instance, however, has been given, that of the Sarasvatī. There is some reason also for supposing that Umā, the wife of Śiva, was originally another name for the Sarasvatī;² but in general the rivers remain rivers; their names are not often appropriated to other divinities. All the rivers, save old ocean, attended the great Olympian assembly of the twentieth book of the Iliad, and Xanthos is specially named among them; and in the Mahābhārata³ many of the Indian rivers are mentioned by name as inhabiting the palace of Varuna.

I wish now to say a few words about the religion of the Vedic and Homeric ages, and of the relation which the myths bore to that religion. The religion of those ages was not a pure polytheism; still less, of course, was it a pure nature-worship. I shall best explain what I mean by referring, in the first place, to the religion of India in the present day. The greater part of my life has been passed in

¹ Rāmāyana, ed. Gorresio, ii. 52, 17.

² Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 424.

³ Mahābhārata, ii. 369.

Upper India, and in different parts of that country, and it has always seemed to me that Hindus and Europeans generally think and speak very much alike about the Supreme Being, and yet the Hindu still professes to worship natural objects, and to have no doubts about the truth of the Vedic religion. I have now by me a letter written in his native language by a Hindu friend of mine in Upper India, who is regarded as perfectly orthodox in his beliefs, in reply to some inquiries I made from him as to the opinions entertained by his countrymen generally on this subject. It appears that the worship of natural objects is regarded by them, to a great extent, as a representative worship. After speaking of different objects of nature, as the sun, rivers, trees, etc., and referring to the thoughts to which the contemplation of them give rise, the writer states, as the conclusion of the whole matter: "All worship and prayer are really addressed to God, whose essence is light, while such natural objects as those that have been referred to are worshipped in accordance with the direction of the Shāstars as blessed and magnified with the light and essence of God, the all-nourisher. In truth, we worship him who is the creator of all these things, and honour him only, while thinking of his light and splendour as manifested in these things." And in regard to most of the great Vedic gods, their conflicting claims to supremacy have been settled, to some extent, by placing them in subordinate posts, and by regarding them as ministering spirits or regents of different departments of nature; and in my letter are specially mentioned Varuna as the regent of the sea, Agni of fire, Pavana of the wind. After the time of the Vedas and of Homer there was, it can hardly be doubted, a gradual progress of the religion towards a complete monotheism. In Greece the idea of the one God was more clearly conceived by the philosophers and poets of later times than by Homer. In India Yāska, the Vedic commentator, who lived four or five centuries probably before Christ, writes with far more clearness than is to be met with in the Vedas themselves, that, "owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is celebrated as if it were many. The different

gods are separate members of the one Soul.”¹ And many other passages of a like import, showing progress towards the abstract idea of God, might be quoted from Hindu writings subsequent to the Vedic age. But by the side of such purer notions regarding the unity of the godhead, much of the language which had become mythical of the old beliefs remained, and various additional details were supplied to gratify the popular curiosity, as was only to be expected would be the case, as the myths became less and less reconcileable with the highest religious belief. Even in Homer an occasional *φασί*, “men say,” and the more frequent *βρύε*, “it is reported,” of the Mahābhārata, like the “once upon a time” of fairy tales, seem to show that the narrators did not wish to be held entirely responsible for all the strange things which they told of, but that they were constrained to utter them by the force of old and irresistible tradition.

To return now to the religion of the Vedas and Homer. Here also was not the beginning of religion; here, as in later times, though perhaps not to the same extent, we find inconsistencies between the traditions of past ages and later ideas; between things old and new. The religion, though nearer to its source in the earliest Vedic hymns than in Homer, yet in both had clearly advanced far beyond the original nature-worship. In the Homeric and Vedic religions there were certainly the germs of the later monotheism. In Homer and the Vedas alike, the gods, when spoken of collectively, act and think with one mind, or they are prayed to by men and all events are referred to them as if they were one. Thus, to quote a few passages from the *Iliad*—“The gods never give all things at the same time to men; may the gods grant that no evil may ensue from all these things (i.e. from evil words that had been spoken); the issues of victory rest in the immortal gods; the gods have deprived thee of thy senses; the gods themselves always aid thee; the blessed gods commiserated him,” and so on; and even to god in the singular, a similar power is sometimes

¹ Muir's Sanscrit Texts, vol. v. p. 350.

attributed. In most of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, too, we meet with numerous expressions of faith in an undivided divine power; such as, "may the gods preserve us; we worship the gods as well as we are able; the man who is devoted to the gods; may the benevolent favour of the gods be ours; may the bounty of the gods, ever approving of the upright, light upon us; the term of life granted by the gods; this day, gods, with the rising of the sun, deliver us from heinous sin; the gods have declared, we confer present vigour on the worshipper." Again, in Homer, in many passages Zeus is regarded by himself as the moral governor of the world, and many of the most exalted notions entertained of God in later times attach themselves to him. Thus, too, in the Rig-Veda, the highest divine functions are attributed to most of the gods; each god in the hymns addressed to him is invested by himself with most of the attributes of a supreme being; though the idea of such a being is not so clearly expressed as in later times, in consequence of its being expressed under a great variety of names which are not distinctly apprehended as synonyms. Colebrooke remarks, "that the ancient Hindu religion, as founded on the Indian Scriptures, recognizes but one God, yet not sufficiently discriminating the creature from the creator."¹ This remark perhaps anticipates too much; but Professor Whitney's note on it, that "the proper Vedic religion is not monotheistic, but a worship of the personified powers of nature,"² etc., throws the religion too far back in the past; and at least such deities, for instance, as Surya, "the sun," Sarasvatī, "the river of that name," and Varuna and Vishnu, which no longer in the Vedas preserve their original meaning of visible objects, can hardly be all alike described as the personified powers of nature, as if there was no distinction between them. The true explanation seems to be, that here we have the old nature-religion side by side with a younger and more spiritual faith in beings who were no longer always before men's eyes, but a faith in which we can detect the

¹ Essays, vol. i. p. 24.² Essays, vol. i. p. 110.

germs of the later monotheism—so difficult is it to eradicate old beliefs—just as at the introduction of Christianity among the people of Northern Europe, an equal trust was found to be placed in Christ and in the old heathen gods.¹

III.—ON CERTAIN ITALIAN DIMINUTIVES.

BY C. B. CAYLEY, ESQ.

THERE are several noted discrepancies between the Latin and Italian ways of forming diminutives of nouns. The Latin *ellus* is a diminutive termination; so is often, but not invariably, the Italian *ello*; for *uccello* is a “bird,” and not a “little bird.” Then there are Italian diminutives ending in *etto* and *ino*: but the termination *etto* is referred by Diez to a Germanic source; and the Latin *inus* appears generally to form, not diminutives, but adjectives denoting a general relationship—as *vulpinus*, *leoninus*. It is to this termination *inus*, however, that I would now direct your attention, in the hope of discovering a link between its adjectival and diminutival values. Of course the modern diminutives similarly formed are not exclusively Italian, but include many Spanish and French words ending in *ino*, *in* (with corresponding feminine forms); but I have mostly contented myself with instancing one of these languages, in which both diminutives and augmentatives abound in a peculiar measure. The earliest traces which Diez gives us of this class of diminutives are from Low Latin documents of the eighth and tenth centuries, where he finds *domnulinus* (A.D. 759), and *vallina* (A.D. 912). Again, Muratori quotes the phrase “*casas et casinas et casalinas*” (A.D. 1029). *Domnulinus* has only survived in the feminine *donnolina*, which is not used literally for “little lady,” but as the designation of an animal of the weasel kind. From *casalina* comes apparently the adjective *casalingo*. But I trust to guide you to more antique foundations by the aid of proper names, which in most languages preserve some valuable archaic forms. Thus, if you want old English ways

¹ Grimm's Deutsche Myth., p. 6.

of writing "web, foot, chapel," you need turn to nothing more recondite than a Directory for "Webb, Foote, Chappell." If you want to see the *s* which old French nouns retained (as the termination of the nominative singular), you need not go beyond the Christian names "Charles, Georges (in Molière), Hugues, Jules;" and I might give a like account of the English "Charles, Giles, James," and even of the family names "Hughes, Jones, Williams, Roberts," etc., although these are popularly explained as *possessive cases*. But let us turn in like manner to proper names in *ino*; and we shall see that *Paolino* is not only "little Paul," but an equivalent for the Latin "Paulinus," in which we have not a diminutive, but an eponym—a name that might be bestowed in honour of a Paulus conformably to certain progressive usages. These usages let us observe more closely. Even in common nouns the termination *inus* may afford an indication of family relations. The *libertinus* was the son of the *libertus*—the *gallina* the female of the *gallus*. The eponyms in *inus* and other endings begin to appear, I believe, in early Republican times; but they rapidly become more abundant under the Empire, and especially during the fourth and fifth centuries. They sometimes call to remembrance a patron, or no doubt a distant relative, or perhaps a favourite hero; but we may observe several notable cases in which they make *bona fide* patronymics. Agrippina was the daughter of Agrippa; Carinus (the Emperor) the son of Carus; Constantinus the son of Constantius; Probinus (the consul to whom Claudian dedicated a poem) the son of Probus. If there was ever an extensive popular use of such patronymics, it may have led, by the most natural associations of ideas, to the formation of diminutives in *inus*. If we were accustomed to meet with fathers and sons bearing such names as Probus, Probinus, we should easily learn to think of a Probinus as a little Probus. It is in much the same way that we have learnt to use the word *children* for "little people," while we yet understand by it a progeny of all ages when we read of "children of Israel," "of men," etc. It would afterwards be easy to make the word *domnulinus* "little master," in imitation of

Probinus or the like; and for other such diminutives “il n’y a que le premier pas qui coûte.” At what period the names in *inus* began to have diminutive associations I cannot pretend to ascertain, but the name of Maximinus, which it would be ridiculous to connect with littleness, may indicate the earliest limit. For further illustrations the literature of the fourth and fifth centuries, however barbarous we may esteem it, is perhaps too archaic to afford us any aid—I mean too much suited to disguise from us the progress of colloquial idioms through its cultivation of authorized phraseology. I can only observe a few modern diminutives which seem to have been long foreshadowed by names that were or may have been patronymic. With “carino” compare Carinus, already mentioned; with *lupicino* (used by Dante in a line of the Ugolino canto—

Cacciando i lupi e i lupicini al monte)

compare Lupicinus,¹ the name of a noted personage at the time when the Goths crossed the Danube. Ursicinus, of whom we read in the time of Julian, reminds us of *orsacchino*, “bear’s whelp,” though here the syllable *ci* becomes *chi*, or rather preserves a hard sound, as in *pochi pochissimo* from *pauci paucissimus*. Domninus (v. Muratori, Ann. A.D. 387) may be not only a patronymic, but a designation like Dominicus and Christina, importing the servant of the Lord; but as a patronymic and diminutive I should think it was the root of Sp. *niño*, “child,” formed from *donnino* or *doñino*, *’ñino* (compare for the aphaeresis Prov. *en*=*don*). The transposition in *niño* for *ñino* would be natural enough, for no Spanish word commences with *ñ*. On the other hand, *niño* has been represented as a nursery word formed from the sound; and if this were a correct view, *ino* itself might be a mere fancy termination for diminutives. This is a point to which I will append a small digression; but I must first turn from my one termination *inus* or *ino* to some analogous terminations, which may fairly be cited to test or to correct my theory.

¹ Lupicinus may have been occasionally pronounced with a short penult, as appears from the Spanish form *lobezno*.

The Latin language is reasonably furnished with diminutives, but far less abundantly than the Italian. But for derivative proper names the Latin has the most numerous special resources, comprising not merely the termination *inus*, but the equally common *ianus* and also *entius*. On the other hand, the old Italian family names abound in all manner of diminutive terminations. There are Ubaldi with Ubaldini, Tebaldi with Tebaldelli, etc. This makes it probable that at one time all these terminations—*ini*, *elli*, *etti*, *otti*, *ucci*, etc.—were capable of a patronymic acceptance, and served perhaps to distinguish younger branches of a clan. Then *elli* was first a diminutive (plural) termination, and afterwards, as it seems, patronymic. Need this hinder us, I should ask you, from supposing that *ini*, by an opposite process, has had first a patronymic, and since then a diminutive acceptance?

The Greek language has many diminutives in *ιον*, like *βιβλιον*; and yet *ιος* (neut. *ιον*) seems to be a mere adjectival termination, like *inus* added to common nouns. But here, also, such eponyms as Dionysios from Dionysos seem to offer a connecting link between the adjectival and diminutival usages.

The diminutive import of *ino* might easily have been extended to *enso* for *entius*, or *iano* for *ianus*. But *entius* mostly supposes a primitive ending in *ens*, as Prudentius, Innocentius, come from Prudens, Innocens; nevertheless Magnentius is a real patronymic to Magnus, and Maxentius apparently comes from Maximus. The termination *ianus* seems to be so largely appropriated to local adjectives like Italianus that it would hardly have borne another usage. There was perhaps another reason why *ino* should have been used for diminutives in preference to *iano*. Let us return to the question whether the sound has that suggestiveness or natural appropriateness which has been attributed to the word *niño*.

That there are words made directly from imitative articulations I am not inclined to believe, except in a few unimportant or unfruitful instances. It is easier to make new words from old, and has been so in all historic periods. I say nothing of the primitive languages of humanity, for I

doubt whether we can approach them, even through Sanskrit roots, except in the manner of the poet, who says :

“ I am but three feet nearer heaven
Than when I was a boy.”

On the other hand, most languages readily present words whose sound seems to echo their sense even to the popular ear ; and we ought not to overlook the indirect causes which may be answerable for this phenomenon. Perhaps a suggestive sound leads us to prefer a word before other synonyms ; perhaps the sound affects the associations, and ultimately the meaning ; (and thus *seethe* has ceased to be an exact synonym of *boil*, Ger. *sieden*, and has earned a new use, which can hardly be extended to the participle *sodden*) ; perhaps the sense affects the pronunciation, however much this is controlled by dialectic analogies. The upshot is, that many words commonly instanced as onomatopoeitic seem to me to contain a mixture of effective and non-effective elements. The German word *dumpf* is an excellent one for a hollow muffled sound ; but the effective elements are the *u*, *m*, and perhaps the *pf* ; not the *d*, which has, I won't say a prejudicial, but a neutral power. In the same way, then, and subject to the general reflections I have made, I think *ino* an elegant and suggestive termination for diminutives ; but I think this on account of the long *i*, and not of the following letter or letters. I might say the like of the Spanish termination *ito*, the historic counterpart of Ital. *etto*. Why, then, is *i* so suggestive ? The vowels differ from each other in tone—not the dominant tone of the voice, but the subtones combined with it by the resonances of the oral cavity. Now the highest tone belongs to *i*, and the lowest to *u* ; the manifold varieties of *e*, *o*, constituting so many gradual approaches to these extremes. It is thus possible to associate *u*, *o*, with the voice of a man, and *i*, *e*, with childish or feminine voices, which are commonly higher. In this way the diminutive termination *ino* presents a striking and agreeable contrast to the augmentative *one*—compare *donnicina* with *donnone* :

“ *Cospetto che tu sei un bel donnone.*”

I might also find traces of a certain gravitation of feminine terminations to *i*, and masculine to *u*, as in Gr. *ος*, *η* (first *ē*, then *i*) ; Latin *us*, and the Hebrew pronouns *hū'* he, *hī'* she (הוּא, הִיא) It is true that *a* is a common feminine termination, and this is not a high vowel in itself, but high in comparison to *o* and *u*. In Sanskrit *i* is a common feminine termination ; it is perhaps formed from *ia* or *ya*, which would begin with the same high tone. But in the older forms of the Aryan languages the tendency to characterize masculine and feminine nouns by similar short and long vowels, like *a*, *ā*, requires the application of another principle, which I may venture to discuss hereafter.

IV.—NOTES OF THE CHANGES MADE BY FOUR YOUNG CHILDREN IN PRONOUNCING ENGLISH WORDS (A.D. 1863-1873). By JAMES M. MENZIES, Esq.

BEING convinced that the great changes which are produced in languages are mainly due to the attack which is made on words by children when they are beginning to speak, and to the adoption by their elders of the alterations which are thus effected, I undertook to observe and write down every variation in the pronunciation of words which was made by such children as I have had the opportunity of hearing when they were learning to speak. Complete observation was limited to the case of three individuals ; but I made an examination of two other cases, one of which was, I believe, nearly exhaustive ; the other by no means so. The period during which my observation was maintained in the case of the first three individuals extended from the time when the child began to utter articulate sounds to the age of five or six years, by which period nearly every peculiarity of pronunciation had disappeared, and each word was uttered accurately and distinctly. I shall now give the variations which I took down.

By the first child, whom I shall call A—

1. *Small, smell, smith, smite*, etc., were pronounced *hmall, hmell, hsmith, hmite*, etc.; that is, the *s* when combined with *m* was replaced by the aspirate.

2. *Horse* and *used* were pronounced *lorse* and *lused* respectively.

3. *Hand* and *hands* were pronounced *rah* and *raz*.

4. *That, think, thing*, etc., were pronounced *hnat, hnink, hning*, etc.; that is, the *th* was replaced by *hn* (the aspirated *n*).

5. *Van, valentine, valley*, etc., were pronounced *ban, balentine, balley*; that is, the *v* was replaced by *b*. But

6. The *b* was replaced by *w* in the word *bulrushes*, which was pronounced *woolrushes*.

7. *Blue, glue, flew*, etc., were pronounced *boo, goo, foo*; while *green, screen, friend*, etc., were pronounced *geen, skeen, fend*, etc.; that is, the *b, g* (hard), and *f* combined with *l* lost the sound of that liquid; and also *g* (hard), *sk, f*, and some other consonants in combination with *r* lost the sound of that liquid. This peculiarity was the last which was retained by this child.

By the second child, B—

1. *Look, book, took*, etc., were pronounced *looch, booch, tooch*, etc.; the *ch* of which was a distinct guttural like that which is heard in Scotland or Germany.

2. *I want to eat that* was pronounced *I want to (n)eat that*; that is, the letter *n* was inserted between the vowels *o* and *e* of the words *to* and *eat*.

3. *Begin* and *geography* were pronounced *fegin* and *fegography*; while

4. *Breakfast* was pronounced *breffast*. This variation in these three words was invariably maintained to the end of this child's fifth year.

By the third child, C—

1. *Yes* and *toffy* were pronounced *nes* and *tossy*.

2. *Papa* and *mama* were pronounced *a'pa* and *a'ma*.

3. *Aunty* was pronounced *atlan*.

4. *Away, Holloway*, etc., were pronounced *a'ray, Hollo'-ray*; that is, the *w* was replaced by *r*.

5. *Spoon, skin, Scotland, spread*; *strife, strong, string*; *squeeze, squall, sting*, etc., were pronounced *poon, kin, Kotland, pread*; *trife, trong, tring*; *queeze, quall, ting*, etc.; that is, the initial *s* was dropped.

6. *Smite, small, smell*; *sneeze, snake, snail*; *sway, swing, swagger*, etc., were pronounced *hmite, hmall, hmell*; *hneeze, hnake, hnail*; *hway, hwing, hwagger*, etc.; that is, the initial *s* was replaced by the aspirate.

7. *Compost, impost, Ernest*, etc., were pronounced *compot, impot, Ernet*, etc.; that is, the *s* in the second syllable was dropped.

By the fourth child, D, the variations from the ordinary pronunciation were striking and distinct, and I had an opportunity of making a fairly exhaustive examination of the peculiarities of its speech. The result of my observation was as follows:—

1. *Whisper* was pronounced *lisper*, and

2. *Walk, wash*, etc., were pronounced *lawk, lawsh*; that is, the *w* and the aspirated *w* were replaced by *l*.

3. *Dolly, donkey*, etc., were pronounced *golly, gonkey*, etc.; that is, the *d* was replaced by *g* (hard).

4. *Brown, bring*, etc., were pronounced *bonn, bing*, etc.

5. *Father, fan, fat*, etc., were pronounced *sather, san, sat*, etc.; that is, the *f* was replaced by *s*.

6. *Speak, spell, spin*, etc., were pronounced *peak, pell, pin*, etc.; that is, the *s* which is combined with *p* is dropped.

7. *Burrow, furrow, sparrow*, etc., were pronounced *buddow, fuddow, spaddow*, etc.; that is, the *r* is replaced by *d*.

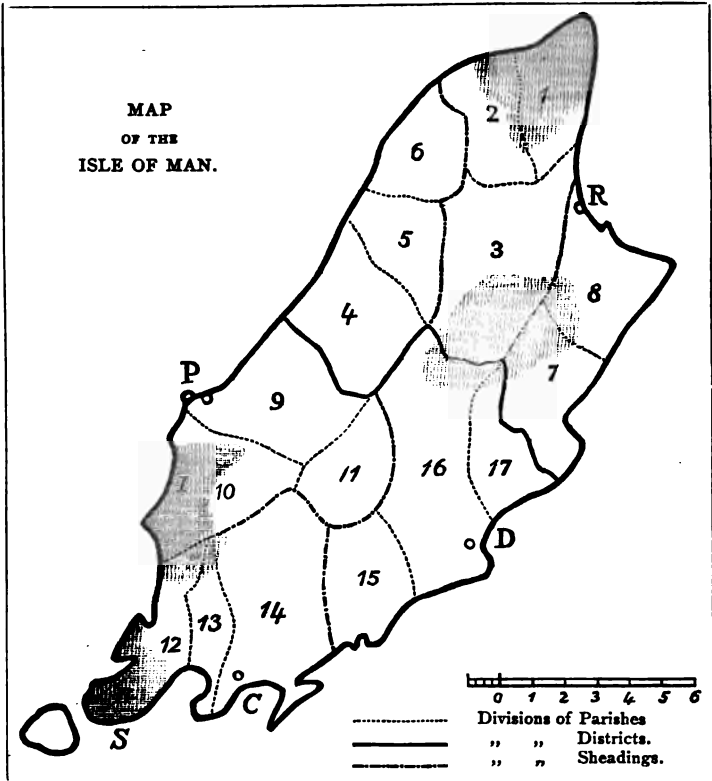
E.—This child was upwards of five years of age when he came under my observation, and there was only one peculiarity in his speech that I could detect.

Herbert was pronounced *Terbert*; that is, the aspirate in the first syllable was replaced by *t*.

There are two remarks which I have to make, and which have been suggested by this investigation. The first is, that in every instance of variation from the usual pronunciation there was a clear and distinct substitution of one consonant for another; thus, for example, the child A said *ban* for *van*; the child B said *looch* for *look*; the child C said *nes* for *yes*; and the child D said *golly* for *dolly*. When I say that one consonant was substituted for another, it is necessary to allow a consonantal force to the aspirate, since by the child A and by the child C the words *smith*, *smell*, etc., were pronounced *hmith*, *hmell*; and the converse of this was exemplified by the use of *lorse* for *horse* by the child A. The second remark I have to make is, that I had evidence of what Moffat describes as "the more voluble (speakers) condescending to the less precocious." The variations which children make in the pronunciation of words are sometimes, and perhaps usually, disregarded; but occasionally they are accepted by their elders, who thus try to meet them half way, from a wish, as it were, to help them through the difficulty which they are seen to experience in learning to speak. I have known several words which, on being re-coined by children, have passed current for a considerable time in a household. The word *horse*, for example, was changed into *lorse* by the child A, and this at once became a new designation of the valuable quadruped which was readily adopted; *rah* for *hand* was similarly accepted.

The most noteworthy instance of the adoption of an altered word that has come within my notice was that of *begin*, which the child B changed to *fegin*. This novel word of the child so caught the fancy of a youth who was considerably older than himself, that long after the child had ceased to use it altogether, his senior, who had been in the habit of hearing it, employed it on familiar occasions. "It is my turn to *fegin*," I have heard this youth say at the commencement of a game four years after he could have heard it from the lips of any one.

V.—THE MANX LANGUAGE: ITS GRAMMAR,
LITERATURE AND PRESENT STATE. By
HENRY JENNER, Esq.



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|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
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| 3. KIRK LEZAYRE. | 12. KIRK RUSHEN. | C. CASTLETOWN. |
| 4. KIRK MICHAEL. | 13. KIRK ARBORY. | D. DOUGLAS. |
| 5. BALLAUGH. | 14. KIRK MALEW. | P. PEEL. |
| 6. JURBY. | 15. KIRK SANTON. | R. RAMSAY. |
| 7. KIRK LONAN. | 16. KIRK BRADDAN. | S. SPANISH HEAD. |
| 8. KIRK MAUGHOLD. | 17. KIRK ONCHAN. | |
| 9. KIRK GERMAN. | | |

The shaded parts represent the districts in which Manx is most spoken.

I MUST preface this paper with a few remarks relative to its object and contents, for it seems to me to stand in need of some sort of explanation and apology. In March, 1873, I

read a paper before this Society on the now extinct Celtic language of Cornwall. In this paper, which, as the President's report for that year expressed it, was "more of the nature of a report than of research," I endeavoured to place before the Society in a collected form an account of the language, its history and literature, and of the various sources of information on the subject. I propose in the present paper to do the same with regard to the fast-dying Celtic dialect of the Isle of Man; and herein I have very little to offer, save certain statistics which will appear in the course of the paper, that has not been already written or printed elsewhere, though not hitherto collected into an accessible form.¹

The language of the Isle of Man belongs to the Gaelic branch of the Celtic family, in which it occupies almost exactly the same place as that which was once held by Cornish in the Cymric branch, that is to say, it holds a middle place between Irish and Scotch, inclining considerably to the latter. The analogy between the two cases is very striking. Irish, like Welsh, is a literary and cultivated tongue, and one that has been from an early period reduced to rule, and not allowed to form itself how it pleased in the mouths of illiterate peasants. Scotch, like Breton, has not had quite the same advantages, though it also has not been entirely neglected; while Manx, like Cornish, has simply been allowed to go to pieces, and, until quite recent times, has never been worked upon in any way, and, like Cornish, in its decay it has preserved the characteristics of the less cultivated of its fellows. In support of this statement I have the evidence of five Manxmen of the lower class—three fishermen, a farm labourer, and a carpenter (*i.e.* a boat-builder), all of them men of fair intelligence, though unlearned, who, without any leading questions, told me, as the result of their own experience, that Scotch was easily intelligible to them, while Irish was quite a foreign tongue, in which *words* were frequently understood, but *sentences* never. Moreover, as far as I have seen, it appears

¹ N.B.—In the course of this paper, so as to avoid confusion from the use of the word *Gaelic*, which is equally applicable to three of the Celtic dialects, I shall speak of that of the Highlands of Scotland as *Scotch*.

in the written language that in only one case (that of the "eclipsis" initial mutation) has a form been retained in *both* Manx and Irish that has been dropped in Scotch, with the exception of certain ecclesiastical terms, such as names of festivals, etc., which Scotch has lost on theological rather than philological grounds. In some cases, however, *words*, even names of common things, differ considerably, but these are not sufficiently numerous to make much difference.

In appearance on paper Manx differs considerably from either of the other two, but that is chiefly owing to its attempted phonetic system of orthography, and the consequent absence of the multitude of silent letters that so encumber Irish and Scotch. It would not be easy to give any regular rule for the real differences, but the following are some of the principal ones:

1. A general contracting and softening down of words, such as—*as* for *agus* (and), *ayr* for *athair* (father), *chiarn* for *tigearn* (Scotch), *tigearna* (Irish), (lord), etc.

2. A change of an initial *t* to *ch* (pronounced as in the English word *church*) in the case of what Irish grammarians call the slender sound. This change occurs also in later Cornish. Thus *chiarn* for *tigearn*, *chenney* for *teine* (fire), *cheh* for *teth* (hot), etc.

3. A change of an initial *d* to *j* (pronounced as in English). Thus *Jee* for *Dia* (God), *jannoo* for *dean* (make), *jough* for *deoch* (drink), etc.

4. A change of *v* (*mh* or *bh*) to *u* or *w*, as *slieu* for *shlabh* (hill), *niau* for *neamh* (heaven), etc.

I noticed a tendency in colloquial Manx to another change common also in later Cornish, but I have never seen it written, and only met with it in the case of one word (though in the mouths of several people), so that it cannot be included as a rule. This was the insertion of a *d* before the *n* in the case of the word *shen* (that), making it *shedn* (Cornish *pedn* for *pen*, *ladn* for *lan*, etc.).

Of the grammatical variations I shall speak, as occasion shall serve, in their place under the head of grammar.

I.—THE GRAMMAR.

I propose to give only a very short sketch of the grammar of Manx, chiefly for the sake of comparisons with that of Irish and Scotch, and for a general view of the principles of the language. I will refer any one who may be desirous of further information to Kelly's Manx Grammar, published by the Manx Society in 1859, and to that prefixed to Cregeen's Manx Dictionary, published at Douglas in 1835. Both of these are in the Library of the British Museum.¹

The Orthography.—Until comparatively modern times Manx was never a written language, or if it was so, all traces of its existence as such have vanished. When, however, about the seventeenth century it became so, a system of spelling was adopted which, based upon English with a dash of Welsh, aimed at being phonetic, instead of, like Irish and Scotch, preserving the etymology of words. As a matter of fact it succeeded very well in not preserving the etymology; but unless the pronunciation has materially altered, its other object was not such a success. The orthography of the Scotch MS. of the sixteenth century known as the Dean of Lismore's Book has a certain amount of resemblance in principle to that of Manx.

As a general rule consonants have very much the same force as in English, save for a sort of universal aspiration of everything, but the following are exceptions:—

c and *g* *always* hard.

ch, when occurring as an aspirate mutation, or in the middle or end of a word, is a guttural, but very slight, being hardly more than a rather strong *h*. (When it begins a word as a radical letter, it is almost always sounded as in English.)

gh, a strong deep guttural.

dd as *dd* in Welsh, or *th* in the English word *that*.

¹ At the time of reading this paper, Prince L. L. Bonaparte told me of the existence of another and a really good Manx grammar in Dr. Heinrich Leo's "*Ferienschriften*" (Halle, 1847). This grammar is intelligibly and scientifically arranged, and is not, like the other two, an attempt to reduce Manx to Latin rules. It is, however, of no use as regards *pronunciation*, though under the head of "*Buchstaben*" there are some valuable orthographical comparisons with Irish and Scotch.

ll has sometimes the same sound, or nearly so, as in Spanish. *x* and *z* are wanting.

The vowels vary much more, and mostly have several sounds apiece:—

a single has generally the sound of the first vowel in the English word *father*, especially if it end a syllable. This rule admits of many exceptions, wherein it is sounded as *ay* in *may*. If it is followed by a consonant and a silent *e*, it always takes the latter sound. With a doubled consonant it is generally short, as *a* in *man*.

aa has two sounds: (1) if followed by a consonant and a silent *e*, or if ending a word, as *ay* in *may*; (2) if followed by a single or doubled consonant without a silent *e*, as *a* in *man*.

e generally short, as in *pen*. When followed by a consonant and a silent *e*, or when written with a circumflex accent, it is pronounced long, as *ea* in *mean*.

ee is always as a long *e* in English.

i is generally short, as in *in*, but occasionally it takes a long *e* sound (as in the word *reeriaght*, kingdom, where it is the accentuated vowel).

o is generally short, as in *on*, but sometimes it takes the sound of the English *aw*, as in *moddey* (a dog), pronounced *mawdhä*. Before a consonant and a silent *e* it is long.

oo is pronounced as in English, or else has the force of *w* before a vowel. It is, in fact, almost an exact equivalent of the Welsh *w*.

u almost always short, as in *us*.

w, sometimes used with the same sound as in English.

y has the same force as in the Welsh word *Cymru*, or as *u* in *until*.

Besides the simple vowels, there are about as many diphthongs and triphthongs as the permutations of seven vowels, taken two and three together, will form. For the pronunciation of these, as far as I can make out, there must needs be as many rules as there are words containing them, for the variations seem endless, and any attempt at a general rule is utterly futile.

The values that I have given for the letters are merely approximate, for clear definite vowels seem quite impossible to a true Manxman, and there is a tendency to a universally diphthongal pronunciation among them. Manx phonology would be a subject of itself, and a very good test of the capabilities of the "Visible Speech" system, and the task is not made any the easier by the age (and consequent toothlessness) of so many of the native speakers.

The Initial Mutations.—These partly grammatical and partly euphonic changes of the first letters of words are much simpler and fewer in the Gaelic than in the Cymric branch of Celtic. In Scotch, the system of "eclipsis," as it is called,—a change like the middle mutation in Welsh with some letters, and the nasal with others, which is used in Irish,—is wanting, save in the case of the letter *s*; but in Manx there is a second form of change, resembling phonetically the "eclipsis," used only in two instances, viz. after the article in the genitive plural, and after the possessive pronoun *nyn* (plural possessive of all three persons), while the letter *s* has a special mutation all to itself, like that of Scotch.

The other mutation, called the *aspirate* in Irish and Scotch, is practically the same in the three dialects, though the non-phonetic nature of the other two of them makes the appearance on paper very different to that of Manx. This change partakes of the nature of the middle mutation of Welsh in some letters, and of the aspirate in others. The following is a table of the Manx system :—

RADICAL.	ASPIRATE.	SECOND MUTATION.
P	Ph (f)	B.
C K or Q	Ch (guttural)	G.
T	H	D.
Ch (soft)	H	J.
B	V	M.
G	Gh	Gh.
D	Gh	Gh.
J	Y	No change.
F	Silent	V.
M	V	No change.
S	H	(No change. or T.

The Article.—The definite article, answering to *an* in Irish and Scotch, is *y* before a consonant, and *yn* before a vowel. Its only inflexions are *ny* for the genitive singular of the feminine, and for the plural of all cases, answering to the Irish *na*, and Scotch *na* and *nan*.

The Nouns.—The two native Manx grammars divide the Nouns into five declensions, but there is no particular reason for it, except that they are so divided in Latin. They would go just as well into five hundred as far as any natural division is concerned. However, there may be said to be two declensions—masculine and feminine. The only inflexions are the genitive singular and the plural of all cases. All other cases are formed by prepositions.

The genitive singular is formed in one of three ways: by modifying the root vowel; by adding *ey* to the root; or by both. There are, however, many variations and irregularities. Usually, masculine nouns take the first, and feminine either the second or third of these forms. In some cases there is no change at all. The following will serve as examples of each:—

1. *Doarn*, a hand; gen. *Duirn*, masc.
2. *Sooill*, an eye; gen. *Sooilley*, fem.
3. *Cass*, a foot; gen. *Coshey*, fem.
4. *Caggey*, war; gen. *Caggey*, masc.

The plural is formed as a general rule by adding *yn* (Scotch *an*), but some monosyllables form it by modifying the root vowel. Thus:—

Awin, a river, *Awinyn*.

Fer, a man, *Fir*.

Some nouns ending in *agh* change it to *ee*, as:—

Claasagh, a harp, *Claasee*.

And others add *nyn* to that, as:—

Raantagh, a slave, *Raanteenyn*.

The genitive plural, when preceded by the article, takes the second mutation, which answers to a similar use of *eclipsis* in Irish.

The Adjectives.—These have few or no peculiarities. They follow the substantives, and in the case of feminine nouns take the aspirate mutation. The plurals are formed after the same rules as those of nouns. The comparison, barring the usual irregularities, is very simple, consisting of one change serving for both comparative and superlative, formed by prefixing *s'* to the positive. In the use of comparatives the particle *ny* is placed before the *s'*, and treated as a separate word. The native Manx grammars consider this *s'* to be a contraction of *smoo* (more); but the following comparison with Irish and Scotch will show that this opinion is erroneous. In Irish the usual comparative particle is *nios*, and the superlative *is*. In Scotch *na's* is used in the same way as *nios*, and the derivation of *smoo* is evident, by its being written *is mo* in Irish.

The Numerals.—In sound these are almost identical with those of Irish and Scotch, though in spelling they differ very much. The best way to speak of these will be to give some of them in each language.

MANX.	SCOTCH.	IRISH.	WELSH.	BRETON.	LATE CORNISH. ¹
1. {un unnane}	aon	aon	un	unan	onan, idn
2. daa, jees	dha	do, dha, dis	dau, dwy	daou, diou	deu
3. three	tri	tri, teora	tri, tair	tri, teir	tri
4. kiare	ceithir	ceathair	{pedwar pedair }	{pevar pedar }	padger
5. queig	coig	cúig	pump	pemp	pemp
6. shey	se	se	chwech	c'houec'h	weth
7. shiaght	seachd	seacht	saith	seiz	saith
8. hoght	ochd	ocht	wyth	eiz	ayth
9. nuy	naoidh	noi	nau	naô	naw
10. jeih	deich	deich	deg	dek	dek
11. unnane- jeih	aon dheig	aon déag	un ar ddeg	unnek	ignack
12. daayeig	dha dheig	do déag	dau ar ddeg	daouzek	dewthack
20. feed	fichead	fiche	ugaint	ugent	igens

The ordinals are mostly formed by adding *oo* to the cardinals. This answers to the Irish *mhadh* and Scotch *amh* in sound, and if, as is probable, it is derived from the older

¹ Taken down from the mouths of old people at Newlyn, Penzance, 1876.

Gaelic unaspirated form *mad*, it is of the same root as the Welsh *fed*, Breton *ved*, and Cornish *ves*. In the government of numerals, the usual Celtic rule of taking a noun in the singular holds good in Manx: thus *daa cass* (two feet), not *daa cassyn*.

The Pronouns.—The personal pronouns are indeclinable, but when, as in the other Celtic languages, they coalesce with any prepositions that precede them, they take a different form to their original one. The following table will show this system:—

	SIMPLE FORM.	COMPOUND FORM.
SING.—1st Pers.	<i>mee</i> . .	<i>ym</i> , as in <i>marym</i> , from <i>marish</i> (with).
2nd „	<i>oo</i> . .	{ <i>yt</i> , as in <i>rhyt</i> , from <i>rish</i> (to). <i>yd</i> , as in <i>foyd</i> , from <i>fo</i> (under).
3rd „	<i>eh</i> . .	{ This is formed by the preposition itself without pronominal affix.
3rd (fem.)	<i>ee</i> . .	<i>ee</i> , as in <i>dee</i> , from <i>da</i> (to).
PLURAL—1st Pers.	<i>shin</i> . .	<i>in</i> , as in <i>voin</i> , from <i>voish</i> (from).
2nd „	<i>shiu</i> . .	<i>iu</i> , as in <i>erriu</i> , from <i>er</i> (upon).
3rd „	<i>ad</i> . .	<i>oo</i> , as in <i>lioroo</i> , from <i>liorish</i> (by).

The possessive forms of the pronouns are of two sorts: either the simple possessives, *my* (my), *dty* (thy), *e* (his or her), followed by the aspirate mutation, and *nyn* (our, your, or their), followed by the second mutation; or else the compound form of the pronoun with the preposition *ec* (at) following the qualified noun.

The forms thus obtained are:—

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1st person, <i>my</i> or <i>aym</i> .	<i>nyn</i> or <i>ain</i> .
2nd „ <i>dty</i> or <i>ayd</i> .	<i>nyn</i> or <i>eu</i> .
3rd „ <i>e</i> or <i>echey</i> .	<i>nyn</i> or <i>oc</i> .
„ (fem.) <i>e</i> or <i>eck</i> .	<i>nyn</i> or <i>oc</i> .

The relative is generally not expressed. The opening sentence of the Lord's Prayer will show the construction used:

Ayr ain, t'ayns (ta ayns) niau
Father at us, art in heaven.

The Verb.—The Manx verb is exceedingly simple in its construction, being entirely without any personal inflexions,

unless a certain contraction in the first person of the future may be so termed. Tense inflexions exist, but they seem to be little used, and their place is supplied by various tenses of auxiliaries, followed by the root (usually a noun used as a verb). Thus, in the verb *coayl*, to lose (or as a noun, loss), the following are the principal tenses :—

Present.	<i>ta mee coayl</i> .
	<i>ta ou coayl</i> , etc., etc.
Past.	<i>α. va mee coayl</i> , etc.
	<i>β. chaill mee</i> , etc.
	<i>γ. ren</i> (from <i>jannoo</i> , to do) <i>mee coayl</i> , etc.
Perfect.	<i>ta mee or-choayl</i> , etc.
Future.	<i>caillee ym</i> .
	<i>caillee ou</i> , etc., etc.
Imperative.	<i>caill</i> . Plur.: <i>caillee</i> .
Infinitive.	<i>coayl</i> (usually used with the preposition <i>dy</i> , (to)).
Participles.	<i>or choayl</i> , = upon losing (having lost).
	<i>caillit</i> = lost.

From this it will be seen that there are two roots : one, originally a noun, from which the compound tenses are formed ; and the other, formed by a modification of the root vowel, from which the Imperative, Simple Past, and Future are formed. The Subjunctives, etc., are formed by various auxiliaries, and the Passive by the verb substantive and passive participle.

In verbs beginning with a vowel, the prepositions *dho*, and *ag*, used in Scotch, appear in the form of *d* and *g* joined to the root. Thus in the verb *insh* (to tell), Scotch *innis*, we find the Imperative *insh*, the Past (simple) *dinsh* (Scotch *dh'innis*), and the Infinitive *ginsh* (Scotch *ag innis*).

II.—LITERATURE.

There is no early literature in existence in Manx, though tradition speaks of the Isle as having been once the great seat of learning of the Gaelic Celts. Whatever may have been written there in early days has either perished, or has been so mixed up with the literature of the Irish language as to be indistinguishable from it. The only composition now known

that may possibly belong to that shadowy period is a single fragment written down in the year 1789, by one Peter John Heywood, from the recitation of an old woman in the parish of Kirk Michael, and now forming part of a collection relating to Celtic matters by Professor Thorkelin of Copenhagen, preserved in the British Museum (Add. MS. 11215). This fragment is a real Ossianic poem. It relates how Orree, the enemy of Finn McCumhail was a prisoner in Finn's house, and how the women of the household, on a day when Finn had gone a hunting, tormented Orree by tying his hair down to the ground as he lay asleep, and how he in revenge set fire to the house and burnt them all, and was promptly punished by Finn by being torn in pieces by wild horses. Whether a Scotch version of this *poem* exists I do not know, but I have been unable to find one. However, in Hugh Miller's "Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland," the *story*, exactly as it occurs in Manx, is given as a legend of Cromarty and Caithness. In a letter that accompanies the poem the transcriber says that many more Ossianic poems were known among the Manx people, but no others seem to have been preserved.

The real existing literature of the Island, however, consists of a large number of ballads and carols, only a very small part of which has been printed. The Carols, or "Carvels," as they are locally called, are well worthy of notice, and their use is as follows :

On Christmas Eve the churches are decorated, and the whole buildings generally filled with large congregations, each bearing a lighted candle, and services take place which consist entirely of carol singing. Any member of the congregation who pleases gets up and sings one, and some of the country folk have an almost unlimited supply, collected in MS. volumes, which, for fear of their being sung by some one else, the possessors keep most carefully to themselves. This singing goes on till midnight or thereabouts, and ends with what is called the "Parting Verse" :—

" Te traa goll thie dy goll dy lhie
 Te tayrn dya traas ny lhiabbagh
 Ta'n stoyl ta foin greinnagh shin roin
 Te geignagh shin dooin dy ghleashagh."

Which is in English :—

It is time to go home to go to bed,
It draws towards bed-time.
The bench that is under us creaks with us,
It is needful for us to move.

The carvels themselves do not of necessity refer to Christmas, and, indeed, from what I can gather, they mostly fulfil the saying of Lope de Vega, and

“representan en dos horas
hasta el final juicio desde el genesis.”

I was unable to procure even a sight of these carvels, but I heard of several old people who possessed large volumes containing them; and Mr. George Borrow, in an advertisement of a book on the Isle of Man, never I believe completed, speaks of having been able to obtain two of these MSS., and according to his opinion they are worth preserving. The festal service at which they are sung is known as “Oiel Vorrey,” and of this expression I heard two derivations: one, which made it out to be a contraction of “Oie laa Vorrey” (the night of the day of Mary); and another, “Oie eail Vorrey” (the night of the feast of Mary). Manx etymologists are rather fond of what Lewis Carroll calls “portmanteau words,” and I think it is more likely that the word is merely *feail* (feast), with the *f* dropped, as it would be when aspirated.

The most important ballads have been printed, some on single leaflets, and others in the Manx Society's Publications. Of these I will now give a short notice.

The earliest is the song of Manannan Mac y Lheir, which tells of the conversion of the Isle by St. Patrick. It is supposed to have been written in the sixteenth century, but there is no particular evidence save tradition to that effect.—(Manx Society's Publications, vol. xvi.)

“Baase Illiam Dhóne,” (The Death of Brown William). This is a long and dismal ballad set to a beautiful but very melancholy tune, on the death of William Christian, the Receiver General of the Island, who was shot by order of the Countess of Derby in 1662, and is estimated as a traitor or a

martyr, according to the views of the estimator on the subject of the great rebellion.—(Manx Society's Publications, vol. xvi.)

"Mylacharaine."—This is the best known of all Manx Songs, and directed against a certain man called Mylacharaine, who was the first to give a dowry to his daughter, the previous custom having been for the intending husband to pay money to the father of the bride. The song laments the change on the score of its tendency to substitute avarice for love. The tune is very beautiful, but not of so comic a character as the words.—(Manx Society's Publications, vol. xvi. and a leaflet printed in Douglas at the office of the Herald Newspaper.)

"Ny Kirree fo Sniaghtey" (The Sheep under the Snow), a short song, of which the name describes the subject.—(Manx Society's Publications, vol. xvi. and a leaflet.)

"Arrane mysh ny baatyn skeddan va caillit ec Doolish, 'sy vlein 1787, Sept. 21" (Song on the Herring Boats that were lost from Douglas in the year 1787, Sept. 21). This is published by the Manx Society (vol. xvi.).

"Vannin Veg Vean" (Dear little Mona), a song chiefly relating to fisheries. I obtained a copy printed at Douglas on a single sheet, in which it is said to have been taken down from the recitation of Mr. Harry Quilliam, of Peel, by the Rev. J. T. Clarke (now of Cardeon, North Wales).

"Coontey Ghiare jeh Ellan Vannin ayns Gaillek" (short account of the Isle of Man, in Manx). Written by Joseph Bridson in 1760.—(Manx Society's Publications, vol. xx.)

There are a few other pieces of less importance published in vols. xvi. and xxi. of the Manx Society's Publications, and these, with what I have given, and what may exist in MS. and tradition, form the whole *original* literature of the Manx tongue. But there is some amount of translated literature, and as almost all of this is printed, I will go through it in order of date, having, I think, been able to make a complete list of all Manx publications.

The earliest translation into Manx has never been printed. This is a version of the Prayer Book of the Church of England,

made by John Phillips, Bishop of Sodor and Man. From the fact that it contains a prayer for Charles I. and his Queen, but not for their son, the date must be placed between 1625 and 1630. This translation is mentioned by Challoner, Sacheverel, Bishop Wilson, and others, some of whom speak of a translation of the Bible made at the same time, but the existence of this is doubtful. This MS. is still in existence, having been exhibited at a meeting of the Manx Society in 1863 by the Rev. W. Gill, Vicar of Malew.¹

The following is a list of all books (as far as I can discover) that have been printed in Manx:—

1. The Principles and Duties of Christianity. By Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man. 1707. (This was the first book ever printed in Manx.)
2. The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity. By the same. 1740.
3. S. Matthew's Gospel in Manx. 1748.
4. The Gospel and Acts in Manx. 1763.
5. The Prayer-Book of the Church of England in Manx. 1766, 1777, 1840.
6. The Epistles and Revelation. 1767.
7. Lewis' Catechism, and Bishop Wilson's Prayers for the Fisheries. 1768.
8. The Christian Monitor. 1763, 1768.
9. The Bible (except the Apocrypha). 1771-1775, 1819.
10. The New Testament. 1775.
11. Aght giare dy heet gys tushtey. (An Explanation of the Church Catechism.) By Daniel Cowley. 1778.
12. Sharmanyn Iorish Thomas Wilson, aspick. (Sermons by Bishop Wilson.) Translated by J. Corlett. 3 vols. 1783.
13. Pargys Caillit. A Translation of parts of Milton's "Paradise Lost." By Thomas Christian. 1796. (Also printed in vol. xx. of the Manx Society.)
14. Banglaun y Chredgue Chreestee. (The 39 Articles in Manx.) Prayer-Book and Homily Society. 1822. (Still to be had.)
15. Six of the Homilies of the Church of England. Prayer-Book and Homily Society. No date. (All but one still to be had.)
16. Yn Cheed Lioar Gailckagh. A Manx Spelling and Reading Book for the use of Sunday Schools. London, 1818.
17. Coyrle jean as Graihagh da Easteeyryn Ellan Vannin. (Serious and affectionate advice to Manx fishermen.) No date.
18. a. Carrey yn Pheccagh. (The Sinner's Friend.)
b. Aarnyn goit voish scriptyr ta soilshaghey ynsagh as cur myn yn chredjue chreestee.
c. Taggloo cranees eddyr bochil amney as fer jeh e hiooltane, Iorish Thos. Vivian, saggjrt jeh Cornwood, Devon. (Religious Tract Society.) No date.

¹ It is now in the possession of the Rev. Hugh Gill, the present vicar of Malew. The handwriting is in appearance very like that of Welsh MSS. of the same date, and the difference of language is very slight from that of the present day. There are, however, differences of spelling, the chief of which is the use of *w* for *oo* (following the Welsh use). The first sentence of the Creed of S. Athanasius will serve as a specimen.

Present version. Quoierbee saillish dy v'er ny hauail; roish dy choilley nhee te ymmyrchagh dy gum eh yn Credjue Cadjin.

Bp. Phillips' version. Quoierbi sailish ve er na hawayl; roish dy ghwlly redd te ymmyrtyshagh gy gwm e yn kredin kasherick.

19. Cooney dy Gheddyn Aarboo son Baase. (Help to prepare for death.) Coontey jeh Saggyrt William Tyndall. (Story of William Tyndall.) Coyrle Saggyrt da Cummaltee yn skeery echey mychione padjer foshlit (Advice of a Priest to a Parishioner on Public Worship.) Bristol Religious Tract Society, 1829.
20. Hymnyn ny arraneyn moyllee son Paitechyn, Iorish J. Watts. Lioar ny Hymnyn, Iorish Watts, Wesley, etc. No date.
21. Joseph boght (poor Joseph). Coontey jeh Dummallys as Baase maynrey Jamys Covey. Liverpool. No date.
22. Padjer y looder (the Swearer's Prayer). Douglas. No date.
23. Form of Family Prayer. By Bishop Wilson. S.P.C.K. 1845.

The following volumes of the Manx Society's Publications refer to the Manx language :—

- VOL. II. A Practical Grammar of the Ancient Gaelic or Language of the Isle of Man. By the Rev. John Kelly. Edited by Rev. W. Gill of Malew.
- VOL. XIII. Fockleyr Manninagh as Baarlagh. By John Kelly. (Manx-English Dictionary.)
- English-Manx Dictionary, from the Dictionaries of Cregeen and Mosely (unpublished), and from the Triglott of Dr. Kelly. Edited by Rev. W. Gill and Rev. J. T. Clarke.
- VOL. XVI. Mona Miscellany. A Collection of Songs, Proverbs, Customs, Superstitions, etc., collected by W. Harrison.
- VOL. XXI. A similar collection.
- VOL. XX. contains among other things, Thomas Christian's translation of Paradise Lost, and Joseph Bridson's Account of the Isle.

Of these printed books, the most important are, the Bible, Prayer Book, and Bishop Wilson's Sermons. It will be as well before I leave the subject of literature to say something on the Manx translation of the Bible, for that is undoubtedly the greatest monument of the language.

In the time of Bishop Wilson it had been a constant source of complaint among the Manx clergy that they were the only church in Christendom that had no version of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. Wilson set to work to remedy the defect, and, with the assistance of some of his clergy, managed to get some of the Bible translated, and the Gospel of St. Matthew printed. Bishop Hildesley, his successor, with the help of the whole body of Manx clergy, completed the work, and in 1775 the whole Bible was printed. The translation was made with great care and much consultation; but it appears to have aimed at being more of an explanatory translation than is usually the case, and in some instances unwarrantable liberties are taken with the text. As instances of this, the following may be cited :—

Joshua ii. Rahab is called *ben-oast* (a hostess or inn-keeper).

Judges xv. Samson's foxes with firebrands tied to their tails are explained (according to a theory that "foxes' tails" was a bit of Hebrew slang) to be sheaves of corn.

1 Kings xvii. In the account of Elijah and the ravens, the word עֲרֵבִים (ravens) is very rationalistically translated "cummaltee Oreb" (the people of Oreb).

Job ii. 9. In our version Job's wife is made to say, "Curse God and die." In the Manx version it is, "Guee gys Jee dy ghoail dty vioys," (Pray to God to take away thy life).

Some other passages, in which ancient and oriental similes do not altogether accord with modern ideas of propriety, are considerably softened down, so that the Manx Bible almost realizes the idea of a "Bowdlerised" version of Holy Writ.

Of the Manx Prayer-book there is little to be said, save that the rubrics and preliminary matter are in English, and the Ordination Services and Thirty-nine Articles are omitted.

III.—HISTORY.

The only records that we have of even the existence of the Manx language before the seventeenth century consist of names of persons and places on Runic stones, and in the *Chronicon Manniæ* and the Rent-roll of 1511. The inscribed stones, of which there are a good number in the Isle, are always in Norse, sometimes very bad Norse, but never in Celtic, while the other records are in Latin.

In the year 1604 John Phillips, Rector of Hawarden, in Flintshire, was consecrated Bishop of Man. Of his translation of the Prayer-book I have already spoken. This seems to be the first recorded instance of the language being written, and it is supposed that the orthography was partially settled at this time.

In Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, published in 1627, the language is mentioned as follows:—

"The wealthier sort, and such as hold the fairest possessions, do imitate the people of Lancashire, . . . howbeit the commoner sort of people, both in language and manners, come nighest unto the Irish."

James Challoner, in a work entitled *A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man*, forming part of his *Vale Royal of England or the County Palatine of Chester*, published in 1656, after mention made of Bishop Phillips and his translation, has the following short statement : "Few speak the English tongue."

The edition of Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1695, with additions, has, among those additions—that relate to the Isle of Man, the following :—

"Their gentry are very courteous and affable, and are more willing to discourse with one in English than in their own language." (In these respects there has been no noticeable alteration up to the present time; at least such is my experience.) And :

"Not only the gentry, but likewise such of the peasants as live in the towns, or frequent the town markets, do both understand and speak the English language."

William Sacheverell, sometime Governor of the Isle, writing in 1690, says :

"In the Northern part of the Island they speak a deeper Manx, as they call it, than in the South."

The next statement of importance is that of the great Bishop of the Isle, Thomas Wilson. In his history, written early in the last century, he mentions Phillips' Prayer-book, and says that it would have been of no use in his (Bishop Wilson's) time. He then says (in a chapter on the clergy) :

"The clergy are generally natives, and, indeed, it cannot well be otherwise, none else being qualified to preach and administer the sacraments in the Manx language; for English is not understood by two-thirds at least of the Island, though there is an English school in every parish, so hard is it to change the language of a whole country."

At this time, though a translation of the Prayer-book had been made, there were no books printed in Manx, and the natives did not read their own language. Bishop Wilson attempted to reform all this, and under his directions certain religious books were published. In the churches Manx services were the rule, an English service being in some parishes never to be heard; but since there was no Manx Bible and

Prayer-book, the clergy were in the habit of translating extempore from an English copy. This gave rise to numberless varieties of renderings, and many stories are told of absurd mistakes made by clergy who were insufficiently learned in one or other of the languages. For instance, I heard of one man who, in the Gospel for Palm Sunday, carefully translated the mocking speech of the Roman soldiers,

“Clagagh sniaghtey, Ree ny Hewnyn.”

(The first expression being literally “stony snow,” i.e. hail.)

And again, in the Advent Sunday Gospel :

“Lheiy sharragh assyl,”

For

“Lhiy sharragh assyl.”

(i.e. “a calf the foal of an ass,” instead of a colt.)

In 1755, after nearly sixty years of work in the diocese, Bishop Wilson died, and Mark Hildesley reigned in his stead. In the course of negotiations of this Bishop's with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the publication of a Manx translation of the Bible, a paper was issued in 1764 by the Society, containing the following statement: “The population of the Isle is 20,000, of whom the far greater number are ignorant of English.” After this time, the language began gradually to decrease. At the beginning of this century, in many parishes, on three Sundays a month, services were held in it, then two, and later only one, and at last, about thirty years ago, it ceased to be taught in schools, and gradually the number of churches where it was found necessarily dropped off, until at last only three or four still kept it up, and now only one does so. The introduction of Englishmen as clergy, and their ignorance of the language, may have something to do with this, and though several have learnt it sufficiently for conversational purposes, that is very different from being able to take a service in it. I am inclined to think that if Thomas Wilson were Bishop of Sodor and Man now, he would not be content to allow Kirk Arbory to be the only Church where a Manx service could be heard, and I believe there are several of the clergy who would hold Manx

services if they could trust their own power to do it ; meanwhile the Wesleyans in many instances use Manx in their meeting-houses, and make considerable way in consequence. This last bit may seem rather irrelevant, but I wish to show that the disuse of the Manx services is not necessarily the result of their being no longer needed.

IV.—OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE MANX LANGUAGE.

In November, 1874, I addressed a letter to each of the clergy of the Isle of Man, containing the following questions relating to the existing amount of spoken Manx :—

- 1.—Is English or Manx the prevailing language in your parish ?
- 2.—If English, about how many persons speak Manx as their mother tongue ?
- 3.—How many can speak no English, and of what ages and class are they ?
- 4.—Do you ever preach or perform Divine Service or any part of it in Manx ? if so, how often and what part ? and is a knowledge of Manx necessary in your parish work ?
- 5.—Which language do children of the present generation learn ? Do they grow up with a knowledge of both ?
- 6.—Is the Manx of the present day substantially the same as that of Kelly's grammar, etc., and of the Manx Bible and Prayer-book, and are these easily intelligible to the present Manx speakers ?

The answers to these questions I have tabulated as will be seen by the annexed Table :

In addition to the answers, the following interesting notes were supplied by some of the clergy :

From the Rector of Kirk Andreas.—Children pick up a little Manx when they leave school. Old people, so to speak, "dream in Manx." Servants like to keep it up as a class language not understood by their masters.

From the Vicar of Kirk Arbory.—Dissenters make consider-

Name of Parish. (See Map.)	Population	Number speaking Manx habitually.	Number speaking no English.	Language spoken by Children.	Language used in Church.	Answers to the Question, "Is Manx necessary in parish work?"
NORTH DISTRICT.						
<i>Lezayre Sheading.</i>						
Kirk Bride	880	about 440	about 12	English and a little Manx.	{ English. Until 3 or 4 yrs. ago Manx four times a yr. English.	(Living vacant.)
Kirk Andreas	1757	600	60	Ditto.	{ English (Manx used in 1852.)	Not necessary.
Kirk Lezayre	2500	2000	0	English only.	{ English.	Not necessary.
<i>Michael Sheading.</i>						
Kirk Michael	1267	300	0	English and Manx.	{ English.	Useful but not absolutely necessary.
Ballaugh	1077	250	10	English only.	{ English (Manx used 14 or 15 years ago).	Useful.
Jurby	788	600	0	English and a little Manx.	{ English.	[necessary.
<i>Garff Sheading.</i>						
Kirk Lonan	3741	1850	10	English only.	{ English.	Necessary. [necessary.
Kirk Maughold	4567	2000	1	English and Manx.	{ English.	Desirable, not absolutely necessary.
Total of North	16577	8040	83			
SOUTH DISTRICT.						
<i>Glenfaba Sheading.</i>						
Kirk German	4700	50	10	English only.	{ English (No Manx for 30 years.)	Hardly necessary.
Kirk Patrick	2888	700	60	Ditto.	{ English.	Not absolutely necessary.
Kirk Marown	1121	100	1	Ditto.	{ English.	Hardly necessary.
<i>Rushen Sheading.</i>						
Kirk Rushen	3200	600	12	Ditto.	{ English.	Useful.
Kirk Arbery	1350	1200	12	English and Manx.	{ English. Manx on the 4th Sunday morn. of month.	Indispensable.
Kirk Malew	5000	50	0	English only.	{ English (Private Communion with old people sometimes Manx.)	Not absolutely necessary.
<i>Middle Sheading.</i>						
Kirk Santon	628	0	0	Ditto.	{ English.	Not necessary.
Kirk Braddan	4000	1000	12	Ditto.	{ English (Manx sentences occasionally introduced).	Useful.
Kirk Onchan	1620	600	10	Ditto.	{ English.	
Total of South	24507	4300	107			
TOTAL	41084	12340	190			

(N.B.—These statistics are exclusive of the town of Douglas.)

able way owing to the neglect of Manx by the Church. (I have received a good deal more information from the Vicar of Kirk Arbory, which is scattered about in various places throughout this paper.)

From the Vicar of Lonan.—Manx is preferred by the country people (in parochial ministrations), as they can understand *every* word, which they cannot in English.

From the Vicar of Kirk Michael.—The English spoken is that of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and is good and grammatical. (This, I find, does not apply to those whose mother tongue is Manx; *their* English being uniformly *bad* and *ungrammatical*. The Vicar of this parish also supplied me with a good deal more information.)

From the Vicar of St. George's, Douglas.—In country parishes one finds three generations in one cottage. The old speaking Manx only, the middle Manx and English, and the children English only.

Of course these statistics can hardly be taken to represent a perfect philological census of the Island, and it would be very difficult to obtain such a thing by answers from *different* people, as each man (as regards my second question at any rate) would have his own standard to judge by, and I am very sure that the standards vary considerably. Still I think they may be said to give a fair approximate view of the philological state of the Isle of Man in the year 1875.

In April last I visited the Island myself, and was present on the fourth Sunday after Easter at a service held in the parish church of Kirk Arbory in the Manx tongue. The congregation consisted of fifty-three persons, almost all of them above fifty years of age. It was evident that these very much appreciated the benefits of a service in their own language, for they join in it very heartily. Still I noticed that before and after service, such of the congregation as remained talking together in the churchyard and near it, almost always spoke in English. Indeed, I heard but little Manx talked during my stay in the Island, excepting when done for my edification, though the English of many of the old people showed plainly that they must be more at home in Manx.

Kirk Arbory is the only church in which Manx is regularly used, and that only on the last Sunday morning in each month. The Rev. W. Drury, vicar of Kirk Braddan, told me that he sometimes introduced bits of Manx into his sermons, as he expressed it "to clinch the matter," for the benefit of the older people; and if he happened to see many such present, he would say the Lord's Prayer or give the Blessing in Manx. He also told me that in the summer he often preached sermons in the open air on Douglas Quay to fishermen and sailors in a mixture of Manx and English.

I was told by many that in the Manx of the present population there was a very considerable admixture of English, but of this I was little able to judge, and it seemed to me that English was only used where no Manx word existed. In my walk to Kirk Arbory from Castletown and back, to attend the service just mentioned, I had the advantage of the company of a very intelligent old fisherman (whose acquaintance I had made the day before on Castletown Quay), Thomas Kenvig by name, and he was one of the real Manx speakers, though his English was tolerably fluent. As we crossed the railway, I asked him if there was any Manx word for it, to which he answered, "No, to be sure, and I'm thinking there wasn't English for it a hundred years ago."

"Why not call it 'raad yiarn' (chemin de fer)?" said I (this, I found afterwards, was the word actually used by Mr. Drury of Kirk Braddan in his translation of the Manx Railway Act).

"Yes, that would do," said he, "and I'll be telling you what we'll call *train*. There is *steamer*, that goes on the *say*, is same in both, is English and Manx too, so we'll call it 'steamer thallooinagh' (land steamer)."

Later on, the question being suggested by the action, I asked the Manx for "to smoke a pipe," and his answer was, "Same, same in both."

"But," said I, "if you were to ask me what I am doing now, and I wished to answer you in Manx, what should I say?"

To which he replied, "Ta mee smokal pipe," and he cer-

tainly considered that he was talking Manx, and not English, in saying it.

During the whole of my tour I only met with one person who could not speak English, though I went into a good many cottages on various pretexts of resting, asking the way, etc., so as to find some such person if possible. This was a woman of about forty, in a cottage on the road between Ramsay and Kirk Andreas, not far from the latter village. I went in to ask the way to the Rectory of Kirk Andreas, and on asking in English, received for answer, "Cha vel Baarle ayms" (I have no English), or some variation of that expression. However my next speech, "Cre raad gys Thie-Saggyrt jeh Kirk Andreas?" (what road to the priest's house of Kirk Andreas?) was sufficiently understood to secure for me a most voluble discourse in Manx, from the gesticulations rather than from the words of which I gathered the required information.

From the shape and situation of the Island, the phenomenon of a gradual receding of the boundary line between the two languages, so clearly to be seen in the case of Cornish, Welsh, or Scotch, is totally absent in Manx. One cannot speak of any district as the *Manx-speaking* part of the Island, though it prevails in some districts more than in others, and those furthest from the four towns of Douglas, Ramsay, Peel and Castletown have preserved more of it than the rest. Still there is but little difference on that account, since no place in the Island is more than ten or twelve miles at the most from one or other of these towns. On the whole, the "Manxest" parts of the Isle are Dalby, a hamlet in the parish of Kirk Patrick; Cregneesh, and the neighbourhood of Spanish Head; in Kirk Rushen; the parish of Kirk Bride; and the north part of Kirk Andreas; and the hill country at about the junction of the three parishes of Lezayre, Maughold and Lonan.¹ If there ever comes to be such a thing as a single Manx district, it will probably be the west coast from Peel to Spanish Head.

The language certainly received its death-blow when it

¹ See Roman figures in the Map at the beginning of this paper.

ceased to be taught in schools and its use was discontinued in most of the churches. Those who speak it now are all of them old people, and when the present generation has grown up and the older folk have died off, it will cease to be the mother tongue of any Manxmen. It is now almost exactly in the same state that Cornish was in at the time at which Edward Lhuyd wrote his *Archæologia Britannica* (1709), and though that survived in a sort of way for another century, for all purposes of conversation it was dead in less than half that time. The only public or official recognitions of Manx at present are the solitary monthly service at Kirk Arbory; the promulgation of the "Acts of Tynwald" in Manx and English, without which they do not become law; and the carol singing of "Oie'l Vorrey." How long these will last it is hard to say; but there is a decided feeling on the part of the people, especially among the Manx speakers themselves, that the language is only an obstruction, and that the sooner it is removed the better.

The English spoken by those to whom it is the native tongue is good, and, as may be imagined, is proper modern English, and not a provincial dialect derived independently from Old English. There is, however, a tendency towards Scotticisms (here I use the word in its ordinary sense), and those who speak Manx best frequently translate Manx idioms literally into English. Indeed, I expect there is often a very confused idea of language among the "diglott" portion of the community.

It is in the names of persons and places, as is the case in Cornwall, that the Celtic language will last longest. With the exception of a few Norse names mostly ending in *by*, as Sulby, Dalby, Jurby, etc., all the farms, hills, parishes, etc., have Manx names. The following are the principal topical prefixes:—

Balla, a town, or farm, answering to *Tre* in Cornwall, and quite as common. To this is added generally some descriptive epithet, the commonest (I believe every parish has its instances) being Ballavooar (the great farm) and Ballaveg (the little farm).

Slieu, a mountain, answering to the Irish *sliabh* or *shieve*, generally followed by a noun in the genitive, as *Slieu Chiaru* (the Mount of the Lord), *Slieu ny Farrane* or *Fraghane* (the Mount of the Spring).

Cronk, a hill, as *Cronk y voddee* (the Dog's Hill), *Cronk ny Irei Lhaa* (the Hill of Day-break), etc. *Purt*, a port, or answering to *Porth* in Cornwall, and *gate* as an affix in the Isle of Thanet, an opening in the cliffs.

Other common prefixes are *glen*, a valley, generally one with a stream flowing through the middle of it. *Craig* or *carrick*, a rock, and *ken* or *kione*, a head.

As in four out of the six divisions of the Celts, Manx family names are mostly patronymics. Originally these began with *Mac*, but the first two letters have been dropped, and we find now the following forms: *Quayle* for *Machale* (son of *Fayl*), *Qualtrough* for *MacWalter*, *Kermode* for *MacGhermot* (son of *Dermot*), *Kissack* for *MacIsaac*, *Quain* for *MacJuan* (son of *John*), etc. In the Rent-roll of the Island dated 1511, this corruption had not yet taken place, and indeed at that time it is probable that these were not *family* names, but real patronymics (as in Iceland at the present day, and in Wales as late as the seventeenth century). This idea is supported by the fact that when women are mentioned, they are described not as *Mae* (or *Mc*), but as *Inneen* (*Inn*), i.e. daughter. Some of these patronymics have been anglicised into words ending in *son*, and one family (that of Harrison) is still called by Manx speakers by its Gaelic equivalent *Kentraugh* (*MacEantraugh*). Another form of surname is a word formed with the prefix *Myl* (answering to *Mal* in Scotch in such words as *Malcolm*, etc.). This means "servant" or "worshipper." Thus *Mylchreest* (worshipper of Christ), *Mylrea* (servant of the king), etc. These, with a few from nicknames, and a very few from names of places, form the whole nomenclature of the Isle.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge certain obligations which are due to those whose help I have received. I beg to thank the clergy of the Diocese of Sodor and Man in general for their kind and prompt answers to my paper of questions ;

answers which show that in many instances they must have cost not a little trouble; and particularly I thank the Revs. J. Qualtrough, W. Kermode, and R. Airey, Vicars of Kirks Arbory, Maughold, and Michael, for the exceeding kindness and attention with which they received me, a perfect stranger, going among them with no sort of introduction, save a common interest in the Manx language; and to them I am indebted either directly or indirectly (through their putting me in the way of getting it) for a good deal of the information contained in this paper. I also thank Mr. Thomas Kenvig, fisherman, of Castletown, for considerable help towards understanding the pronunciation and colloquial usages of Manx; and should other philological inquirers find their way to the Isle, I strongly recommend them to get some conversation with him.

VI.—THE DIALECT OF WEST SOMERSET. By
FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY, Esq. With an Appendix.

It is said that dialects are disappearing, that railways, telegraphs, machinery, and steam will soon sweep clean out of the land the last trace of Briton, Saxon, and Dane. This statement, though highly coloured, has much truth in it, if these traces are to be looked for only in distinct forms of speech, and in archaic words: but even in these respects, the practical effect of modern improvements and the advance of science are far less than it is usually believed by those who write about them, but whose acquaintance with the subject is confined for the most part to what others have written. This must necessarily be the case: practical information is hard to get, except by those who are actually living amongst the people and with whom they feel at home. The peasantry, who are the true repositories of verbal treasures, are shy, and not easily drawn out by any one they look upon as a *jin'-l-mun*.¹ Any at-

¹ All the dialectal words, which are printed in italics, are written in accordance with Mr. Alexander J. Ellis's Glossic system of spelling, which is explained in the Appendix, where also every vowel and diphthongal sound in the dialect is fully illustrated by classified lists of words preceded by remarks.

tempt from a stranger, or even the *paa'sn* (unless he mixes much with them), to extract information from a real native, is at once to cause Hodge to become like his namesake, and to effectually shut himself up in an impenetrable shell of company manners, and awkward mimicry of what he supposes to be *jin'l-ròaks wai òa spai'kin*.

Now although a process of levelling may be going on, as respects quaint words and local idioms, which board schools in every parish will surely accelerate, yet I shall hope to show that this process is slow, and at present very far from complete. As regards pronunciation, intonation, and those finer shades of local peculiarity which mark divergences from the Queen's English almost more than the words used, I maintain that the changes are far slower than those which are constantly going on in what we call received English itself.

Many words are continually dropping into disuse, especially such as are of a technical character, belonging to trades, like those mentioned as extinct by Sir John Bowring in his paper on the Devonshire dialect (reprinted from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, etc., without date); but even of these I may remark that burler and burling, pronounced *buur'dler*, *buur'dlin* (picking out all foreign substances from unfinished cloth with an instrument called a *buur'dlin-uy'ür*, burling iron), fuller, fulling mill, tucker, *tuuk'in mee'üls* (mills for dressing woollen cloth), rack, rack-field (frames for stretching woollen cloth while being dried, so as to make it even in width; these frames are attached to posts in the ground; every woollen mill has its rack-field), linhay (a shed, lean-to), estemane (a fine kind of woollen serge), soce, pronounced *soa'üs* (companions, mates, fellow-workmen; *kau'm soa'üs* is a very common expression used either by a farmer to his men, or by one man to his fellows), *sùe'ünt* (regular, even, smooth: *a sùe'ünt pee's òa klaa'th*, "a smooth even piece of cloth," *a sùe'ünt fee'ül òa wai't*, "a regular field of wheat," i.e. free from patches or inequalities, are both very common phrases), and *skoa'tée* (the exact opposite of *sùe'ünt*), are all perfectly familiar to me as in daily use at the present

moment. While as to the others enumerated by him, duroy, worley, lindsey, serafine, bayeton, they are but the names of fabrics no longer manufactured, yet remembered still, along with camlets, gingham, and nankeens. Sir John's failure to discover them only proves the difficulty to which I before alluded. A stranger as he must have been after fifty years' absence, must fail in trying to penetrate below the surface of peasants' talk.

At the same time that words of this kind are becoming forgotten, others of a like nature are continually taking their places, not merely in the vocabulary of the people, but, from the manner in which they are uttered, they become new links in the chain of that hereditary pronunciation which has come down to us West-country folks, and which connects us with the times when our British forefathers were elbowed back by the prolific Saxon, and lorded over by the proud Norman.

We in our benighted regions have now *raa'ylroa'ids*, *tuul'igraamz*, and *traak'shun ee'njinz*, bringing with them new ideas and enlarged knowledge; but we do not find that the *au'p kuun'tree mai'n* who come with them are in sufficient number to make any impression upon local pronunciation; and we find, too, that the words which they import into the district are adopted as words, but with more or less different sounds attached to them; and I have no doubt but that similar results attend the importation of words into all other districts.

Speaking from my own experience, I have often been amused at the very marked provincialisms in the pronunciation of educated men and women in the Northern and Midland Counties, whose tones in conversation and whose mode of expression, because diverging in an opposite direction, sound to my southern ears more exaggerated from contrast than they would to a born Londoner. For instance, the *koo'm* of a Lancashire man is not so far from *kum* "come," as it is from our *kau'm*.

The particular dialect, or sub-dialect, upon which I trust I may be able to throw some light, is, if one may judge from the mistakes of some, and the cursory remarks of others who have written upon Somersetshire, very little known, and it

appears to have received far less attention than most others. Punch's typical clown always talks what is meant for *Zuum-urætsheer*, and there are glossaries and poetic effusions in abundance written in the Saxon of the county, yet they all belong to the Eastern division, while the far richer vocabulary and more expressive speech of the Western is passed over with the remark set against a few stray words in the glossaries "pronounced so-and-so west of the Parret," thus leaving it to be inferred that, with the few exceptions alluded to, and a slight difference noticed here and there in the sounds of *oo*, the dialects are identical: but this is a great mistake.

In the same way it has been assumed as a fact in all the works on the subject with which I am acquainted, that the boundary dividing the people who utter these slightly different sounds is the river Parret, and one learned gentleman quotes as a proof of this, a record in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of A.D. 658, how in a certain battle, the Britons were driven back as far as the river Parret. My obtuseness, however, fails to comprehend how the record of a battle written more than 1200 years ago can establish the fact that down to this time there has been no other driving back, and that the traces of those old Britons still remain in the speech of their descendants up to the brink of that river, but no further.

I admit that there is a tolerably defined boundary on the east side of the district known as West Somerset, but so far as language is concerned, it is not the Parret.

If we take the Ordnance map of the county, we find the ridge of the Quantocks, a high bleak moorland, running nearly south from the Bristol Channel. We also find a sharp spur of the Blackdowns called Pickeridge Hill running northward as far as the village of Thurlbeer (pronounced *Dil'buru*). This hill, jutting out to meet the Quantocks, contracts the great Somerset flat into a narrow neck, and in the centre of the valley between these hills, just at its narrowest part, and precisely where a modern engineer would place a defensive stronghold, we find the Saxon fortress of Taunton, to us known as *Taa'ntn* or *Taa'nun*. The people of the little village

of Ruishton (called *Ruyshn*), only a mile and a half to the east of Taunton, speak the eastern dialect; while at Bishops Hull, one mile to the west, they speak the western.

The Quantocks are in fact, what we should expect them to be, the natural boundary of the district, and Taunton is the military position which protected the lowlanders of the plain and marshes from the highlanders of the western hill country.

On the south and south-west there is much shading off in the mode of speech, and it is difficult to point out any sharply defined line; but westward, taking in a portion of Devonshire, it follows pretty nearly the boundary of the counties as marked on the map, and includes most of the wild and beautiful Exmoor district, as well as the Brendon Hill range.

In many respects the dialect of North Devon is the same as ours, and it much more nearly resembles it than the East Somerset does, but there are however many marked differences. One of the most striking is that in Devon they use *us* as a nominative, while in Somerset we do not. Again they use the old inflexion *th* more than we do; they would say, *u goo'ûth*, *u tau'keth*, "he goes," "he talks;" we should say, *ai du goo*, *ai du tau'kêe*, "he do go," "he do talk."

In noting the peculiarities of my native patois, I have taken no pains to ascertain how far it shares them with other districts, or in what respects it differs from them; but leaving comparisons and deductions to your more competent hands, I simply place before you such facts as are within my own personal knowledge, and every one of which I am ready to substantiate by the test of a practical illustration out of the mouth of some veritable plough-tail native.

Authorities upon the subject there are none, so far as I know; and therefore, in preparing this paper, I have adopted no other standard than to note whatever seems to me important in the speech of the people as a divergence from received English. I must here, however, acknowledge the assistance, in the way of suggestion, I have found in the two papers read before our local Archæological Society by my distinguished friend and fellow-countryman, Professor Spencer Baynes, of

St. Andrews. But even in his papers there are many assertions and examples which he would, I am sure, admit to need "quantification," if tested in the practical way I have mentioned. Valuable as his papers are upon the general dialect of the Western Counties, Mr. Baynes has omitted all notice of the strange differences which occur in the pronunciation of the same combinations of letters. For instance, he classes *hay*, *May*, *day*, and *say* as all of the same sound; whereas in West Somerset we should *Zai*, *dhat dhu laa's Dhuus:dee* in *Maay aa'y wuz u foo'us tu laef oa'f haay mak'in, vur tu goo vur tu paa'y mée rai'nt*, "Say, that the last Thursday in May I was forced to leave off haymaking, for to go for to pay my rent." Surely these different soundings are not arbitrary, or even chance results; but they must point to some influence, which is to be looked for in the origin of the word itself, or rather in the speech of those people from whom it came to us.

The Norman has not left very many signs of his presence among us; yet in a district where we have the villages of Huish Champflower, Langford Budville, Hatch Beauchamp, and Thorne Falcon, we may fairly ascribe to him any peculiarity in the pronunciation of those words which must have been daily used by him and are now adopted by us. How otherwise is it to be accounted for that we always give the difference in sound which I have instanced, *zai*, *dai*, *paa'y*, *Maay*? But I shall have occasion to allude to this further on. These and similar varieties of sound seem to make our dialect incapable of being reduced to anything like rule or order, that is, as measured by received pronunciation; for the same combination of letters still oftener represents several distinct sounds in West Somerset than it does even in ordinary English.

The patois is essentially one of vowel-sounds, connected by indistinct consonants; for we get rid of these or reduce them to faint breathings whenever we can.

I propose to take the vowels in the order of the old grammars. In village schools they are called *ae'ü*, *ai*, *aai*, *oa*, *yüe*. We have both the open *a* and the close *a*, and a sort of semi-

open sound as in *bae-ûkn*, or the invariable infant school spelling of "Aaron," *guurt ae-û*, *lee-dl ae-û*, *aar*, *oa*, *ai'n*. The various sounds of *a* are represented in the following sentences:—*Aa'y aa'nt ù-vuwn dhu paa'rh*, "I have not found the path;" *Ai wid'n saa'r iz wae-ûjes*, *û-peot'in dhai tuur-muts vur sik'spuns u bai'g*, "He would not earn his wages, pulling those turnips for sixpence a bag;" *Dhu aa'tur-maa'rh wuz tûe geo'd vur tu lat uwt dhik'i vaar'h òa paig'z een un*, "The aftermath was too good for to let out that litter of pigs in it." Or there is still more variety in the following: *Uur zad tu mee u Zin'dêe aarturneo'n jis ubu'rd u dree òa klauk*, *Aa-l tuuk'êe haut tai'z*, *Aa'y bai'ânt gwaa'yn aun lig dhis yur noa lau'nggur*; *vaur ee aa'nt ùbin' unee'ûs mee vaur vaaw'ûr yuur kau'm dhu tuym*, *un dhad'l bee dree wiks ùvoa'ûr Baa'nun vai'ûr*; *Aa'y muyn uw dhu ween daed bloa'êe fît tu bloa duwn dh)oa'l uwz*: "She said to me on Sunday afternoon, just about three o'clock, I'll tell you what it is, I am not going on like this any longer; for he has not been near me for four years come the time, and that will be three weeks before Bampton fair; I remember how the wind blew fit to blow down the old house." The prefix *û* in *ûbin'* is used almost invariably with all participles, both past and present.

Our *e* is often very like the French *é*, and in diphthongs with *a* is often so pronounced when the vowels are not sounded separately, as in *seat*, *meat*, or *eat*. *Dhu chil'urn ad'n ugoa'ût u beet òa mai't vur ai't*, *nur eet nuudh'ur sai't vur tu zit duwn paun*, "The children had not a bit of meat to eat, nor yet any seat to sit down upon."

The letter *e*, though called *ai*, is sometimes pronounced as *ee* long when followed by *a*; for instance, *nee'ûr*, "near," *fee'ûr* "fear," *bee'ût* "beat," *bee'ûs* "beast." You will note that these are distinctly vowel fractures.

For the diphthong *ea* as written in common English we have at least six distinct sounds: *mai't*, *ai't*, *sai't*, as before given; *das'ûl* (deal), *rae'ûl* (real), *mae'ûl* (meal), *ae'ûth* (earth), *mish'ur* (measure), *jil'is* (jealous), *mid'u* (meadow). For *heat* we say *yaet*; and for both *heath* and *hearth* we say *yee'ûth*,

but to this last I must refer again. Hear, year, here, and ear, have with us but one sound—*yuur*.

The commonest of these sounds is of course that which follows, if I may so express it, the genius of the dialect—that is, to separate vowels, and sound them all, as in *bee'ūs* (beast), *klee'ūn* (clean), *dee'ūr* (dear), *mee'ūd* (mead), *wae'ūl* (weal). You will have noticed that in these double sounds the *e* is sometimes *ee* and sometimes *ae*. Mr. Baynes is mistaken in classing cart, card, heart, meat, and milk, among these fractures, although *kee'ūr* (care), *kee'ūz* (case), *shee'ūd* (shade), and *shee'ūr* (share), may well be so included. No other rule than that of placing every word with the diphthong *ea* in it as an exception seems possible. But here again Etymology may well be served by a study of these exceptions; for without doubt they are true key-notes of the archaic stave.

E short before *n* becomes long, as in *ai'n* (hen), *pai'n* (pen, for writing only), *tai'n* (ten), *mai'n* (men), *wai'n* (when). Before *l* it becomes short *uu*, as in *wuul* (well), *tuul* (tell), *suul* (self), *vuul* (fell): but to sell becomes *sil*.

The substantive *vuul* (vell) means a portion of the internal economy of a calf, from which rennet is made. To *vuul* (fell) is a particular kind of sewing; but we *droa* (throw) our trees, we never fell them.

Funnily this change of *e* into *u* is often reflected back. I heard a man sing a song the other day, of which the refrain was *drai'v dael kee'ūr u-wai'*, "drive dull care away." Servants and ill-educated people always say *vaelgur* (vulgar) and *mael-tich'ue'd* (multitude).

We settle all doubts as to the *ei* in *ee'dhur* (either), and *nuy'dhur* (neither), for we should say, *Az a-zeed' uudh'ur wau'n ða m?* *Nao'ū, nuudh'ur wau'n waud'n dhas'ūr*, "Hast seen either one of them? No, neither one of them was there."

Double *e* again has two or three different sounds: *Aa'y zeed un zoa geo'd see'ūd laa's wik*, "I saw him sow good seed last week." Or the old couplet:

Wau'n yuur zidi'n, "One year's seeding,
Zab'm yuurs wid'in. Seven years' weeding."

This change of *e* into short *i* naturally leads to the distinction between *Zin'dëez an wik'ud dai'z*, "Sundays and wicked (week) days."

Our *i* is often like the French *i* [ee]: *Gee mee u lee'dl beet, wuol-ëe?* "Give me a little bit, will you?" And from this example you will also observe that the short *i* has a tendency, like short *e*, to become short *u*, or rather short *oo* or *uo*, as in wool. Endless mistakes occur on our local railway between tickets taken for Williton and Wellington, which we pronounce *Wuol'itn* and *Wuul'itn* respectively, niceties which only native booking clerks can easily recognize. Short *i* changes sometimes into *aa*; we say, *tak dhu baa'tl an aa't un duwn*, "take the bittle and hit it down." This word *baa'tl* is a sample of a double change. The word in Shakespeare (Henry IV. Act 1, Sc. ii.) is beetle. And this is no doubt still the correct word; but being, like the insect beetle, pronounced *bitl*, it is changed, by the same process as hit in *aat*, into *baa'tl*. Sometimes however it is pronounced *buy'tl*. Again, to spit is always to *spaa't*. *Aa'y bee dhat draa'y aa'y keod'n spaa't u zik'spuns*, "I am so dry I could not spit a sixpence," is the usual, but not elegant plea for begging a cup of cider.

Long *i* sometimes changes into long *a*: drive is always *drai'v*, and knife is often *nai'v*. The personal pronoun is sounded *u'y* in East Somerset, but *aa'y* in West. They too habitually use it in the accusative, we scarcely ever do so. They would say, *hee akst u'y vu'yu shil'unz*; we should say, *hee aaks mee vai'v shuul'inz*, *buud Aa'y wid'n gee un bud aaaw'ur*, "he asked me five shillings, but I would not give him but four."

In this example you will notice short *i* used for *ou* in would (*wid'n*). Again, it is also used for short *o*, as *he wau'dn nit aa'yt pae'üzex awai craum un*, "he was not eight paces away from him." Double negatives are the rule, and even treble ones occur sometimes. Again, the proper name Will is sounded quite differently to the auxiliary: *Aaw'r Wee'ul wuz u teok dhat bai'ud, wee wuz u foo'üs tu zai'n vur dhu dau'ktur*; *ee kau'm aal uut oa'vur Buur'nun Ee'ul un geed un suum pee'äls, un Aa'y kyuont ee'ul mak uut u guurt lau'ng*

bee'ul vaur ut, "Our Will was taken so ill, we were obliged to send for the doctor; he came all out over Brendon Hill and gave him some pills, and I expect he will make out a great long bill for it."

O has many sounds, as *ùe toa'uld-ëe ða ut?* "Who told you of it?" *Dùe-ëe kau'm alau'ng un nit buyd ubuw'd dhai dhae'ür kontraap'shunz*, "Do (ye) come along, and not stay about those contrivances." *O* long is much closer, as *a* is much opener with us than in East Somerset. There they say *au'cer*, *au'ld*, *tau'ld*, *aks*, *parth*, *va'st*; we say *oa'vur* (over), *oa'l* (old), *toa'l* (told), *aak's* (ask), *paar'th* (path), *vaas* (fast); but still we too give *o*, though rarely, the sound of *au*, as in *hrau'd* (road), *krau's* (cross), *lau's* (loss), *tau's* (toss). It far more frequently however has a fractured sound, as *hroo'üd* (road), *hroo'üp* (rope), *boo'üth* (both), *uvoa'ür* (before). On the other hand, we often change *o* short into *aa*: *Dhee staap aur aal ai'n u klaat dhad'l mak dhee draap*, "Thee stop or I'll throw a clod that will make thee drop." So we say *gyuur'dn plaat* (garden plot).

Both long and short *o* change unto *uu* short. We say *ruub* for rob, *juub* for job, *uud* for hod, and always *muuv* for move—and why not, if it is correct to say *luuv* (love)? Double *o* is deservedly famous; but, as will be seen presently, it has more than one sound. *Wau't u ceol' dhik'i keok ai's! dh-ðal geok'eo-v ulaef' ur beok un ur beot's duwn in uun'dur dhu peok ða aa'y*, "What a fool that cook is! the old cuckoo has left her book and her boots under the hay-cock." Or the old couplet said to have been droned out in church by a parish clerk, who had been playing cards late on a Saturday night—

Hoaks bee truum'ps in Au'rnur eo'd,
Dhae'ür dhai groa'üd un dhae'ür dhai steo'd.

"Oaks are trumps in Horner wood,
 There they grew, and there they stood."

You will notice that we know nothing of *grew*, and although I may have very imperfectly rendered it, there is a slight distinction between these sounds of *oo* and those of *dùe* (do) and *ùe* (who). These latter occur, again, in our vernacular

bùe, and this word, you will admit, when allowance is made for the common change of *v* into *b*, is far more like its ancestor than the modern nondescript—view. A man, now dead, who used frequently to come to my house, always used to exclaim: *Aa'y sìm, suur, tai's u bit'ipeol bùe yuur*, "I fancy, sir, 'tis a beautiful view here." With us to roof a rick, is to *ruuv'm-een* or *ruuv'm aewt*, that is, roof it in, or roof it out. This means to pile up the hay or corn in a ridge, so as to form slopes, on which to lay the thatch—and in no way implies the thatch itself. Similarly *tu ruuv u uwz* (to roof a house) is to set up the timber slopes, but has no reference to the final covering; this latter is always the *tuy't'een* (tiling) or the *dhaach*. I have scarcely ever heard the word roof used as a substantive by a true son of the soil. For hoof we say *uuf*, and though wool is generally *eo'ul*, yet I have very often heard *wuul*. The word *eo'd* (wood) is peculiar, the *w* is always dropped, and except in the sense of a collection of large trees, it has but one signification. If I went to market, and said I wanted to buy some *eo'd*, I should be told the price per score or hundred, always six score, and nothing would be understood but faggots, called *faak'uts*. Chairs, tables, and doors are made of *tìm'ur* (timber); but we never hear of anything wooden. If *tìm'ur* is not the word used, the particular sort of wood is mentioned, as *aa'rshn*, *oa'kn*, *bich'n*, *haw'sn* (hazel). If I may here digress a little, I would remark that if I told a man to fetch *u beet òa stuuf* (a bit of stuff), he would probably ask if I wanted *u beet òa ruuf stuuf* or *waurt soa'ürt* (what sort); but no vision of woven fabric would enter his mind. *Stuuf* means "sawn wood," and the *geo'd* (good) or *ruuf* (rough) would express the quality and shape, that is, whether sawn square, or, as the outsides of logs are, *wae'üni*. A piece with us means a part or portion of anything, whether solid or liquid. A hogshead partly full of cider would be *a pëes òa-u ok'sëed* (a piece of a hogshead); a small quantity of potatoes, say seventy or eighty pounds, would be *a pëes òa-u bai'g* (a piece of a bag, a bag of potatoes being 160 pounds, or *aa'yt skoa'ür wauyt* eight score weight); a

heap of stones would be *uun'ée u pées ða-u loo'üd* (only a piece of a load). A piece of cloth means the entire end or length, as woven; any portion cut off would be a *beet ða klaa'th* (a bit of cloth).

A floor, unless we spoke of a *baa'rnz vloot'ür* (barn's floor), means anything but a boarded structure. When we wish to speak of the wooden floor of a room, we always speak of the *plan'shëen*, and of a single board in a floor as a *plansh*. Another pretty plain Norman or French influence is seen in the pronunciation, as well as the use of the words *akùe's* (accuse) and *sekeo'ür* (secure). A short time ago a man was speaking to me about the funeral of a woman whom I had well known. He said, *avoar'ür uur duyð, uur ukùe's aul dhai uur weesh vur tu kaa'r ur*, "before she died, she accused all those she wished to carry her," meaning that she had appointed and fixed upon those of her neighbours whom she desired to bear her corpse. Since writing this paper, I have again heard the word used in the sense of advertising or informing beforehand: *ee akùe'sd um ða-ut un zoa dhai wuz upurpae'ürd*, "he accused them of it, and so they were prepared." Again, the beard or needle-like spears which grow on barley, when broken off in thrashing, are called *aa'ylz* or barley *aa'ylz*, which is however Anglo-Saxon, according to Wright. I venture, however, to commend these words to the attention of Norman students, together with *kwaayn*, *maa'yn* and *ruwt*, to which I shall refer presently.

U may be called our test vowel. If a man can say *bèol*¹ (bull), *vèol* (full), *pèol* (pull and pool), he is surely either from West Somerset or North Devon; but yet we say *kuul* (cull), *guul* (gull), *guut*, *puut*, *cuut*, but not *ruut*; we are more correct, we say *ruut*. Sometimes short *u* becomes *i*—*vraanch nits* (French nuts); the *nit* of a wheel is the stock or nave.

Notwithstanding its extreme richness in vowel-sounds, it is in its consonants that our dialect shows its great vagaries, and although highly grammatical in its inflexions and construction, it is apparently quite chaotic and arbitrary in pronunciation. We do not like to marry our consonants

¹ See Appendix, page 247.

any more than our vowels,—that is, although we can manage initials even three deep, as in *skraam* (small), *straa'yn*, *splai'-veot'ed* (splay-footed), yet whenever two final consonants occur, we try to reduce them to a simple sound. To a stranger the characteristic of our dialect is indistinctness of articulation—possibly the result of general slovenliness of utterance induced by a mild and slightly enervating climate; but rather I believe this to be the result of hereditary modes of speech derived from our remote ancestors, whomsoever they may have been.

We usually reject final *d* or *t* when following a consonant other than *r*, as in *ween* (wind), *huyn* (hind), *buyn* (bind), *vuyn* (find), *vee'ul* (field), *paar's* (past), *vaa's* (fast), *pau's* (post). To this there are, however, many exceptions (see Appendix). When the inflexion is sounded, the full syllable is always given, as *ee paar'sud lau'ng dhik wai*, “he passed along that way;” *ur leok'ud vau'rn*, “she looked for him;” but this is not usual, the inflexion is commonly dropped. A man said to me the other day, *Dhee'üz lau't öa hree'üdz aa'l an'draash*, “This lot of reed is all hand thrashed;” *Aa'g waa'rsh dhu fae'üs öa un aal oa'vur aes mau'rnin wai zoo'üp un wau'dur*, “I washed his face all over this morning with soap and water;” *Aa'g-r ube'e'üsl mizuul' tuur'bl bae'üd*, “I have made myself very dirty.” When, however, the next syllable commences with a vowel, the *d* or *t*, whether an inflexion or not, is sounded as its initial: *ee uurnd uwai*, “he ran away.” Change the vowel to a consonant, and we should say, *ee uurn su vaa's uz thau'f dh-aa'l fuul'ur wuz aa'turn*, “he ran as fast as though the old fellow was after him.” *Dhai'v urab' dhu maa'yl koo'üch*, “They have robbed the mail coach.” *Dhai'v ustoa'äld u wau'ch*, “They have stolen a watch.” This last is a good example of the strong conjugation being supplemented by the suffix of the weak. We have it again in *toa'ürd* (tore), *uroa'üzld* (raised), and in *broa'kt* (broke), when followed by a vowel. Now, although we may call it a rule absolute that *d* final following a consonant is dropped, yet this is clearly from no dislike to the sound itself; for we find it sometimes inserted without any apparent reason. The word corner,

after politely dropping the *r*, becomes by this process *kau'n-dur*; and tailor is always *taa'yldur*. Here I must explain that the *kaun'dur ða dhu uuz* (corner of the house), means the interior angle of the living room. If we wished to express the external angle of the house or wall, we should always speak of the *kwaayn*, *kwaun* or *kwain*. The exceptions to the rule of dropping the final *d* and *t*, besides those mentioned, are when they happen to follow *r* or *l*. We always say *paa'rt* (part), *kaa'rt* (cart), *aa'rd*, (hard), *vaa'ld* (fell). *Aas ugoa'ut oa'urt tu dringk?* "Hast aught to drink?" *Aa'y aa'nt ugoa'ut noa'urt* "I have naught." Again, whenever *r* and *l* come together, as in twirl, girl, purl, burl, we find the sound too complex for our organs, and therefore provide another syllable by inserting a *d*, and say *twuur'dl*, *puur'dl*, *guur'dl*, *buur'dl*; while *wuur'dl* for world, which is a mere transposition, is one of our commonest words. *Uurz u puur'ti lee'dl guur'dl*, "She is a pretty little girl."

Initial and medial *th* are nearly always softened into *dh*. I can only remember one or two instances of hard initial *th*. For though we say *thau'f*, but this is sometimes softened into *au'f*. *Dhu lai'un wuz au'l tûe u sluur'ee, un twuz dhat luurin, jis dhu vuuri sai'umz au'f twuz buurd luym*, "The lane was very muddy, and it was as sticky as bird lime." For thin we say *theen*, for off we always say *oa'f*. *Dhu loa'ks u-spicuuy'l, dhe muus tak un oa'f*, "The lock is spoilt, thou must take it off."

Although much has been said and written about it, yet our *fs* are not all *rs*. Our decided preference of course is for the softer sound; yet we always say *fuun*, *faa'rmur*, *faat*, *Fan'i*. *Dhik'i loav ða bra'idz maa'yn tu'f*, "That loaf of bread is very tough." Also we say *puuf*, *ruuf*, and *laa'f* for lath, with many more. Of course we say *wuyv* (wife), *kyaa'v* (calf), *haa'v* (half), *vaured* (forehead), *van* (fan), *caar* (far), and *veo't* (foot). This last word as a measure of length has no plural form. We always say *aa'yt-veot dee'p*; but we talk nevertheless of our *reet un ligz* (feet and legs). In these respects polite society is now following our lead.

A curious instance of interchange of letters, or rather

sounds, arises in the word carpenter. We sound, or rather do not sound, the *r* according to polite custom, and thus should have *kaa'pentur*; but *kaa'fmdur* is the word we use, thus softening both the *p* into *f*, the *n* into *m*, and the *t* into *d*. *F* or *v* and *dh* or *th* seem to be interchangeable sounds. Vetches become *dhaach'es*, and very *dhuur'i*, while think, though generally *dhink*, is often *fink*; and something, *suuf'in*.

G final is always dropped in words of more than one syllable ending in *ing*. As an initial it is softened as much as possible. *Is dhu gee'üt oa'p?* "Is the gate open?" *Wau'ts yur gee'üm?* "What is your game?" Nothing is more grating to our ears than the *sing'gingg*, *long'gingg*, of our Northern acquaintances. In monosyllables, however, like *dhing* (thing), *eling* (fling), *dring* (to press), *sting*, *spring*, etc., we sound the *ng* distinctly.

All gutturals, especially final ones, are distasteful, and we very rarely leave one ungarnished at the end of a word. My father once heard a witness at *Taa'nun Suy'sez* (Taunton Assizes), in reply to the usual question as to his name, say: *Plai'z, zuur, muy nae'ümz Strik; buud tu spai'k ut shau'rt, tai'z Strik'ëen*, "Please, sir, my name is Strick; but to speak it shortly, it is Strickeen." When the *k* sound is followed by a syllable beginning with *n*, we give the latter a syllable to itself; hackney and cockney become *aak'n-nee* and *kauk'n-nee*.

Our dislike of gutturals is well balanced by our fondness for liquids, of course I mean *l*, *m*, and *n*: yet we cannot do with them mixed. We never say elm, helm, haulm, culm, calm, or qualm, but *huul'm* for the first three, *kuul'm*, *kaal'm*, and *kwal'm*. The town of Collumpton on the river Culme is, I presume, Culme-town. This place, however, is now locally pronounced *Kuul'up-m*—another curious case of elision and change. The *m* and the *t* have entirely disappeared, while the final *n* becomes *m*. This *n* nearly always changes into *m* after *p*, *b*, *f*, and *v*, as *faa'v'rpmëe* (fourpenny), *ae'üpmëe* (half-penny), *aeb'm* (heaven), *laeb'm* (eleven), *saeb'm* (seven), *staef'm* (stiffen), *kaa'fmdur* (carpenter), *oa'vm* (oven), *woa'vm* (woven). A faint sound of *m* in common speech is all that remains

of *am* or *them*: *aa'l ða m* means all of them, and *yeo m* or *ðhai m* means you or they are.

N is articulated rather more distinctly than *m*, except when joined to *r*; it is then sometimes dropped, as *wes'tur suyd* (western side), *east'ureen*. This last does not signify Easter eve, but the eastern end, just as to *stan un ee'n* means to stand on your head—a phrase used by boys very commonly. Also *aupm ee'n* means upright, on end. We never say, as they do in East Somerset, *his'n* or *ðhairn* or *aawrn*; but we do say *vaur'n* for for him, and this *n* does duty for a neuter as well as a masculine pronoun. *Tid'n*, *twau'dn*, mean it is not, it was not; *aa'rt'n* "art thou not?" *shat'n* "shalt thou not?" *wi'ot'n* "wilt thou not?" *karn* "canst thou not?" So also we rarely use the ordinary possessive pronouns. *Look' tu dhu shùe'z ða un*, *wuy ee'v u kik aewt dhu toa'ürz ða m*, "Look at your shoes, why you have kicked out their toes." *Tae'üh aup u gin'i pai'g bee dhu taayl ða un*, *un dhu uyz ða un ul caa'l aewt*, is our version of the old saying: "Take up a Guinea pig by its tail, and its eyes will drop out." From these and other examples it will be noticed that our possessive case is nearly always formed by the preposition; we very seldom use the ordinary 's. We have, too, no neuter pronoun for denoting a common substantive. The word *it* is never used, except an abstract idea is to be expressed. We should say *tai'z* for "it is," and *aary oa'n dùe ut*, "I won't do it," but never give it me, always *gee un tu mee*. The nominative *ai* (he) does duty for both genders. A man said to me of his daughter, *Urz a maa'yn guurt strau'ng maa'yd, ai ai'z*, "She's a main great strong maid, she is." With us the word maid has precisely the same meaning as its equivalent *mädchen*.

And here I may as well give you our present tense of the verb "to be."

aa'y bee (I am),

dhee aa'rt (never *bist*) (thou art),

ai'z } or emphatic *ai ai'z*, *ur ai'z* (he or she is),
uurz }

wee bee, or *wee m*, *wee haam* (emphatic) (we are),

yùe bee, or *yùe m*, *yùe haam*· (emphatic) (you are),
dhai bee, or *dhaim*, *dhai aam*· (emphatic unaspirated) (they
 are).

Just as the pronoun *ai* (he) is both masculine and feminine, so when the verb is used interrogatively is the pronoun *ur*: *did'n ur?* *id'n ur?* means either did she not? or is she not? did he not? or is he not? It also has an impersonal meaning, as *kaan' ur?* can one not? *mid'n ur?* might one not? *ad'n ur?* had one not? *Dids see Bee ùl?* *ad'n ur goa'üt noa'ürt tùe aez baak?* *wae'ür'oøv'ur aav uur ubin' ubuy'din tùe?* "Didst see Bill? had not he anything on his back? wherever has he been staying?" Before this you will have observed that we only use aspirates before vowels for emphasis.

But to return to the consonants. *R* is the most capricious of all, for it is dropped here and affixed there without much apparent reason; yet of all the consonants, one rule may be invariably applied to it—we never roll or trill it.¹ In South Devon and Cornwall, on the contrary, they always talk of *her'ings*, and a common name is *Buur'ij*; we say *uur'ins* and *Buur'ij*. Often we hear the *r* aspirated, as in *hreed* for reed, *hroa'üd* (road), while to read is *tu hrai'd*.

Before short vowels it is that the well-known transposition of *r* takes place: *Uur'chut*, *uurn un buursh dhu uurd'in oa'f òa Mis'tur Buur'jex buur'chez*, "Richard, run and brush off the redding from Mr. Bridge's breeches."

The danger of a little knowledge is shown in the almost general naming of the well-known equipage the tea-urn, *dhu tai ruun*. My good mother once tried to prevail on a nurse to use the proper term; but it was no use. Nurse persisted that she never said *uurn* in her life, and was not going to begin now. There is a large factory near where I live, called Tonedale. Certain wise people have learnt that a *dae'ül tar'übl* should be called a *dee'l tai'bl*, and apply their rule to

¹ The exact nature of this peculiar *r* is explained in the Appendix, in the notation, under *r*, the proper symbol, for which *r* has been used for convenience throughout this paper.

the factory, which thus becomes *Toarndeel*. But all this will be cured in the coming generation, by the board schools, where, forsooth, *Dhai'v ubin', suur, un utai'ch muy bwuuy vur tu spuul tae'üdëes*¹ *uai u pee, shoar'ür*! "They have been, sir, and taught my boy to spell potatoes with a p, sure!"

In those English words which are written with *w* before the *r*, we still sound it as a *v*, as *vrug'tin* (writing), *vraa'slin* (wrestling), *vrau'ng* (wrong), *vrau't-uy'ür* (wrought-iron), *vreth-uur'dlz* (wreath-hurdles), *vrugt* (right or wright); but yet the *r* is dropped in *Fid* (Fred), *Fad'urik* (Frederick), *wis* (worse), *vuuz* (furze), *oa'üz* (hoarse), *puus* (purse), and many others.

To many words we affix a faint "vanish" or even syllable ending in *r*, as *wau'r toa'ürs*² (ware toes), *muyn yur taap'ur* (mind your top, or head). The nasal bone of all animals is called by the butchers *dhu snaut'ur boar'ün*.

The following dialogue is quite authentic from the parish of Winsford on the borders of Exmoor:—

Boy. *Mau'dhur, u blaak pluum'urz goa'üt lai'gurz?*

Mother. *Blaak pluum'urz goa'üt lai'gurz! nao pidh-ëe, chee'ül.*

Boy. *Wuul dhaen, faath, uyv ai't u stuur'tl boar'ür, aur u daer'ls kyuw!*

Mother, have black plums got legs?

No prithe, child.

Well, then, faith, I've eaten a black beetle or a large black snail!

We are the very type of clowns in *Zumurzetsheer*, because we are said to make all our *ses* into *zs*: but this is a libel. We should go to *zee dhu sai* (see the sea), and *saar u sik'spuns* (earn a sixpence), and say *sae'ül waeks un zoor'üp bae'ün dhu*

¹ The *d* is here very indistinct, arising probably from the contact being imperfect, and every time Mr. Elworthy sounded the word to me, I seemed to hear a faint sound of a trilled *r*, not of the local *r*, in place of the *d*. This reminds me of Winkler's use of *d*, in his Low German *Dialektikon*, to represent a sound which it was difficult to assign either to *d* or to *r*.—A. J. Ellis.

² The existence of this *r* in the local form is quite clear in Mr. Elworthy's imitation of the local pronunciation. "Toes" is not *toa'üz* simply, but *toa'üz, rz*. It must be remembered that *r* is very vocal, and that a vowel such as *aa* may be even pronounced through it. It is quite different from the trilled *r*, or even the literary vocal *r*.—A. J. Ellis.

sae'üm (sealing-wax and soap are not the same), *u shaep dùe saay'lee* (a ship sails), and plenty more.

Our *s* goes a long way and has many duties. One of the most usual expressions after giving an order is *shuur?*¹ (dost thou hear?) *snoa?* (dost thou know?) *icuy'sn leok shaarp?* (why dost thou not look sharp?) *kas'n hrai'd?* (canst thou not read?). I know of no case where either an *s* or a *z* sound is dropped; but where *s* and *p* come together, as in *crisp*, *hasp*, *clasp*, *wasp*, these letters are transposed, *krips*, *haaps*, *klaaps*, *waups*. When a plural has to be given to words ending in *st*, it is usual to make a distinct syllable of it: *crust*, singular *kris*, plural *kris'tez*; *nes* (nest), *nestez*; *post* (of a gate) makes *pau's* and in the plural *pau'sez*, not *pau'stez*; and though *post* (for letters) is *poa'üst*, the plural is *poa'üses*.

Generally the present tense of all our verbs is formed with the auxiliaries *do* for active, and *be* with the present part. for neuter verbs; but by no means unfrequently for emphasis we use the usual inflexion. In that case, however, we have no notion of tacking on a simple consonant and saying "he walks." Our inflexion would be *ai wau'kus*, if we wished distinctly to assert that he does not ride; if merely that he is walking, we should say *ai du wau'këe*. So we say *dhu sîn skaa'lus* (the sun scalds), *dhu snoa vaa'lus* (the snow falls), *dhu wau'dr buur'nus*, *tai'x tu aat* (the water burns, it is too hot). Since this paper was commenced, a farrier gave to me, as his reason that a pony, about which I consulted him, was not looking well, that "*ai kwee'dus*." This meant that the pony suffered pain in its mouth, and so seemed to be, as it were, chewing the cud. This latter operation is always called *chuw'in dhu kweed*. I expect this gentleman would need an interpreter if his practice led him far a-field.

This emphatic inflexion *us* can only be used with neuter verbs, or transitive verbs when used without their objects, and the same invariable rule applies to the well-known suffix *y* or *ée* as given in the preceding and following examples; but this

¹ Since "hear" becomes *yuur*, "dost hear" ought to be *s-yuur*, and the *sy* falls into *sh*, generating *shuur*."—A. J. Ellis.

last is the sign of the neuter infinitive: *Aa'y du faat muy bee'üs wai kee'ük, un dhai düe preov'ëe tuur'bl*, "I fat my cattle with (oil) cake, and they thrive extremely well." *Aa'y sim tul druw'ëe tudai'*, "I think it will be drying weather to-day,"—that is, fit for haymaking. Or the very common saying, *Sae'ümz Jon'i Krok'ur laa'rn du rok'ëe, aa'l aewt ða ez oa'n ai'd*, "The same way as Johnny Crocker learned to rock (the cradle), out of his own head."

This short *ëe* or *i* sound is clearly an inflexion, and that we have no particular fondness for the termination is proved by the fact that in most English words ending in *y* we get rid of it. For carry we always say *kaa'r*, for quarry *kwau'r*, and for story *stoa'ür*. A woman said to me the other day, *Dhai'o uroa'üsd aup a puurty stoa'ür buw'dn*, "They have raised a pretty story about him."

Some words change their aspirates into *y*, as *yaefur* (heifer), *yee'üth* (heath and hearth,—the same sound), *yee'üt* (heat), *yuur* (here, hear, ear, year,—all alike); but this *y* sound does not occur in the unaspirated words mentioned by Professor Baynes, i.e. east, earn, earth, early, eat, ale, arm, etc., and the *y* is dropped altogether in the pronoun *ye*: *wuol'ee* (will you), *düe'ee* (do you), *aav'ee* ? (have you ?).

The word heather is unknown. There is a sort of oat-grass which is called *ai'cer*; the seedsmen spell it eaver, and call it *ee'cer*; but I suspect our pronunciation is most correct. Our word *yee'üth* refers to the plant only; the land on which the heath grows, the heathfield, is always *dhu yaef'feül*.

A curious use of the auxiliary as well as the old form of the verb is found in the common expression *ur daed'n aw't tüe u wai'nt* (she ought not to have gone).

Upon the words and quaint idioms, the wonderful verbiage, the cumbrous jokes, the superfluous prepositions, beyond the few examples I have given, time does not permit me to enter; and though I fear I have already crowded too many examples into this paper to make it fairly intelligible, or anything else than a practical illustration of *Zuum'urzet* indistinctness, yet it touches only the fringe of the subject. There is a very rich mine of treasure in our dialect still unexplored, some portion

of which I hope to be able at some time to lay open in another form.

I ought not, however, to conclude without mentioning that our demonstratives are *dhee'uz* (this), *dhais* (these), *dhik*, *dhik'i* (that), *dhai*, *dhoo'üz* (those). Generally to all these we add *yuur* or *dhæ'ür*. *Dheez yuur sait*, "This seat here;" *Dhai dhæ'ür bee'üs*, "Those beasts there;" *Dhik'i dhæ'ür vee'ül ða wait*, "That field of wheat there." *Dhat* is never used except in a neuter sense. *Aa'y daed'n zai dhat dhæ'ür*, "I did not say that there."

In our adverbs we are primitive: *ai du wuur-këe kucuy-ut luyk*, "he works quietly," *aa'rd luyk* (hardly), *sùe'unt luyk* (evenly), showing our conservatism in retaining a guttural sound that our usual humour would lead us to discard. We also use *prez'ünt luyk* in its true sense of now, at this moment, and not at some short time hence. Presently is still used habitually in this way by many people above the middle class.

Also very commonly we affix prepositions to our adverbs, as herefrom, wherefrom, therefrom; and frequently, as in German, the preposition is the last in the clause, and far removed from the word it governs, *Wæ'ür iv'ur daed ur git dhe zee'üd rur dhik'i vee'ül ða waets vraum?* "From whence did he get the seed for that field of oats?"

Many of our verbs take their own prepositions after them, *Wau't bee laa'fin ða?* "At what are you laughing?" *Daan'ëe tich ða m*, "Don't touch them;" *Wæ'ür dùs ur lee'v tùè?* "Where does he live?" *Wæ'ür bee gwaa'yn tùè?* "Where are you going?" The old couplet giving the names of noted parishes in the Stag-hunting district also illustrates this:

Oa'ür, Kuul'boa'ün, un Stauk Pee'roa,

Dree jis plaet'üzex yùe niv'er daed yee'r ða.

Oare, Culbone, and Stock Pero,

Three such places you never did hear o'.

I have already referred to the fact that in our climate *dhu sin du skaa'lës*, "the sun scalds," and that *wau'dr buurn'us*,

"water burns," but possibly owing to peculiar manufacture our *wee'ndurz un kloa'm bee utao'rd*, "windows and crockery are torn," while our *koa'ûts un aawr buur'chez bee ubroa'kt*, "coats and our breeches are broken." We are fond of titles like our German cousins, and therefore we, like them, dub our neighbour with his calling: *Bae'ûkur* (Baker) Smith, *Beoch'ur* (Butcher) Tripe, *Taa'yldur* (Tailor) Halfyard, *Baa'rbur* (Barber) Clark, *Tuur'née* (Attorney) Green, *Faa'r-mur* (Farmer) *Vaaw'ûrac'ûkur* (Fouracre), *Keo'pur Paa'yul* (pail) (Cooper) Pile, are all veritable names.

I have now, I trust, made good the assertion with which I started, that the traces of our archaic speech are by no means as yet swallowed up by the great wave of advancing civilization and enlightenment, and if the examples I have given you shall be the means of drawing more attention from the members of this learned society to the very rich dialect of West Somerset, I shall feel that my presumption in stepping out of my accustomed obscurity, and in coming before you to-night, is not only condoned, but very richly rewarded.

APPENDIX.

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF WORDS TO ILLUSTRATE WEST SOMERSETSHIRE PRONUNCIATION, WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, AND AN EXPLANATION OF THE GLOSSIC SYSTEM OF SPELLING HERE USED.

I.—TABLE OF GLOSSIC LETTERS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER DRAWN UP BY ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., ETC.

The Glossic letter is placed first in capitals, and is followed by the palaeotype equivalent in parenthesis, then by Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech name (except for the diphthongs), one or two exemplificative words which are supposed to have the received English pronunciation, and the number of the list containing it, where the introductory remarks should be consulted. Long vowels in accented syllables have the accent mark (˘) placed immediately after the vowel; in unaccented syllables the long vowel is sometimes marked long, as [ēe]. The short vowel in an accented syllable is always

followed by a consonant, after which the accent mark is placed. To prevent mistakes, short [ä, ë, ö] in closed syllables are thus written. Short [ü, ê], etc., coming next to other vowels, form diphthongs or "fractures" with them. Monosyllables in the lists are treated as accented syllables. Isolated words in Glossic are inclosed between square brackets [], and in palaeotype between parentheses ().

A = (æ) = low-front-wide. No. 1. True *a* in *bat*; always short in this dialect, lengthened in E. Somersetshire.

AA = (aa) = mid-back-wide. No. 2. The *a* in *father*, sometimes slightly nasalized, as in America and South Germany. This nasality is sometimes not recognized, but if required might be written [aa] = (a.).

AA = (a). No. 3. Short of the last, as in German *männ*.

AAW = (äw). No. 4. This is the German diphthong in *hauw*, which is sometimes used in received speech, but is decidedly broader than the usual literary sound of *house*. It occurs only in the fracture No. 4.

AAW-ü = (äw'). No. 4. A fractured diphthong.

AA-Y = (äai). No. 5. This is generally used for the English *aye* meaning 'yes,' but the vowel is decidedly long in the dialect.

AA-Y = (äi). No. 6. The German *ei*, *ai*.

AA-Yü = (äai'). No. 7. A fractured diphthong.

AE = (æ) = low-front-primary. No. 8. This is the usual provincial short *e*, which is also not unfrequent in literary pronunciation, but is rather broader than my *e* in [bet], and is the 'open' French *ê* and open Italian *e*. It does not occur long in the dialect, except in the following fracture.

AE-ü = (æ'). No. 9. This is the fully broad French long *ê* followed by a glide leading to a short sound of *u* in *bat*, resembling the literary *air* in *fair*, with the vowel considerably broader and the final *r* quite untrilled. It replaces long *a* in the dialect.

AEW = (æw). No. 10. This is the common sound for *ow* in *house* in the dialect. It is a little broader than a common Cockney and Kent pronunciation, and is precisely the same as the Norfolk sound.

AEW-ü = (æw'). No. 11. The last diphthong fractured.

AI = (æi) = mid-front-primary. No. 12. This is the literary long *a* or *ai* in *pale*, *paid*, without any trace of the faint *ee* sound with which the literary sound is frequently accompanied; it is thus the French 'close' or 'shut' *é*.

AO = (oo) = mid-back-wide-round. No. 13. This occurs only before *r* in literary English, as *torr*, *bore*, where it is often confused with [au] = (AA).

AO-ü = (oo'). No. 14. The last sound fractured.

AU = (AA) = low-back-primary-round. No. 15. The usual *aw* in *law*, often replacing short *o* in the dialect.

AU = (A). No. 16. The short sound of the last vowel; altogether coarser than the literary [o] = (o), and liable to be lengthened.

AU-Y = (AA'). No. 17. The *oy* of *boy* with the [o] = (o) pronounced as very long [au'] = (AA).

AUY = (A'). No. 18. Scarcely distinct from the ordinary *oy* of *boy*.

A'Y = (äh'), and A'-Y = (ääh'). See note to No. 6. The first element of this diphthong [a'] = (ah) = mid-mixed-wide, is that delicate sound between [a] = (æ) and [aa] = (a), often heard in delicate pronunciations of *ask*, *staff*, and so on. The resulting [a'y] = (äh') is much more delicate than [aay] = (äi'), but resembles this last diphthong more than the [uy] = (e'i) of No. 40. It is never confused with [aa'y] = (äai') in the dialect.

B = (b) = lip-shut-voice. The ordinary *b*.

CH = (tsh). The ordinary consonantal diphthong in *chest*, *such*.

D = (d) = point-shut-voice. No. 63. The ordinary *d*. Never dental; it may indeed be quite 'cerebral' = [d] = (n), as it is distinctly related to [r] = (ä). See R below.

DH = (dh) = front-mixed-divided-voice. No. 62. The ordinary *th* in *the*, *that*, *those*.

E = (e) = front-mid-wide. The ordinary literary short *e*, apparently replaced by [æ] = (a) in accented syllables in the dialect, but possibly used in the plural -es = [æz] = (æ), where the sound is obscured.

E' = (æ) = low-mixed-wide. See note to No. 8. This is scarcely more than [er], with a perfectly untrilled [r], in *herb*, which is again almost the same as [u'] = (œ) = mid-mixed-primary.

EA = (ɛ) = high-mixed-primary. See note to No. 23. This is the Polish *y*.

EE = (i) = high-front-primary. No. 19. The common *e* long in *even*.

EE = (i). No. 20. The short sound of the last vowel frequently occurs in open and even closed syllables, both accented and unaccented, where it is unknown in literary English, except perhaps in the word [bēen] = (bin), which is however commonly [bee'n, bin'] = (biin, bin').

EE = (i') = (i''). No. 21. A fracture of the above, like the literary *ear* = [i'ū] = (i''), when the *r* is perfectly untrilled.

EO = (e₂) = mid-front-round. No. 22. A deep variety of the closer French *eu* in *feu*, the long German *œ* in *Goethe*, *koenig*, in central Germany. See *Postscript*.

EO = (e₂). No. 23. The last vowel shortened. See *Postscript*.

F = (f) = lip-divided-voiceless. Nos. 43 to 48 and No. 64. The usual *F*, occurring especially in emphatic words.

FV = (fv). No. 44. An initial combination, beginning with a faint sound of *f*, running off into a distinct sound of *v*, so that ordinarily the *v* alone is usually heard, but in emphatic pronunciation the *f* alone is heard.

G = (g) = back-shut-voice. The usual *g*.

GY = (gj). The back of the tongue is somewhat nearer the teeth than for *g*, and a faint sound of [æ] = (i) or *y* is heard. Made by attempting to pronounce [g] and [y] at once.

H = (xh) = aspirate. A fully developed aspirate with distinct whisper, but chiefly heard before emphatic words in the dialect.

HR for **H.R** = (hæ). The preceding breath seemed not to be always thrown through the position of (r) = (æ), but, as Mr. Elworthy pro-

nounced, to be thrown first with a little jerk through the position for [æ] = (a). Yet as this sound is an emphatic variety of [r], on the analogy of [fv], No. 44, the sound should be = (xh)æ, or strong (xh) followed by weak (æ).

I = (i) = high-front-wide. No. 24. The common literary *i* in *tin*, *knit*. Often obscured to [i] = (i).

I = (i₂), see note to No. 30. This is a deep modification of [i] = (i). See *Postscript*.

I' = (y) = high-mixed-wide. See note to No. 30. This is properly the sound of Welsh *u*.

J = (dzh). This is the usual *j*, and *dge* in *judge* = [juj].

K = (k) = back-shut-voiceless. The usual *c* and *k* in *cook*.

KY = (kj). This is [k] with an attempt to pronounce [y] at the same time.

L = (l) = point-divided-voice. The usual *l*. It is very possible however that the dialect rather uses the 'cerebral' form [l] = (u) (see notes to No. 23), but this would require long observation of native speakers. It seems however that the whole tendency of the dialect is towards the cerebral formation, with a reverted tongue. See *R* below.

M = (m) = lip-nasal-voice. The usual *m*.

N = (n) = point-nasal-voice. The usual *n*.

NG = (ŋ) = back-nasal-voice. The usual *ng* in *sing* and *n* in *sink*, which is therefore written [singk] = (siŋk).

O = (o) = low-back-wide-round. The common short *o* in *not*. This sound is apparently replaced in the dialect by its near neighbour, short [au] = (a). See note to No. 16.

O' = (oh) = low-mixed-wide-round. This differs but slightly from [o] = (o). See note to No. 33.

OA = (oo) = mid-back-round. No. 25. This is the literary long *o* in *smoke*, without any trace of a following [ðo] = (u) sound.

OA = (o). No. 26. The short sound of the last vowel.

OA = (oo'). No. 27. This is nearly the same as the literary English *oor* = (ooe), with [ao] in place of [oa].

OE = (œ) = mid-front-wide-round. No. 28. It is the open French *eu* in *œuf*. See *Postscript*.

OO'=(un)=high-back-round. No. 29.
This is the usual *oo* in *pool*.

OO'. This is a new sign, which has no palaeotype equivalent, and is used for the reasons given in the note to No. 30. It apparently represents [ɪ, ɛ, ʊ] = (i, e, u). See *Post-script*.

OO'ü=(un'). No. 31. The fractured form of [oo]=(uu).

P=(p)=lip-shut-voiceless. This is the common *p*.

R=(ɹ). This is the literary *vocal r*, which is really a vowel, with permission to make a trill after it. Mr. Melville Bell takes the English sound to be [ɹ]=[r̥], which he calls "point," where the tip of the tongue points nearly in the position for [t], but does not touch the palate, and is still. This sound seems to be used by Americans in the word *America*=[t̩me, ɹɪkt̩]=[əmer, 'ike], and very closely resembles the dialectal [ɹ]. As nothing but [ɹ] occurs in the dialect, in this paper *r* is used for (ɹ) throughout.

(R)=(ʀ). No. 66. This is the dialectal *r* throughout, but for convenience of printing, the () has been omitted. The tip of the tongue points a little further back towards the throat than it does for [t], so that the under part of the tip is nearer to the palate, and a hollow space is formed between the middle (or "front") and the tip. This produces a peculiar dullness in the preceding vowel, which may even be occasionally pronounced at the same time at this [ɹ]=[ʀ], thus forming a set of "tip" vowels, and these again may be the foundation of some of the peculiar vowels here marked [ɪ, ɛ, ʊ], and attributed rather to the widening of the bottom of the pharynx, as (i, e, u), instead of to this curving back of the tongue. The sound written [aar], for [aa, ɹ], is also possibly an attempt to pronounce [aa] with the tip of the tongue in the position for [ɹ]=(ʀ). Such vowels might be written [ʰaa], etc., simply. For [ɹ] (see R above), the tip of the tongue is stiff, but for [ɹ] it is flexible, and hence can quiver more or less strongly. In the dialect this seems to produce a sort of growl, still more marked in Wiltshire. This is called the "reverted

r," and is the Sanscrit "cerebral *r*," as most distinctly pronounced in the Dravidian languages near Madras.

R'=(r). The true tip trilled *r*, as slightly trilled before a vowel in literary English, and strongly in Scotch, does not occur in the dialect. It is necessary to distinguish

[r']=(r) just described, from

[r]=(ɹ), the vocal *r* or vowel [u]=(e), generally lengthened and followed at pleasure by this [r'].

[ɹ, r]=(r̥), the untrilled *r*, or imperfect *d* with a stiff tongue.

[ɹ]=[ʀ], the reverted *r* of the dialect with quivering tip of tongue.

[r']=(r), the French and German trill produced by quivering the uvula.

[ɹ]=[ɹ], the Danish glottal *r*, where the trill is formed in the glottis.

There is a great tendency to confuse all the latter *r*'s together, and to pronounce them like the two literary forms of *r*=[r, r']=(ɹ, r), neither of which occur in the dialect, which only recognizes [ɹ]=[ʀ].

S=(s)=front-mixed. Nos. 54, 55.

The usual *c* and *s* in *cease*. The tongue is arched.

SH=(sh)=point-mixed. Nos. 56 to 58. The usual *sh* in *sash*. The tongue is hollowed as for [ɹ].

SHZH=(shzh). An initial combination in the dialect, similar in construction to [fv]. See note to No. 44.

SZ=(sz). An initial combination in the dialect, similar to [fv]. See note to No. 44.

T=(t)=point-shut. The usual literary English *t*, and decidedly not dental. See D and R, above.

TH=(th)=front-mixed-divided. Nos. 59 to 63. The usual English *th* in *thin*; decidedly dental. The incompatibility of this with [ɹ], probably produced the sound [d, ɹ-] for [thr-]. No. 63.

THDH=(thdh). This probably occurs as an initial combination in the dialect similar to [fv]. See note to No. 44.

U=(e)=mid-mixed primary. No. 32. This bears a similar relation to [uu]=(a) as [e]=(e) does to [ae]=(ʌ). As many speakers of literary English use [ae] for [e], so many use [uu] for [u].

U' = (ɤ) = high-back-wide. See note to No. 32. Perhaps the commonest open unaccented vowel in literary English, as *America*, but usually taken to be [u], and so written throughout this paper.

UA = (æ) = low-back-primary. No. 33. A very doubtful vowel, possibly merely [uɪ] = (ɛ) affected by a following [duɪ] = (ɒɛ). See *Postscript*.

UE = (y₂y₂) or (y₁y₁) or (ɔ'ɔ'). No. 34. This is a variety of the French *u* = [ue] = (y) = high-wide-round, or else of French *eu* = [eo] = (ɔ). See *EO*. See *Postscript*.

UE = (y₂) or (y₁) or (ɔ'). No. 35. The short of the last vowel.

UI' = (v) = high-mixed-round. See note to No. 23. This is the Swedish *u* (rather more like [oo] than the French [ue]), but it is very doubtful whether it is really used in the dialect. See *Postscript*.

UO = (u) = high-back-wide-round. No. 36. This is the common *u* in full and *oo* in book.

UO = (u₂). See note to No. 30. If this is correctly analysed, it represents a variety of [uo] = (u) produced by widening the lower part of the pharynx.

UO' = (uh) = high-mixed-wide-round. See note to No. 23. This is the Italian close *o*, doubtfully assigned by Dr. Murray to certain words now ranged under No. 23.

UU = (ɤ) = mid-back-primary. No. 37. The thicker sound often heard in lite-

rary English for *u* in *but*, *tab*. In various dialects it is often thickened greatly, till it is difficult to distinguish from [ɔa, tɔ] = (ɔ, u). See *Postscript*. It seems to be the regular dialectal form for *u* in accented syllables, and for the obscure sound heard when *r* is transposed, as in [guu,rt] = (gɔrt) for *great*.

UW = (ɔ'u). No. 38. This is the literary English *ou* in *house*.

UW·ū = (ɔ'u'). No. 39. A fractured form of the last diphthong.

UY = (ɔ'i). No. 40. This, or [a'y] = (ɔhi), is the literary English long *i*, as in *mind*.

UY·ū = (ɔ'i'). No. 41. A fractured form of the last diphthong.

UUY = (ɔ'i). No. 42. This is a much thicker sound of [uy] = (ɔ'i), and is related to it as [uu] to [u]. It constantly produces the impression of [oay] = (ɔi) or [auy] = (A'i). In the dialect it occurs only in the fracture [wuuy] = (uɔ'i), which I at first appreciated as [waoy] = (uɔi).

V = (v) = lip-divided-voice. Nos. 49 to 53. The common literary English *v*.

W = (w) = lip-voice. The common literary English *w*.

WUUY = (uɔ'i). No. 42. See UUY above.

Y = (j) = front-voice. The usual English *y* in *yes*.

Z = (z) = front-mixed-voice. No. 54. The usual *z* in *zeal*, *whizz*.

ZH = (zh) = point-mixed-voice. Nos. 56, 57. The usual French *j* or *ge* in French *jage* = [zhuezh] = (zhzyh).

The above alphabetical order, which is used in the following lists, is not well adapted for studying the relations of the vowels, hence I annex a phonetic linear order in which the simple vowels really used in the dialect, so far as I can appreciate them, are arranged in order of gradation (see my *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 1285). Prefixed to each vowel is the number of the list in which it occurs. As only quality, and not quantity, was here of importance, the distinctions of length are not assigned. The diphthongs and fractures form separate lists. The palaeotype is subjoined, preceded by =.

19 Simple Vowels.

- 19. ee = i
- 24. i = i
- 30. l = i₂
- 12. ai = e
- 8. ae = ɛ
- 1. a = æ
- 2. 3. aa = a
- 15. 16. au = A
- 13. ao = o

- 25. 26. oa = o
- 36. uo = u
- 30. ɔo = u₂
- 29. 30. oo = u
- 34. 35. ɔe = y₂
- 22. 23. 30. ɔo = a₂
- 28. oe = ɔ
- 32. u = ɔ
- 37. uu = ɛ
- 33. ua = ɔɛ

4 *Y Diphthongs.*

5. 6. aay = äi
 17. 18. auy = ä'i
 40. uy = ö'i
 42. uuy = ü'i

2 *W Diphthongs.*

10. aew = æ'w
 38. uw = ö'w

5 *Simple Fractures.*

21. eeth = i'
 9. aeth = æ'
 14. aoth = o'
 27. oath = o'
 31. ooth = u'

5 *Diphthongal Fractures.*

7. aayü = äi'
 41. uyü = ö'i'
 11. aewü = æ'w'
 4. aawü = äw'
 39. uwü = ö'w'

II.—CLASSIFIED LISTS OF VOWELS, DIPHTHONGS AND FRACTURES IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

All the dialectal words in this list are written according to the Glossic system just explained. Having previously arranged the words in groups, according to their vowels, each word was pronounced by me to Mr. Ellis, often many times, in an examination extending over five days, and he assigned the vowels as well as he could. The difficulties that he experienced are explained in the introductory notes prefixed to each list. Some of my groupings were slightly altered in consequence. The following is the arrangement.

The lists are placed in the alphabetical order of the Glossic symbols for the vowels they contain, and numbered for ease of reference. At the head of each list is given the Glossic vowel, which determines its order, in capitals, followed by its palaeotypic symbol in small letters, preceded by =. In the introductory remarks, which are in smaller type, all words in Glossic spelling are inclosed in square brackets [], and those in palaeotype in round parenthesis ().

In the lists themselves only Glossic is used for the pronunciation, which forms the left-hand division of each column, the ordinary spelling forms the right-hand division. The words are arranged in the alphabetical order of their Glossic orthography, taking the letters in order from the *end* towards the beginning in each word, as in Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, so that all words which rhyme come after each other, and hence, so far as monosyllables are concerned, words in which the vowel is followed by the same consonant come together. Final *t* or *d* separated from the rest of the word by a (, as [ü-ang(d)], is pronounced only before a vowel.

When the same word is found in more than one of the lists, it is to be taken as having more than one sound in common use in the dialect.

As the object of these lists was to show the peculiar phonetic structure of the dialect, only those words are admitted as a rule which are common to both the literary and dialectal languages. Those which are strictly local will appear hereafter in a glossary.

This arrangement is of course not sufficient for a complete examination of the phonetic relations, but all others can be readily formed from these. Thus if all the words were written according to their

present literary form, they might be alphabetically arranged, and the various dialectal pronunciations compared. The arrangement might also be made by the original Anglosaxon or Norman forms of the words, and these two sets separated. But one form alone could be used here, and it seemed simplest to exemplify the existing alphabetical sounds.

The very valuable assistance I have received from Mr. Ellis in going through all these lists, word by word, so as to give them their phonetic equivalents correctly, demands my most grateful recognition. I have further to express my obligation for the great labour he has bestowed in drawing up the foregoing table of Glossic letters, and for the many notes and remarks to which his initials are appended.

1. Short A=æ.

This appeared to be generally the pure literary *a* in *bat*, *bad*, but it was often a little deeper than I pronounce it, and verged towards [a']=(ah). Some of these cases are marked * in the list. Some few have been referred to [äa]=(a) No. 3, and perhaps some more might have been assigned to that list, which Mr. Elworthy had not distinguished originally from No. 1 or No. 2.—A. J. E.

rab	{ rob, <i>v. pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>	vranch	{ French, <i>a.</i> wrench, <i>v. and s.</i>
skad	scud, <i>s.</i>	stanch	{ staunch, <i>a.</i> stench, <i>s.</i>
drad	thread, <i>v. and s.</i>	mash	marsh, <i>s.</i>
hrad	rod, <i>s.</i>	ath	earth, <i>s.</i>
sprad	spread, <i>v.</i>	dath	death, <i>s.</i>
zad	said, <i>v. pret.</i>	brat-th	breadth, <i>s.</i>
fak-tid*	affected, <i>a.</i>	brath	breath, <i>s.</i>
nat-üd*	knotted, <i>a.</i>	aj	{ edge, hedge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
een-dat-üd*	indebted, <i>a.</i>	laj	ledge, <i>s.</i>
plant-üd	planted, <i>a.</i>	zlaj	sledge(hammer)
ang-grëe	angry, <i>a.</i>	draj	dredge, <i>v. and s.</i>
laf	{ leave, <i>v.</i> left, <i>pret. and a.</i>	zaj	sedge, <i>s.</i>
ü-laf	left, <i>p.p.</i>	stranj	strange, <i>a.</i>
bag	beg, <i>v.</i>	nak	neck, <i>s.</i>
kag	keg, <i>s.</i>	pak	peck, <i>s.</i>
pag	peg, <i>v. and s.</i>	kurak	correct, <i>a.</i>
ang	{ hang, <i>v. pres. and</i> <i>pret.</i>	vrak, rak	wreck, <i>v. and s.</i>
ü-ang(d)	{ hung, <i>hanged,</i> <i>p.p.</i>	aa'rchitak	architect, <i>s.</i>
mang	among, <i>prop.</i>	sprangk	sprinkle, <i>v.</i>
strach	stretch, <i>v. and s.</i>	dhangk	thank, <i>v. and s.</i>
vach	fetch, <i>v.</i>	vlangk	flank, <i>s.</i>
anch	haunch, <i>s.</i>	pangk	pant, <i>v.</i>
planch	plank, <i>s.</i>	ad-l	addle, <i>v. and a.</i>
dranch	drench, <i>v. and s.</i>	zad-l	saddle, <i>s.</i>
tranch	trench, <i>v. and s.</i>	ang-l	angle, <i>v. and s.</i>
		jang-l	jangle, <i>v. and s.</i>

1. Short A=æ.—*continued.*

mang'l	{ mangle, man-	sap	except, <i>prep.</i>
tang'l	gold	lak·chūr	lecture, <i>s.</i>
nùe·vang·gl	tangle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	as', as'n	hast, hast not?
vrak'l	new-fangled, <i>a.</i>	bas	best, <i>a.</i>
an'l	freckle, <i>s.</i>	gas	guess, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kan'l	handle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	las	less, <i>a.</i>
span'l	candle, <i>s.</i>	blas	{ bless, <i>v. pres.</i>
	spaniel, <i>s.</i>		and <i>pret.</i>
vras'l	{ wrestle, <i>v. pres.</i>	ū·blas·	{ blessed, <i>p.p.</i>
	and <i>pret.</i>	blas·ēd }	blesséd, <i>a.</i>
sat'l	settle, <i>v.</i>	mas	mess, <i>s.</i>
paus·man'l	portmanteau, <i>s.</i>	nas(t	nest, <i>s.</i>
rad·ikl	reticule, <i>s.</i>	ras(t	rest, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
skan'l	scandal, <i>s.</i>	dras	{ dress, <i>s.</i> and <i>v.</i> ,
lab·m	eleven, <i>a.</i>		<i>pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>
zab·m	seven, <i>a.</i>	pras	{ press, <i>s.</i> and <i>v.</i>
lan	land, <i>s.</i>		<i>pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>
sak·un·an·	second-hand, <i>a.</i>	dees·tras·	distress, <i>s.</i>
bran	{ bran, <i>s.</i>	puurnsas·	princess, <i>s.</i>
	brand, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	yas	yes, <i>ad.</i>
stran(d	strand, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zas	{ says, cess, <i>s.</i> , as-
stan(d	stand, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		sess, <i>v.</i>
van	fan, van, <i>s.</i>	tas(t	test, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
wan	wan, <i>a.</i>	vas	vest, <i>s.</i>
zan(d	sand	was(t	west, <i>s.</i>
sak·un	second, <i>a.</i> and <i>v.</i>	kwas	inquest, <i>s.</i>
rab·ēen	robin, <i>s.</i>	lat·ēes	lettuce, <i>s.</i>
dag·ēen	fag end, <i>s.</i>	mangks	amongst, <i>prep.</i>
stan·ēen	standing, <i>s.</i>	naks	next, <i>a.</i>
rak·n·ēen	reckoning, <i>s.</i>	taks	text, <i>s.</i>
las·ēen	lesson, <i>s.</i>	vaks	vex, <i>v.</i>
rak·n	reckon, <i>v.</i>	strav·igūns	extravagance, <i>s.</i>
lak·shūn	election, <i>s.</i>	skan·ūlūs	scandalous, <i>a.</i>
drat·n	threaten, <i>v.</i>	bat	bet, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
prai·sap	precept, <i>s.</i>	lat	let, <i>v.</i>
bag·ūr	beggar, <i>s.</i>	slat	slate, <i>s.</i>
ang·kichūr	handkerchief, <i>s.</i>	plat	plot, <i>s.</i>
vadh·ūr	feather, <i>s.</i>	nat	knot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
wadh·ūr	weather, <i>s.</i>	pat	pet, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
aj·ūr	hedger, <i>s.</i>	spat	spit, <i>v.</i>
draj·ūr	dredger, <i>s.</i>	drat	threat, <i>s.</i>
dan·jūr	danger, <i>s.</i>	wat	{ wet, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>
stran·jūr	stranger, <i>s.</i>		whet, <i>v.</i>
sad·lūr	saddler, <i>s.</i>	kyat	cat, <i>s.</i>
bat·r, bad·r·	better, <i>a.</i>	vranch·-nit	{ French-nut =
lat·ūr	letter, <i>s.</i>		walnut, <i>s.</i>
zat·ūr	setter, <i>s.</i>	plant*	plant, <i>s.</i>

2. Long AA=aa.

This long vowel is frequently nasalized slightly, but not constantly, hence the nasalization is not marked. It never exceeds, seldom even approaches, the American or South German nasalization of this vowel. Occasionally the vowel was made much thinner, approaching [ä'] = (aah). These cases are indicated by * as in list 1. The distinction was not marked enough to throw the words into a separate list.—A. J. E.

aa	ah! <i>interj.</i>	baa'k*	back, <i>s.</i>
baa	baa! <i>interj.</i>	slaa'k*	slack, <i>a.</i>
zaa	saw, <i>s.</i>	naa'k*	knock, <i>v. and s.</i>
aa'rb	herb, <i>s.</i>	traa'k*	track, <i>v. and s.</i>
vaa'lb	valve, <i>s.</i>		tract, <i>s.</i>
sùep'aarb	superb, <i>a.</i>	kaun'traa'k*	contract, <i>v. and s.</i>
vaa'rb	verb, <i>s.</i>	paa'k*	pack, <i>v. and s.</i>
draa'd	drew, <i>v. pret.</i>	zaa'k*	sack, <i>s.</i>
ù-maa'sukree'd	massacred, <i>p.p.</i>	aa'l	all, <i>s.</i>
aa'rd	hard, <i>a.</i>	baa'l	bald, <i>a., ball, s.</i>
kyaa'rd	card, <i>s.</i>	puy'baa'l	piebald, <i>a.</i>
gyaa'rd	guard, <i>v. and s.</i>	smaa'l	small, <i>a.</i>
yaa'rd	yard, <i>v. and s.</i>	kraa'l	crawl, <i>s.</i>
maa'lurd	mallard, <i>s.</i>	skraa'l	crawl
oa'pm aa'rtud	openhearted, <i>a.</i>		scrawl, <i>v. and s.</i>
gaa's-lée	} ghastly, <i>a.</i>	waa'l	wall, <i>v. and s.</i>
gyaa'alée		skwaa'l	squall, <i>s.</i>
aa'f, aa'v	half, <i>s.</i>	vaa'l	fall, <i>v. and s.</i>
draa'f	draught, <i>s.</i>	faa'rshn-ubl	fashionable, <i>a.</i>
laa'f	lath, <i>s., loft, s.</i>	aa'rubl	arable, <i>a.</i>
saa'f	safe, <i>a.</i>	paa'rubl	parable, <i>s.</i>
staa'f	staff, <i>s.</i>	maa'rdl	marl, <i>s.</i>
aa'rch	arch, <i>s.</i>	snaa'rdl	snarl, <i>v.</i>
saa'rch	search, <i>v. and s.</i>	paa'al	parcel, <i>s.</i>
aa'sh	harsh, <i>a.</i>	vraa'al	wrestle, <i>v.</i>
fraa'sh, vraa'sh	fresh, <i>a.</i>	baa'tl	beetle, <i>s. (mal-let)</i>
aa'rch	ash, <i>s.</i>		
smaa'rch	smash, <i>v. and s.</i>	haa'rtikl	article, <i>s.</i>
daa'rch	dash, <i>v. and s.</i>	maa'rvl	marble, <i>s.</i>
gaa'rch	gash, <i>v. and s.</i>	faa'r-wuul	farewell, <i>s. and interj.</i>
laa'rch	lash, <i>v. and s.</i>		
klaa'rch	clash, <i>v. and s.</i>	laa'm*	lamb, <i>s.</i>
vlaa'rch	flesh, <i>s.</i>	daa'm*	damn, <i>v.</i>
naa'rch	nesh (soft), <i>a.</i>	chaa'm*	champ, chew, <i>v.</i>
traa'rch	trash, <i>s.</i>	kaa'pm*	captain, <i>s.</i>
saa'rch	sash, <i>s.</i>	waa'rm	warm, <i>a.</i>
faa'th	faith, <i>s.</i>	faa'rdn	} farthing
klaa'th	cloth, <i>s.</i>	vaa'rdn	
paa'trij	partridge, <i>s.</i>	shaa'mlin	shambling, <i>a.</i>
vaa'rij	verge, <i>s.</i>	yaa'rlin	yearling, <i>a.</i>
saa'rij	serge, <i>s.</i>	laa'rnin	learning, <i>s.</i>
paa'sij	passage, <i>s.</i>	saa'rtin	certain, <i>a.</i>

2. Long AA=aa.—continued.

laa'rn	learn, <i>v.</i>	laans*	lance, <i>s.</i>
paa'sn	parson, <i>s.</i>	saa'rs	sauce, <i>s.</i>
kunsaa'rnin	concerning	aa'rus	harvest, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
Baa'nün	Bampton	aa't	{ hat, <i>s.</i>
Taa'nün	Taunton		{ hit, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
paa'snup	parsnip, <i>s.</i>	baa't	bat, <i>s.</i>
aa'dur	{ after, <i>ad.</i> and	klaa't	clod, <i>s.</i>
	<i>prep.</i>	plaa't	plot, <i>s.</i>
kyaa'r	carry, <i>v.</i>	faa't	fat, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>
saa'r	serve, <i>v.</i>	braa't	brought, <i>v. pret.</i>
vaa'r, vaa'rdur	far, further, <i>a.</i>	ü-braa't	brought, <i>p.p.</i>
smaa'ldur	smaller, <i>a.</i>	flaa't	flat, <i>a.</i>
paa'ldur	parlour, <i>s.</i>	slaa't	slate, <i>s.</i>
dhaa'chur*	thatcher, <i>s.</i>	maa't	mat, <i>s.</i>
straa'chur*	stretcher, <i>s.</i>	spaa't	spit, <i>v.</i>
paa'schur*	pasture, <i>s.</i>	raa't	rat, <i>s.</i>
faa'dhur	father, <i>s.</i>	spraa't	sprat, <i>s.</i>
faa'rmur	farmer, <i>s.</i>	hraa't	rot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
maa'rsur	mercier, <i>s.</i>	traa't	trot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tai'saa'rsur	{ tea-saucer, <i>s.</i>	maa'lt	malt, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tai'saa'sur		zaa'lt	salt, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
aa'tur	after, <i>ad.</i>	aa'nt	{ have not, has
aa'ltur	halter, <i>s.</i>		{ not, <i>v.</i> aunt, <i>s.</i>
zaa'ltur	salter, <i>s.</i>	kyaa'nt	cannot
daa'rtur	daughter, <i>s.</i>	saa'rmunt	sermon, <i>s.</i>
maa'lstur	maltster, <i>s.</i>	aa'rt	heart, art, <i>s.</i>
alaa'vur	alaver, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	daa'rt	dart, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
zaa'yur	sawyer, <i>s.</i>	faa'rt	fart, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
gyaa's	gas, <i>s.</i>	kaa'rt	cart, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kaa's*	{ cask, <i>s.</i>	swëet'aa'rt	sweet-heart, <i>s.</i>
	{ cast, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	staa'rt	start, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
laa's(t*	last, <i>a.</i>	maa'r'kut	market, <i>s.</i>
blaa's(t*	blast, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	saa'lut	salad, <i>s.</i>
maa's(t*	mast, <i>s.</i>	aa'v	have, <i>v.</i> half, <i>s.</i>
paa's*	past, <i>a.</i>	kaa'v	{ calf, <i>s.</i>
ü-paa's*	passed, <i>p.p.</i>	ky'aa'v	{ nerve, <i>s.</i>
saa's*	sauce, <i>s.</i>	n'aarv	{ reserve, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
vaa's*	vast, <i>a.</i>	rai'saa'rv	{ starve, <i>v.</i>
flaa's*	flask, <i>s.</i>	staa'rv	{ observe, <i>s.</i>
taa's*	task, <i>s.</i>	bzaa'rv	{ arrow, <i>s.</i>
jaa'rndëes*	jaundice, <i>s.</i>	aa'ru'	{ harrow, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
raa'k'lëes*	auricula, <i>s.</i>	aa'tur-wurdz	afterwards, <i>ad.</i>
daans*	dance, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	spaa'rtikulz	spectacles, <i>s.</i>
chaans*	chance, <i>s.</i>		

3. Short AA=a.

The following list has been separated from No. 2. It is possible that more words from that list should have been included in this. The long and short

3. Short AA=a.—*continued.*

vowels are not sharply distinguished in the dialect. Many may be considered rather of middle length than either long or short. It must be therefore only understood that the words in this list seemed to me to have a shorter sound than those in the preceding one. In the words marked * the sound of the vowel seemed more like [a']=(ah).—A. J. E.

vrach·ēd	wretched, <i>a.</i>	traa·kshun	{ traction, <i>s.</i>
dee·sjaas·tid	digested, <i>p.p.</i>	aap	{ attraction, <i>s.</i>
gyaal·ēe	gallow, <i>v.</i>	daap	hap, <i>s.</i> happen, <i>v.</i>
shaamēe	chamois, <i>s.</i>	flaap, vlaap	dap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
snaach	notch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	klaap	flap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
dhaach	thatch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	slaap, zlaap	clap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
Maal·ēe	Molly	snaap	slap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
daam·ij	damage, <i>s.</i>	hraap	snap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
maar·ij	marriage	draap	rap, <i>v.</i>
gyaal	gall, <i>s.</i>	kraap	drop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kyaal	call, <i>v.</i>	traap	crop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
skaal	{ scald, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	skraap	trap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
skyaal		straap	scrap, <i>s.</i>
Maal	Moll, <i>s.</i>	vraap	strop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
skyaaf·l	scaffold, <i>s.</i>	staap	wrap, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
snaaf·l	snaffle, <i>s.</i>	gyaap	step, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
draas·hl	threshold, <i>s.</i>	gaap	{ gape, <i>v.</i> gap, <i>s.</i>
taak·l	tackle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	yaap	
skaam·l	scamble, <i>s.</i>	mēe·aap·	yelp, <i>v.</i>
raam·bl	ramble, <i>v.</i>	aaks*	mayhap
aap·l	apple, <i>s.</i>	baal·uns*	ask, <i>v.</i>
graav·l	gravel, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	aaps*	balance, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
naav·l	navel, <i>s.</i>	klaap·s*	hasp, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
traav·l	travel, <i>v.</i>	praap·s*	clasp, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
vraak·sn	{ wrexen, <i>s.</i>	yaamut	perhaps, <i>ad.</i>
		dhaachez	emmet, <i>s.</i>
	(rushes)		vetches, <i>s.</i>

4. Diphthongal Fracture AA·ŭ=áu'.

Although [aaw]=(áu) does not seem to be a proper diphthong in the dialect, where [uw, aew]=(əu, æu) are the usual forms, yet the action of the following [ŭr]=(ʳ) seems to generate it.—A. J. E.

aaw·ŭr	our, <i>a.</i> hour, <i>s.</i>	taaw·ŭr	tour, <i>s.</i>
faaw·ŭr	four, <i>a.</i> emph.	vaaw·ŭr	four, <i>a.</i>
flaaw·ŭr	flower, <i>s.</i>	dēevaaw·ŭr	devour, <i>a.</i>
vlaaw·ŭr	flour, <i>s.</i>	zaaw·ŭr	sour
paaw·ŭr	pour, <i>a.</i>		

5. Diphthong AA·Y=ái.

This diphthong is very distinctive of Western English, where it is always kept separate from [uy, u'y, uuy]=(ə'i, eei, æ'i). The first element is sometimes slightly nasal, see No. 2. In the present list most of the words are French,

5. Diphthong AA·Y=*ai*.—*continued*.

though some, as *aye, lay, slay, dray, gray, way, sway, eight*, are Anglosaxon. The word *way* is also, and more usually, [*wai*] = (*wæ*), similarly for *day, say, may* v., which have [*aay*] = (*aas*) in some other Western dialects.—A. J. E.

aa·yd	aïd, <i>v. and s.</i>	raa·ylēn	railing, <i>s.</i>
laa·yd	laid, <i>v.</i>	daa·yn	deign, <i>v.</i>
maa·yd	maid, <i>s.</i>	chaa·yn	chain, <i>v. and s.</i>
ū-paa·yd	paid, <i>p.p.</i>	faa·yn	feign, <i>v.</i>
staa·yd	staid, <i>a.</i>	plaa·yn	{ plain, <i>s. and a.</i>
baa·ylēe	bailif, <i>s.</i>		{ complain, <i>v.</i>
daa·yntēe	dainty, <i>s.</i>	maa·ya	main (very), <i>ad.</i>
plaa·yntēe	plaintiff, <i>s.</i>	paa·yn	pain, <i>s.</i>
plaa·yg	plague, <i>v. and s.</i>	graa·yn	grain, <i>v. and s.</i>
faa·yth	faith, <i>s.</i>	hrraa·yn	{ rain, <i>v. and s.</i>
aa·yt-th	eighth, <i>a.</i>		{ reign, <i>v. and s.</i>
aa·y	aye	traa·yn	train, <i>v. and s.</i>
baa·y	bay, <i>s.</i>	straa·yn	{ strain, <i>v. and s.</i>
laa·y	lay, <i>v.</i>		{ distract, <i>v.</i>
bumbaa·y	by and bye, <i>ad.</i>	vaa·yn	vain, <i>a. vein, s.</i>
faa·y!	faith! <i>interj.</i>	draa·yn	drain, <i>v. and s.</i>
gaa·y	gay, <i>a.</i>	spraa·yn	sprain, <i>v. and s.</i>
haa·y	hay, <i>s.</i>	gwaa·yn	going, <i>part.</i>
flaa·y	flay, <i>v.</i>	kwaa·yn	quoin, <i>s.</i>
klaa·y	clay, <i>s.</i>	taa·yldur	tailor, <i>s.</i>
plaa·y	play, <i>v. and s.</i>	kwaa·yntuns	acquaintance, <i>s.</i>
slaa·y	slay, <i>v.</i>	maa·yntnūne	maintenance, <i>s.</i>
mizlaa·y	mislay, <i>v.</i>	aa·yt	eight, <i>s.</i>
splaa·y	splay, <i>a.</i>	faa·ynt	faint, <i>a. and v.</i>
dees·plaa·y	display, <i>v. and s.</i>	plaa·ynt	{ plaint, <i>com-</i>
Maa·y	May, <i>s.</i>		{ plaint, <i>s.</i>
paa·y	pay, <i>v. and s.</i>	paa·ynt	paint, <i>v. and s.</i>
hrraa·y	ray, <i>s. array, v.</i>	saa·ynt	saint, <i>s.</i>
draa·y	dray, <i>s.</i>	taa·ynt	taint, <i>s.</i>
fraa·y	fray, <i>s.</i>	kwaa·ynt	{ quaint, <i>a.</i>
graa·y	gray, <i>a.</i>		{ acquaint, <i>v.</i>
praa·y	pray, <i>v.</i>	straa·yt	straight, <i>a.</i>
spraa·y	spry, <i>a. spray, s.</i>	raa·yz	raise, <i>v.</i>
straa·y	stray, <i>v.</i>	praa·yz	praise, <i>v. and s.</i>
waa·y	way, <i>s. why</i>	staa·yz	stays, <i>s.</i>
kwaa·y	away, <i>ad.</i>	paa·yinz	pains, <i>s.</i>
zwa·y	sway, <i>v. and s.</i>	braa·yinz	brains, <i>s.</i>
aa·ym	aim, <i>v. and s.</i>	graa·yinz	grains, <i>s.</i>
klaa·ym	claim, <i>v. and s.</i>	hrraa·yinz	reins, rains, <i>s.</i>
paa·ylēn	paling, <i>s.</i>		

6. Diphthong AAY=*ai*.

Mr. Elworthy had considered this list as belonging to [*a'y*] = (*ah'i*), which is very nearly the same as [*uy*] = (*e'i*), No. 40. With the exception of those words

6. Diphthong AAY=ái.—*continued.*

ending in *sh*, as *dash*, where the sound was clearly [aay]=(ái), it may be doubtful which of the three sounds [aay, a'y, uy]=(ái, áhi, ó'i) is really said, and some of the words will be found as [uy]=(ó'i). Possibly there is much variety in actual use. But none of the words have [aay]=(ái), No. 5.—A. J. E.

baay	buy, <i>v.</i> bye, <i>v.</i>	klaaysh	clash, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
aay	eye, <i>s.</i> high, <i>a.</i>	smaaysh	smash, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
faay	fie(faith), <i>interj.</i>	naaysh	nesh, <i>a.</i>
dhaay	thigh, <i>s.</i>	raaysh	rash, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>
laay	lie, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	saaysh	sash, <i>s.</i>
maay	my (emphatic)	traaysh	trash, <i>s.</i>
paay	pie, <i>s.</i>	saay'dur	cider, <i>s.</i>
waay	why?	smaayt	smite, <i>v.</i>
daaysh	dash, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	saayz	size, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
gaaysh	gash, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	praayz	prize, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
laaysh	lash, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		

7. Diphthongal Fracture AA·Yŭ=ái'.

The fracture seems to have been introduced by the following [l] or [r], but it is quite distinct.—A. J. E.

aa·yŭl	ail, <i>v.</i>	saa·yŭl	sail, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
faa·yŭl	fail, <i>v.</i>	taa·yŭl	tail, <i>s.</i>
haa·yŭl	hail, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vaa·yŭl	veil, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
maa·yŭl	mail, <i>s.</i>	waa·yŭl	wail, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
naa·yŭl	nail, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kwaa·yŭl	quail, <i>s.</i>
paa·yŭl	pail, <i>s.</i>	praa·yŭrz	prayers, <i>s.</i>
raa·yŭl	rail, <i>s.</i>	staa·yŭrz	stairs, <i>s.</i>
fraa·yŭl	frail, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>		

8. Short AE=æ.

This short sound is very much broader than my sound of *e* in *bet*, *bed*, =[e]=(é), but whether it is always as broad as the French *é*, *e*, *est*, and German *ü*, is doubtful. It does not occur long, except in the form of a fracture [æ·ŭ]=(æ') No. 9. Several words which were originally included in another list, as having [e']=(æ), have been introduced here at my suggestion, and are marked *.—A. J. E.

daed	did, <i>v.</i>	draef(t*)	drift, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
laek·wæd	liquid, <i>s.</i>	zaef(t*)	sift, <i>v.</i>
maed	might, <i>v.</i>	staef	stiff, <i>a.</i>
ŭmaed	amid, <i>ad.</i>	baeg	big, <i>a.</i>
voræd	forehead, <i>s.</i>	paeg	pig, <i>s.</i>
oks·æed ¹	hogshead, <i>s.</i>	kaech	catch, <i>v.</i>
mael·tichùed	multitude, <i>s.</i>	paeth	pith, <i>s.</i>
klaef·tid	cloven, <i>a.</i> and <i>p.p.</i>	vraeth	wreath, <i>s.</i>
klaef	cliff, <i>s.</i> cleave, <i>v.</i>	waeth	worth, <i>a.</i>
zlaef(t*)	slack, <i>v.</i> (lime)	yaeth	heath, hearth, <i>s.</i>

¹ The same in all compounds of *head*.

8. Short AE=E.—*continued.*

waet·th	width, <i>s.</i>	daeds	didst
ēejaek·	{ object, <i>v.</i>	maeds	midst, <i>s.</i>
maek	{ project, <i>v.</i>	Naek·lēes	Nicholas
praek	make, <i>v.</i>	zaes	says
skaek	prick, <i>v.</i>	laes	list, <i>s.</i>
laengk*	skulk, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	maes*	{ miss, <i>v.</i>
staengk	link, <i>s.</i>	umaes*	{ missed, <i>p.p.</i>
aesk	stink, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	an·raes*	{ mist, <i>s.</i>
dael	hearse, <i>s.</i>	aeks	{ amiss, <i>ad.</i>
yael	dull, <i>a.</i>	haeks	{ wrist, <i>s.</i>
paek·l	eel, <i>s.</i>	vlaeks	axe, <i>s.</i>
praek·l	pickle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	faeks	flax, <i>s.</i>
traek·l	prickle, <i>s.</i>	maeks	fix, <i>v.</i>
aeb·m	trickle, <i>v.</i>	ū·maeks	mix, <i>v.</i>
laeb·m	heaven, <i>s.</i>	aun·maeks	mixed, <i>p.p.</i>
zaeb·m	eleven, <i>a.</i>	waeks	unmixed, <i>a.</i>
laes·ūm	seven, <i>a.</i>	twæks*	wax, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
daed·n	lithesome, <i>a.</i>	klaet*	betwixt, <i>prep.</i>
bai·d·raed·n	did not, <i>v.</i>	waet*	clot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
taed·n	bed-ridden, <i>a.</i>	waest*	wilt, <i>v.</i>
gaedh·urēen	'tis not	aent*	worst, <i>a.</i>
saes·turn	gathering, <i>s.</i>	laent*	hint, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
vlaek·sn	cistern, <i>s.</i>	klaent*	lint, <i>s.</i>
hraek·sn	flaxen, <i>a.</i>	vlaent*	clench, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
vraek·sn	{ rushes, <i>s.</i>	maent*	flint, <i>s.</i>
waek·sūn	waxen, <i>a.</i>	staent*	mint, <i>a.</i>
aemp, aemt	empty, <i>v.</i>	faat	stint, <i>s.</i>
yaef·ur	heifer, <i>s.</i>	au·rohaet	fit, <i>a.</i> and <i>v.</i>
vael·gur	vulgar, <i>a.</i>	shaet	orchard, <i>s.</i>
maek·schur	mixture, <i>s.</i>	tangkaet	shalt, <i>v.</i>
aedh·ur	hither, <i>a. ad.</i>	pūor·ēemaet }	tankard
gaedh·ur	gather, <i>v.</i>	pūol·ēemaet }	pyramid, <i>s.</i>
dhaedh·ur	thither	taet	teat, <i>s.</i>
waedh·ur	wither, <i>v.</i>	zwaet	sweat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
shaeft·ur	shifter, <i>s.</i>	yaet	heat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
raef·tur*	rafter, <i>s.</i>	sækst	sixth, <i>a.</i>
plaes·tur*	plaster, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	taenūt	tenon, <i>s.</i> tenant
zaes·tur*	sister, <i>s.</i>	faat·lʒ	virtuals, <i>s.</i>
baet·ur*	bitter, <i>a.</i>	waets	oats, <i>s.</i>
faat·ur*	fitter, <i>s.</i>		
laet·ur*	litter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		

9. Fracture AE·ū=Æ'.

This fracture is very distinctly and clearly made. The vowel is generally long, as here marked, occasionally it seemed to become short, but I have preserved Mr.

9. Fracture AE·ü=EE'.—*continued.*

Elworthy's appreciation. Observe the insertion of [r] in the termination *-ation*, always called *-[ae·ürshun]* = *-(æ'r'shan)*.—A. J. E.

ae·ü	have, <i>v.</i>	lae·üdl	ladle, <i>s.</i>
bae·üb	babe, <i>s.</i>	krae·üdl	cradle, <i>s.</i>
ae·üji'd	aged, <i>a.</i>	lae·ügl	label, <i>s.</i>
nae·ükid	naked, <i>a.</i>	ae·ül	{ ale, <i>s.</i> heal, <i>v.</i>
bae·üd	bad, <i>a.</i>		{ heel, <i>v.</i>
fae·üd	fade, <i>v.</i>	bae·ül	{ bale, <i>s.</i>
lae·üd	lade, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		{ bail, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mae·üd	made, <i>v.</i>	gae·ül	gale, <i>s.</i>
spae·üd	spade, <i>s.</i>	jae·ül	jail, <i>s.</i>
trae·üd	trade, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	mae·ül	male, <i>s.</i> meal, <i>s.</i>
wae·üd	wade, <i>v.</i>	pae·ül	{ pale, <i>a.</i>
swae·ürd	{ swore		{ appeal, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
	{ sware, <i>v. prot.</i>	hrae·ül	real, <i>a.</i>
krae·üz(d)	crazy, <i>a.</i>	sae·ül	seal, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
bae·übëe	baby, <i>s.</i>	tae·ül	tale, <i>s.</i>
tae·üdëe	potatoe, <i>s.</i>	stae·ül	stale, <i>a.</i> steal, <i>v.</i>
Dae·üvëe	David, Davy, <i>s.</i>	vae·ül	{ vale, veal, <i>s.</i>
lae·üzëe	lazy, <i>a.</i>		{ veil, <i>s.</i>
sae·üf	safe, <i>a.</i>	wae·ül	whale, <i>s.</i>
bae·üdih	bathe, <i>v.</i>	zae·ül	sale, <i>s.</i>
rae·ünj	range, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	trae·ük-l	treacle, <i>s.</i>
grae·ünj	grange, <i>s.</i>	bae·üm	balm, <i>s.</i>
pae·üj	page, <i>s.</i>	fae·üm	fame, <i>s.</i>
rae·üj	rage, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	lae·üm	lame, <i>a.</i>
stae·üj	stage, <i>s.</i>	blae·üm	blame, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
zae·üj	sage, <i>s.</i>	vlae·üm	flame, <i>s.</i>
ae·übrikauk	apricot, <i>s.</i>	pae·üm	palm, <i>v.</i>
ae·ük	ache, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	frae·üm	frame, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
bae·ük	bake, <i>v.</i>	tae·üm	tame, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>
shae·ük	shake	zae·üplëen	sapling, <i>s.</i>
lae·ük	lake, <i>s.</i>	bae·ükkn	bacon, <i>s.</i>
blae·üt, blae·ük	bleat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	ae·ün	hand, <i>s.</i> Anne
mae·ük	make, <i>v.</i>	bae·ün	ban, <i>s.</i>
rae·ük	rake, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	lae·ün	lane, <i>s.</i>
brae·ük	brake, <i>s.</i>	plae·ün	plane, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
krae·ük	creak, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	mae·ün	man, <i>s.</i>
strae·ük	streak, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	pae·ün	pan, <i>s.</i>
nae·üm-saeük	namesake, <i>s.</i>	vae·ün	vane, <i>s.</i>
stae·ük	stake, steak, <i>s.</i>	zit·iae·ürshun	situation, <i>s.</i>
wae·ük	wake, <i>v.</i>	rai·lae·ürshun	relation, <i>s.</i>
kwaë·ük	quake, <i>v.</i>	oarae·ürshun	oration, <i>s.</i>
ae·übl	able, <i>a.</i>	jinirae·ürshun	generation, <i>s.</i>
fae·übl	fable, <i>s.</i>	imëetae·ürshun	imitation, <i>s.</i>
tae·übl	table, <i>s.</i>	grae·üp	grape, <i>s.</i>
zae·ülubl	saleable, <i>a.</i>	hrae·üp	rape, <i>s.</i> rasp, <i>v.</i>

9 Fracture AE·ū=EE'.—*continued.*

skrae·ūp	scrape, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	nae·ūmlēes	nameless, <i>a.</i>
tae·ūp	tape, <i>s.</i>	trae·ūps	trape, <i>v.</i>
zae·ūp	sap, <i>s.</i>	ae·ūs	{ ace, <i>s.</i> haste, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lae·ūbur	labour, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		
fae·ūr	fair, <i>a.</i>	bae·ūs	baste, <i>v.</i> base, <i>a.</i>
rae·ūr	rear, <i>v.</i>	dae·ūs	dace, <i>s.</i>
tae·ūr	tear, <i>v.</i>	fae·ūs	face, <i>s.</i>
vae·ūr	fair, <i>s.</i>	lae·ūs	lace, <i>s.</i>
kwaē·ūr	queer, <i>a.</i>	plae·ūs	place, <i>s.</i>
ae·ūr	air, hair, hare.	dees·plae·ūs	displace, <i>v.</i>
bae·ūr	bear, bare, <i>v.</i> <i>a.</i>	mae·ūs	{ mace, <i>s.</i> (oak) mast, <i>s.</i>
dae·ūr	dare, <i>v.</i>		
fae·ūr	fare, <i>s.</i> fair, <i>s.</i>	pae·ūs, pae·ūz	pace, <i>s.</i>
dhæ·ūr	there, <i>ad.</i>	spae·ūs	space, <i>s.</i>
blae·ūr	blare, <i>v.</i>	brae·ūs	brace, <i>s.</i>
glæ·ūr	glare, <i>v.</i>	grae·ūs	grace, <i>s.</i>
vlae·ūr	flare, <i>v.</i> flaw, <i>v.</i> <i>s.</i>	dees·grae·ūs	disgrace, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mae·ūr	mare, <i>s.</i>	trae·ūs	trace, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
pae·ūr	pair, <i>s.</i>	tae·ūs	taste, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
rae·ūr	rear, <i>v.</i> rare, <i>a.</i>	wae·ūs	waste, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
drae·ūr	drear, <i>a.</i>	bae·ūn(t)	baint (are not)
hrae·ūr	rare, <i>a.</i> emph.	pae·ūrt	part, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tae·ūr	tear, tare, <i>v.</i> <i>s.</i>	ū·pae·ūrt	apart, <i>ad.</i>
stae·ūr	stair, <i>s.</i> stare, <i>v.</i>	ae·ūt	hate, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
wae·ūr	{ were, aware, where, whether, wear	dae·ūt	date, <i>s.</i>
		fae·ūt	fate, <i>s.</i>
zwaē·ūr	swear, <i>v.</i>	nav·igae·ūt	navigate, <i>s.</i>
ūzwaē·ūr	sworn, <i>p.p.</i>	lae·ūt	late, <i>a.</i>
stae·ūjur	stager, <i>s.</i>	plae·ūt	plate, <i>s.</i>
ae·ūkur	acre, <i>s.</i>	alae·ūt	alate, <i>s.</i>
bae·ūkur	baker, <i>s.</i>	mae·ūt	mate, <i>s.</i>
mae·ūkur	maker, <i>s.</i>	pae·ūt	pate, <i>s.</i>
tae·ūkur	taker, <i>s.</i>	rae·ūt	rate, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kwaē·ūkur	quaker, <i>s.</i>	grae·ūt	grate, <i>s.</i>
dae·ūlur	dealer, <i>s.</i>	prae·ūt	prate, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
stae·ūlur	stealer, <i>s.</i>	stae·ūt	state, <i>s.</i>
Ac·ūpūr	April, <i>s.</i>	vae·ūt	vat, <i>s.</i>
pae·ūpur	paper, <i>s.</i>	lae·ūv	lathe, <i>s.</i>
skrae·ūpur	scraper, <i>s.</i>	krae·ūv	crave, <i>v.</i>
krai·ae·ūtur	creator, <i>s.</i>	sae·ūv	save, <i>v.</i>
nae·ūtur	nature, <i>s.</i>	stae·ūv	stave, <i>s.</i>
prae·ūtur	prater, <i>s.</i>	wae·ūv	wave, <i>v.</i> not <i>s.</i>
mae·ūstur	master, <i>s.</i>	flae·ūmz	flames, <i>s.</i>
fae·ūvur	favour, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dae·ūz	daze, <i>v.</i>
Sae·ūvyur	Saviour, <i>s.</i>	blae·ūz	blaze, <i>s.</i>
blae·ūm-lēes	blameless, <i>a.</i>	brae·ūz	braze, <i>v.</i>
		krae·ūz	crack, <i>v.</i> craze, <i>v.</i>

10. Diphthong AEW=æ'u.

This seemed to me fairly [aew]=(æ'u), though the sound occasionally approached to [aw]=(æ'u). Dr. Murray, however, seems to have heard an additional vowel and a long first element as [æ'uw]=(æ'æu), giving the diphthong [uw]=(æ'u), preceded by [æ]=(æ), which glided into it. Whenever the diphthong [aew]=(æ'u) is much lengthened, a similar effect may be perceived, as in the common Norfolk *cow*, and, very nearly, in the vulgar London *cow*. Hence Dr. Murray's appreciation probably arose from the slow enunciation of the single words. The normal sound for these words in the dialect is evidently [uw]=(æ'u), No. 38.—A. J. E.

baewd (before a vowel)	} about, <i>prep.</i>	aun'saew'n	unsound, <i>a.</i>
baewt		vaewn	found, <i>v. prot.</i>
laewd	loud, <i>a.</i>	ūvaewn	found, <i>p.p.</i>
klaewd	cloud, <i>s.</i>	waewn	wound, <i>v. and s.</i>
shraewd	shroud, <i>s.</i>	zaewn	sound, <i>v. and s.</i>
kraewd	crowd, <i>s.</i>	udhaew'tun	without, <i>prep.</i>
praewd	proud, <i>a.</i>	kaew'kumur	cucumber, <i>s.</i>
baewn	bound, <i>v. and s.</i>	kaew'ntur	} encounter, <i>v.</i>
aewn	hound, <i>v. and s.</i>	kaewnt	count, <i>v.</i>
daewn	down, <i>s. prep.ad.</i>	aewt	out, <i>pr.</i>
aup'm-daew'n	upsidedown, <i>ad.</i>	gaewt	go out
paewn	pound, <i>v. and s.</i>	udhaew't	without, <i>prep.</i>
kaum'paew'n	compound, <i>v.</i>	raewt	rut, <i>s.</i>
raewn	{ round, <i>a.</i>	straewt	strut, <i>v. and s.</i>
	{ around, <i>ad.</i>	aew	how, <i>ad.</i>
braewn	brown, <i>a.</i>	kaew	cow, <i>s.</i>
graewn	ground, <i>s.</i>	plaew	plough, <i>v. and s.</i>
kraewn	crown, <i>v. and s.</i>	zaumaew	somehow, <i>ad.</i>

11. Diphthongal Fracture AEW·ū=æ'u'.

Before *i* an additional fracture is introduced.—A. J. E.

aew·ūl	owl, <i>s.</i>	graew·ūl	growl, <i>v. and s.</i>
shaew·ūl	shovel, <i>v. and s.</i>	praew·ūl	prowl, <i>v.</i>

12. Long AI=ee.

There was no tendency towards [ai'y]=(ee), and I at first appreciated the sound as [ē]=(ee). It was certainly nearer that sound than the London vowel with its vanish (ee'). This list is made up of many separate parts. 1) the original long *e* retained as in *head* [ai'd]=(eed), 2) an original short *e* lengthened as *egg* [ai'g]=(eeg), 3) an original short *i* appreciated perhaps as short *e* and then lengthened as *pig* [pai'g]=(peeg), 4) an original [aa'y]=(aa) "junctured" into [āi] as in literary English, as *way* [wai']=(wee), 5) several words which have now [uy]=(e'i) in literary English, and used to have [ee]=(ii) or (ikh), as *slight*, *lining*, *lightning*, *fright*, *light*, *night*, *sight*, *drive*, *knife*, *five*, and which are rather strong evidence of the reality of that older pronunciation.—A. J. E.

splai'ndēed	splendid, <i>a.</i>	ū-ai'd	ahead, <i>ad.</i>
ai'd	head, <i>s.</i>	bai'd	bead, <i>s.</i> , bed, <i>s.</i>

12. Long AI=ee.—continued.

vurbai'd	forbid, <i>v.</i>	tai'	tea, <i>s.</i>
dai'd	dead, <i>a.</i>	{	way, <i>s</i> ; with, <i>prep.</i> , wo (to horses), <i>interj.</i>
lai'd	lead, <i>v.</i>		
maai' ydn-aid	maidenhead, <i>s.</i>	wai'	
plai'd	plead, <i>v.</i>	urn-āwai'	runaway, <i>a.</i>
mizlai'd	mislead, <i>v.</i>	wai'd wai'	wed (with), <i>v.</i>
brai'd	bread, <i>s.</i>	zai'	say
drai'd	dred, <i>v.</i>	lai'j	allege, <i>v.</i>
hrai'd	read, <i>v.</i>	spai'k	speak, <i>v.</i>
trai'd	traid, <i>v.</i>	wai'k	weak, <i>a.</i>
bai'dstai'd	bedstead, <i>s.</i>	rai'l	reel, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
nai't-urd	neatherd, <i>s.</i>	pai'nal	pencil, <i>s.</i>
benai'tud	benighted	ai'kl	equal, <i>a.</i>
dai'sunsēe	decency, <i>a.</i>	ai'vl	evil, <i>s.</i>
alai'tēē	slight, <i>a.</i>	ai'm	hem, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ai'g	egg, <i>s.</i>	drai'm	dream, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
bai'g	bag, <i>s.</i>	rai'm	ream, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
nai'g	egg, <i>s.</i>	krai'm	cream, <i>s.</i>
pai'g	pig, <i>s.</i>	skrai'm	scream, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ai'ch	each, <i>a.</i>	strai'm	stream, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
bai'ch	beach, <i>s.</i>	stai'm	steam, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lai'ch	leech, <i>s.</i>	ai'vm	even, <i>a.</i> and <i>ad.</i>
blai'ch	bleach, <i>v.</i>	ai'n	hen, <i>s.</i> , end, <i>s.</i>
pai'ch	peach, <i>s.</i>	bai'n	bend, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
spai'ch	speech, <i>s.</i>	Bai'n	Ben, <i>s.</i>
rai'ch	reach, <i>v.</i>	dai'n	den, <i>s.</i>
brai'ch	breach, <i>s.</i>	fai'n	offend, defend, <i>v.</i>
prai'ch	preach, <i>v.</i>	dhai'n	then, <i>a.</i>
bēesai'ch	beseech, <i>v.</i>	lai'n	lean, <i>v.</i>
tai'ch	teach, <i>v.</i>	blai'n	blind
ūtai'ch	taught, <i>p.p.</i>	glai'n	glean, <i>v.</i>
brai'dh	breathe, <i>v.</i>	{	men, <i>s.</i> mean, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i> mend, <i>v.</i> amend, <i>v.</i>
vrai'dh	wreath, <i>v.</i>		
{	leash, <i>s.</i> (three)	maai'n	
	leash, <i>s.</i> (a dog tether)	ae-ūmai'n	amen
lai'sh		pai'n	(writing-)pen, <i>s.</i>
{	teeth, <i>s.</i>	dēepai'n	depend, <i>v.</i>
	bay, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> (a dam), bee, <i>s.</i>	spai'n	spend, <i>v.</i>
tai'th, tai'f		ūspai'n	spent, <i>p.p.</i>
bai'		rai'n	rend, <i>v.</i>
dai'	day, <i>s.</i>	frai'n	friend, <i>s.</i>
uydai'	idea, <i>s.</i>	voar'ai'n	fore-end, <i>s.</i>
kai'	key, quay, <i>s.</i>	sai'n, zai'n	send, <i>v. pres. pret.</i>
lai'	lea, <i>s.</i> lay, <i>v.</i>	sai'n	seine, <i>s.</i>
plai'	plea, <i>s.</i>	tai'n	ten, <i>a.</i> tend, <i>v.</i>
{	sledge, <i>s.</i> , sleigh (part of a loom)	purtai'n	pretend, <i>v.</i>
		{	wen, <i>s.</i> wean, <i>v.</i> when, <i>ad.</i>
vlai'	flee, <i>s.</i>		
pai'	pea, <i>s.</i>	wai'n	

12. Long AI=*ee*.—*continued*.

kwai'n	{	quoin, <i>s.</i> (external angle)	fai'rdigrai's	verdigris, <i>s.</i>
ūzai'n		sent, <i>p.p.</i>	aam'burgrai's	amberggris, <i>s.</i>
bai'dēen		bedding, <i>s.</i>	prai's	priest, <i>s.</i>
wai'dēen		wedding, <i>s.</i>	dees'ai's	decease, <i>s.</i>
spai'kēen		speaking, <i>s.</i>	sai's	cease, <i>v.</i>
sail'ēen		ceiling, <i>s.</i>	fai'ns	{ defence, <i>s.</i> fence, c. and <i>s.</i>
ai'vmēen		evening, <i>s.</i>	mai'nz	{ offence, <i>s.</i> means, <i>s.</i>
lai'nēen		lining, <i>s.</i>	kumai'ne	amends, <i>s.</i>
lai'tnēen		lightning, <i>s.</i>	aekspai'ns	commence, <i>s.</i>
sai'mūn		seaman, <i>s.</i>	sai'ns	expense, <i>s.</i>
rai'zn		reason, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	purtai'ns	sense, <i>s.</i>
trai'zn		treason, <i>s.</i>	tai'nūns	pretence, <i>s.</i>
sai'zn		season, <i>s.</i>	ai't	attendanee, <i>s.</i>
lai'p		leap	ū'ai't	eat, <i>v.</i>
slai'p	{	sleep, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	bai't	ate, eaten, <i>p.p.</i>
zlai'p	{	slept, <i>prot.</i>	fai't	bite, <i>v.</i>
ūzlai'p	{	asleep, <i>a.</i> , slept, p.p.	chai't	fight, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ai'mp		hemp, <i>s.</i>	lai't	cheat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tai'mp		tempt, <i>v.</i>	blai't, blai'k	light, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
slai'ndūr		slender, <i>a.</i>	slai't	{ bleat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> sleet, <i>s.</i> slight, <i>a.</i> sleight, <i>s.</i>
mai'ndūr		mender, <i>a.</i>	kumplai't	complete, <i>a.</i>
tai'ndūr		tender, <i>a.</i>	mai't	meat, <i>s.</i>
purtai'ndūr		pretender, <i>s.</i>	nai't	night, <i>s.</i> neat, <i>a.</i>
zai'ndūr		sender, <i>s.</i>	pai't	peat, <i>s.</i>
ai'gur		eager, <i>a.</i>	sai't	{ seat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> sight, <i>s.</i> (large number)
sai'zhur		seizure, <i>s.</i>	dai'sai't	deceit, <i>s.</i>
spai'kur		speaker, <i>s.</i>	hrai'sai't	receipt, <i>s.</i>
fai'nsur		fencer, <i>s.</i>	trai't	treat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fai'tur		fighter, <i>s.</i>	strai't	street, <i>s.</i>
mai'tur		meter, <i>s.</i>	wai't	wheat, <i>s.</i>
sai'ntur		centre, <i>s.</i>	zai't	sight, <i>s.</i> (vision)
vai'ntur	{	venture, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	bai'nt	bent, <i>a.</i>
fai'vur		adventure, <i>a.</i>	lai'nt	lent, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i>
lai'vur		fever, <i>s.</i>	sūmai'nt	cement, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ai'dlēes	{	lever, <i>s.</i>	rai'pai'nt	repent, <i>v.</i>
ai'nlēes		headless, <i>a.</i>	rai'nt	rent, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
sai'nslēes		heedless, <i>a.</i>	tai'nt	tent, <i>v.</i>
pai'ntēes		endless, <i>a.</i>	vai'nt	vent, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ai's		senseless, <i>a.</i>	pūrvai'nt	prevent, <i>v.</i>
fai's		penhouse, <i>s.</i>	wai'nt	went, <i>v. prot.</i>
lai's	{	east, <i>s.</i> , yes, <i>ad.</i>	pūrzai'nt	present, <i>v.</i>
pai's		feast, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	ai'v	heave, <i>v.</i>
grai's		lease, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		
		least, <i>a.</i>		
		peace, <i>s.</i>		
		grease, <i>s.</i>		

12. Long AI=ee.—*continued.*

dai·v	dive, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	wai·v, wai·v·üd	wove, <i>pret.</i>
lai·v	leave, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	pai·stet	priests, <i>s. pl.</i>
ü-lai·v	left, <i>p.p.</i>	ai·z	{ ease, <i>s.</i> is, <i>v.</i> em-
bēlai·v	believe, <i>v.</i>		{ phatic.
kai·v	cleave, <i>v.</i>	dhai·z	these, <i>pr.</i>
nai·v	knife, <i>s.</i>	lai·z	lies, <i>s.</i>
drai·v	drive, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	tai·z	tease, <i>v.</i> it is, <i>v.</i>
rai·sai·v	receive, <i>v.</i>	plai·z	please, <i>v.</i>
vai·v	five, <i>a.</i>	pai·z	pease, <i>s.</i>
wai·v	weave, <i>v.</i>	sai·z	seize, <i>v.</i> size, <i>s.</i>

13. Long AO=oo.

Whether this list should not include all those marked [ɔa] = (oo), No. 25, or whether it should not be included in the latter, is rather doubtful. Many might esteem it the same as [au] = (aa), No. 15; but as Mr. Elworthy appreciated the difference, and in reading really made a slight difference, these words must be retained for further examination. In my first appreciation I considered all the words marked [oa] = (oo) to have [ao] = (oo).—A. J. E.

chao·r	chare, <i>v.</i>	ü-tao·rd	torn, <i>p.p.</i>
chao·rin	charing, <i>part.</i>	lao·th	loth, <i>a.</i>
sik·imaor	sycamore, <i>s.</i>	kao·l	coal, <i>s.</i>
stao·r	story, <i>s.</i>	snao·	{ snow, <i>s.</i> , dost
vao·r	furrow, <i>s.</i>		{ know?
vao·rlun	foreland, <i>s.</i>	avao·r	before, <i>ad.</i>
tao·rd	tore, <i>pret.</i>		

14. Fracture AO·ü=oo'.

It seemed to me that this fracture was really pronounced, and that this list really included that marked [oa·ü] = (oo') No. 27. Where the fracture is made by an added [ü] = (e) or (i), it generally deepens the preceding vowel in all dialects.—A. J. E.

blao·üd	blew, <i>pret.</i>	skao·ür	{ score, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
üblao·üd	blown, <i>p.p.</i>		{ scar, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
nao·üd	knew, <i>pret.</i>	nao·ü	know, <i>v.</i> , no, <i>ad.</i>
krao·üd	crew, <i>pret.</i>		

15. Long AU=aa.

Whether the sound was in all cases [äu] = (aa), or whether it was not rather in many (not all cases) more properly [äo] = (oo), No. 13, I found it so difficult to determine that I have not attempted to make any division. In my first appreciation I heard [äo] = (oo) in many instances. The [ɹ] = (r) after this vowel is more difficult to appreciate, but it seems to be there when marked; at least it was felt by the speaker.—A. J. E.

au·b	abb, hob, <i>s.</i>	slau·b	slab, <i>s.</i>
Bau·b	Bob	mau·b	mob, <i>s.</i>
gau·b	gob, <i>v.</i>	nau·b	knob, <i>s.</i>
jau·b	job, <i>s.</i>	vau·b	fob, <i>s.</i>

[15. Long AU=AA.—*continued.*

skwau'b	squab	wau:j	wedge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
zwau'b	swab, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	lau:jik	logic, <i>s.</i>
sau'léed	} solid, <i>a.</i>	vau'rk	fork, <i>s.</i>
zau'léed		vlau'k	flock, <i>s.</i>
au'reéd	horrid, <i>a.</i>	smau'k	smock, <i>s.</i>
vrau'stid	frosted, <i>a.</i>	krau'k	crook, <i>s.</i>
lau'rd	lord, <i>s.</i>	vrau'k	frock, <i>s.</i>
lan'lau'rd	landlord, <i>s.</i>	au'poal(d)	uphold, <i>v.</i>
wau'rd	ward, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	au'rübl	horrible, <i>a.</i>
rai'wau'rd	reward, <i>s.</i>	au'nprau'fitübl	unprofitable, <i>a.</i>
au'kürd	awkward	bau'dl	bottle, <i>s.</i>
skau'lürd	scholar, <i>s.</i>	kwau'rdl	quarrel, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
au'pürd	upward, <i>ad.</i>	au'fl	offal, <i>s.</i> , awful, <i>a.</i>
au'd	odd, <i>a.</i>	au'bnaayl	hob-nail, <i>s.</i>
Gau'd	God	kau'mikül	comical, <i>a.</i>
lau'd	lard, <i>s.</i>	wau'ml	wamble, <i>v.</i>
nau'd	nod, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	au'l	all, <i>a.</i>
pau'd	pod, <i>s.</i>	kau'l	coal, <i>s.</i>
rau'd	rod, <i>s.</i>	lau'l	loll, <i>v.</i>
éen'rau'd	inroad, <i>s.</i>	naul	awl, <i>s.</i>
wau'd	wad, <i>s.</i>	grau'l	gravel, <i>s.</i>
spau'tüd	spotted, <i>a.</i>	sprau'l	sprawl, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kau'fée	coffee, <i>s.</i>	wéen'vau'l	wind-fall, <i>s.</i>
vau'lée	follow, <i>v.</i>	au'rikül	oracle, <i>s.</i>
kau'ntrée	contrary, <i>a.</i>	mau'sül	morsel, <i>s.</i>
vrau'stée	frosty, <i>a.</i>	lau'ryül	laurel, <i>s.</i>
au'f	ought, <i>v.</i>	fau'rm	{ form, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> (not a bench, see furm)
au'f, thau'f	though, <i>conj.</i>		
dau'f	doff, <i>v.</i>	zwau'rm	swarm, <i>s.</i>
kau'f	cough, <i>v.</i>	vrau'm	from, <i>prop.</i>
sau'f	soft, <i>a.</i>	kau'm(d)	{ come, <i>v.</i> came, <i>pret.</i>
lau'ng	long, <i>a.</i>		
vrau'ng	wrong, <i>a.</i>	zau'm	some, <i>a.</i>
zau'ng	song, <i>s.</i>	blau's'üm	blossom, <i>s.</i>
dau'g	dog, <i>s.</i>	au'pur-an'	upper-hand
vrau'g	frog, <i>s.</i>	kau'fēen	coffin, <i>s.</i>
skrau'nch	crunch, <i>v.</i>	au'rgēen	organ, <i>s.</i>
wau'nch	wench, <i>s.</i>	kwau'riēen	quarrelling
smau'ch	notch, <i>s.</i>	mau'rneēen	morning, <i>s.</i>
pau'ch	poach, <i>v.</i>	au'n, aun'	un, <i>neg. prefix.</i>
wau'rah	wash, <i>v.</i>	bau'n(d)	bond, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lau'th	loth, <i>a.</i>	ü-gau'n	ago, <i>ad.</i>
slau'th	sloth, <i>s.</i>	mau'n	maund, <i>s.</i>
mau'th	moth, <i>s.</i> moss, <i>s.</i>	pau'n	pond, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
brau'th	broth, <i>s.</i>	dēes'pau'n	despond, <i>v.</i>
vrau'th	froth, <i>s.</i>	vau'n(d)	fond, <i>a.</i>
mau'nj	mange, <i>s.</i>	wau'n(common)	one, <i>a.</i>
lau'j	lodge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		

15. Long AU=AA.—*continued.*

kūrau·pshūn	corruption	grau's	gross, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i>
au·p'lūn	upland, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i>	krau's	cross, <i>s.</i>
au·p	up, <i>ad.</i> and <i>prefix</i>	vrau's(t	frost, <i>s.</i>
lau·p	lop, <i>v.</i>	tau's	{ toss, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
flau·p	flop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		{ toast, <i>s.</i>
slau·p	slop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kau·mpūs	compass, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mau·p	mop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	au·rchaet	orchard, <i>s.</i>
pau·p	pop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	shau·rt	short, <i>a.</i>
prau·p	prop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	wau·rt	wart, <i>s.</i>
tau·p	top, <i>s.</i>	kau·mfürt	comfort, <i>s.</i>
swau·p	swap, <i>v.</i>	au·t	hot, <i>a.</i> ought, <i>v.</i>
zau·p	sop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dau·t	dot, <i>s.</i>
au·r	or, <i>conj.</i>	dhau·t	thought, <i>v. pret.</i>
vau·r	for, <i>prep.</i> (<i>emph.</i>)	ū-dhau·t	thought, <i>p.p.</i>
wau·r	{ ware, beware, <i>v.</i>	shau·t	shot, <i>s.</i>
	{ (imperative)	jan·t	jot, <i>s.</i>
kwau·r	quarry, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kau·t	cot, <i>s.</i>
zwau·r	swath, <i>s.</i>	skau·t	scot, <i>s.</i>
zlau·bur	{ slobber, <i>v.</i>	blau·t	blot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
slau·bur		slau·t	slot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
zmau·ldur	smaller, <i>a.</i>	snau·t	snot, <i>s.</i>
tau·rehur	torture, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	pau·t	pot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
pau·chur	poacher, <i>s.</i>	stengk·pau·t	stink-pot, <i>s.</i>
mau·dhur	mother, <i>s.</i>	spau·t	spot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mau·njur	manger, <i>s.</i>	rau·t	rot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
aul·ur	hollow, <i>a.</i>	grau·t	groat, <i>s.</i>
kau·lur	collar, <i>s.</i>	ū-vau·t	fetched, <i>p.p.</i>
vau·rmur	former, <i>a.</i>	vaar·vau·t	{ far-fetched, <i>a.</i>
prau·pur	proper, <i>a.</i>	vaar·ūvau·t	
aul·tur	halter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vur·vau·t	
bau·ryur	borer (augur), <i>s.</i>	skwau·t	squat, <i>v.</i>
au·fées	office, eaves, <i>s.</i>	zau·t	{ set, <i>v. pret.</i> sat, <i>v.</i>
chau·ps	chops, <i>s.</i>		{ <i>pret.</i>
wau·ps	{ wasp, <i>s.</i>	ū-zau·t	set, sat, <i>p.p.</i>
wau·pēē		pau·gūt	pocket, <i>s.</i>
au·s	horse, <i>s.</i>	au·rnūt	hornet, <i>s.</i>
gau·s	{ gas, <i>s.</i> (occasion-	au·	owe, <i>v.</i>
	{ ally.)	dhau·	thaw, <i>v. neut.</i>
kau·s(t	cost, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	aun·dhau·	thaw, <i>v. active.</i>
lau·s(t	{ loss, <i>s.</i> lost, <i>a.</i>	lau·	low, <i>a. la! interj.</i>
	{ lose, <i>v.</i>	vlau·	flow, <i>v.</i>
glau·s	gloss, <i>s.</i>	blau·	blow, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mau·s	most, <i>a.</i>	nau·	no, <i>a.</i> and <i>ad.</i>
ū-mau·s	almost, <i>ad.</i>	eo·rau·	hurrah!
pau·s	{ post, <i>s.</i> (for gates,	hrau·	raw, <i>a.</i>
	{ not letters)	krau·	crow, <i>s.</i>
rau·s	roast, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	strau·	strew, <i>v.</i>
drau·s	dross, <i>s.</i>	au·n·tùe	unto, <i>prep.</i>

15. Long AU=AA.—*continued.*

au'dz	odds	lau'jinz	lodgings, <i>s.</i>
pau'sez	posts (for gates)	au'rtz	orts, <i>s.</i>
vrau'stez	frosts	wau'z	were, <i>v. prot.</i>

16. Short AU=A.

My first appreciation gave these as [äo]=(o), and not as [o]=(o), as Mr. Elworthy had considered them. Subsequent examination seemed to show that in Mr. Elworthy's pronunciation they were rather [äu]=(A), and were apt to become the long of this vowel, as much as those in No. 15; the negative prefix *was*=[aun']=(An) belongs more to this list than the last.—A. J. E.

hraud	rode, <i>v. prot.</i>	vaul'um	volume, <i>s.</i>
Paul'ëe	Polly	twaud'n	it was not, <i>v.</i>
vaul'ëe	follow, <i>v.</i>	sauf'ëen	something, <i>s.</i>
dhaung	thong, <i>s.</i>	faurt'ëen	fortune, <i>s.</i>
vraung	wrong, <i>a.</i>	haun	when, <i>ad.</i>
hraum'ij	rummage, <i>s.</i>	ü-chaup	chopped, <i>a.</i>
raunk	rank, <i>a.</i>	saup'ür	supper, <i>a.</i>
zauk	sock, <i>s.</i>	kaum'z	comes, <i>v.</i>
vaurk	fork, <i>s.</i>	mans(t	must, <i>v.</i>
chauk'vähel	chock-full, <i>a.</i>	kwaurt	quart, <i>s.</i>
paup'l	pebble	vaur'tnüt	fortunate, <i>a.</i>

17. Diphthong AU·Y=AA'i.

These seemed to have the first element decidedly long, much more so than in the literary *boy*. Dr. Murray appreciated the sound as (o'), but on careful observation, the few sounds in the next list which approach nearest to (o') seem to me more appropriately classed as (A'i); it will be seen that they also all belong to this list.—A. J. E.

nau'yntid	anointed, <i>a.</i>	pwau'ynt	point, <i>v. and s.</i>
vau'yd	void, <i>a.</i>	bau'yt	bait, <i>v. and s.</i>
au'yül	oil, <i>v. and s.</i>	wau'yt	wait, <i>v. weight, s.</i>
wau'yur	weigher, <i>s.</i>	tree'fau'y	trefoil, <i>s.</i>
chau'ys	choice, <i>s. and a.</i>	kau'y	coy, <i>a. decoy, s.</i>
rai'jau'ys	rejoice, <i>v.</i>	kunvau'y	convey, <i>v.</i>
vau'ys	voice, <i>s.</i>	suur'vau'y	survey, <i>v. and s.</i>
ëen'vau'ys	invoice, <i>v. and s.</i>	wau'y	weigh, <i>v.</i>
jau'ynt	joint, <i>s.</i>		

18. Diphthong AUY=A'i.

See the note to No. 17.

wau'y	weigh, <i>v.</i>	wau'yt	{ wait, <i>v.</i>
bauyt	bait, <i>v. and s.</i>		{ weight, <i>s.</i>

19. Long EE=ii.

These are the usual long English *ee*, but this length is much less than the Scottish long sound, and Dr. Murray says that "to a Scotch ear they are medial or short." They are, however, much shorter than the short [ē] of No. 20.—A. J. E.

ee	he, <i>pr.</i> (emph.)	steefl	stifle, <i>v.</i>
bee	be, <i>v.</i> (emph.)	ee'm	hymn
jee	{ gee, <i>int.</i> (to horses)	bee'n	bin, <i>s.</i>
vlee	fly, <i>v.</i>	fee'n	fin, <i>s.</i>
mee	me, <i>pr.</i> (emph.)	chee'n	chin, <i>s.</i>
dree	three, <i>a.</i>	shee'n	{ shine, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> shin, <i>s.</i>
wee	we, <i>pr.</i> (emph.)	shee'nid	shone, <i>v. pret.</i>
zee	see, <i>v.</i>	dhee'n	{ thin, <i>a.</i>
bee'd	bid, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	thee'n(emph.)	
vurbee'd	forbid, <i>v.</i>	kee'n	kin, <i>s.</i>
uy'lee'd	eyelid, <i>s.</i>	skee'n	skin, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ū-vlee'd	fled, <i>p.p.</i>	pee'n	pin, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
gree'd	agreed, <i>v. pret.</i>	spee'n	spin, <i>v.</i>
hree'd	reed, <i>s.</i>	spee'n	{ spun, <i>v. pret.</i>
shree'd, zhree'd	shred, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	spee'nid	
ēen'stee'd	instead, <i>ad.</i>	ū-spee'n	spun, <i>p.p.</i>
kwee'd	oud, <i>s.</i>	laat'ūr-ee'n	latter end
zee'd	saw, <i>v. pret.</i>	see'n	{ sin, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ū-zee'd	seen, <i>p.p.</i>	zee'n	
gee'fid	gifted, <i>a.</i>	tee'n	tin, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
aa'f wee'tū'd	half-witted, <i>a.</i>	but'ee'n	butt-end, <i>s.</i>
ee'ntūe	into (emph.)	wee'n	wind, <i>s.</i>
ee'f, nee'f	if, <i>conj.</i>	twee'n	twin, <i>s.</i>
dee'f	deaf, <i>a.</i>	ee'n-lūn	inland, <i>a.</i>
shee'f	sheath, <i>s.</i>	ee'p	hip, <i>s.</i>
ee'ch	{ itch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> hitch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	ee'ndur	hinder, <i>v.</i>
bee'ch	bitch, <i>s.</i>	kee'ndur	kindred, <i>s.</i>
deech	ditch, <i>s.</i>	wee'ndur	window, <i>s.</i>
ree'ch	rich, <i>a.</i>	splee'tur	splitter, <i>s.</i>
steech	stitch, <i>s.</i>	ee's	yes, <i>ad.</i>
weech	{ which, <i>pr.</i> witch, <i>s.</i> bewitch, <i>v.</i>	dhee's	thou hast
veesh	{ fish, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kee's	kiss, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fee'sh		gree's	grist, <i>s.</i>
dee'sh	dish, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kree's	cress, <i>s.</i>
wee'sh	wish, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kree'stez	cresses, <i>s. pl.</i>
dee'pth	depth, <i>s.</i>	ee't	yet, <i>conj.</i>
blee'j	{ oblige, <i>v. pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>	kee't	kit, <i>s.</i>
ee'nj	hinge, <i>s.</i>	splee't	split, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lee'dl	little, <i>a.</i>	vree't	writ, <i>s.</i>
		wee't	wit, <i>s.</i>
		wee'dū	widow, <i>s.</i>
		ee'ntū	into
		lee'v	live, <i>v.</i>

19. Long EE=ii.—*continued.*

lee·v	leaf, <i>s.</i>	vlee·z	fleece, <i>s.</i>
shee·v	sheaf, <i>s.</i>	vree·z	freeze, <i>s.</i>
ee·z	his, <i>pr.</i> (emph.)	ũ-vree·z	frozen, <i>p.p.</i>
gee·z	geese, <i>s.</i>		

20. Short EE=i.

This list is made up of two very different classes of words, those which are closed with a consonant, and those which end in open [ēe] = (i). As regards the closed vowels, the sound is generally as short as in French and German, and kept quite distinct from [i] = (e), No. 24; thus [spēd·] = (spid), is quite different from [spid] = (spid). This very short and fine [ēe] in closed syllables seems to be peculiar to our Western dialects. To call special attention to it, the form [ēe] has been written throughout these lists, although not necessary when the accent mark is duly written in. But there is occasionally a tendency (especially in the terminations [ēen, ēee] = (in, is), although unaccented) to make the vowel longer, as of middle length. As respects the words ending in an unaccented open [ēe], I have retained Mr. Elworthy's original notation; but when he pronounced the words to me, I seemed to hear [i] = (e) in at least a great many of them. The fine sound was at any rate not so consistently maintained.—A. J. E.

spēd	speed, <i>s.</i>	klaa·rjēe	clergy, <i>s.</i>
blas·ēd	blessed, <i>a.</i>	strae·ūkēe	streaky, <i>a.</i>
oa·mstēd	homestead, <i>s.</i>	vaal·ēe, faal·ēe	value, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tī·mēd	timid, <i>a.</i>	jil·ēe	jelly, <i>s.</i>
raa·pēd	rapid, <i>a.</i>	hug·lēe	ugly, <i>a.</i>
ae·ūtrēd	hatred, <i>s.</i>	aak·lēe	actually, <i>ad.</i>
ēe	ye, <i>pr.</i>	ai·klēe	equally, <i>ad.</i>
bēe	be, <i>v.</i>	wik·lēe	weekly, <i>a.</i> and <i>ad.</i>
ūrad·ēe	already, <i>ad.</i>	eo·lēe	woolly, <i>a.</i>
brith·dēe	birthday, <i>s.</i>	buul·ēe	belly, <i>s.</i>
Vruy·dēe	Friday	aun·lēe	only, <i>ad.</i> (emph.)
blid·ēe	bloody, <i>a.</i>	ee·ūlee	hilly, <i>a.</i>
stid·ēe	steady, <i>a.</i>	chuul·ēe	chilly, <i>a.</i>
Muun·dēe	Monday	luul·ēe	lily, <i>s.</i>
Zin·dēe	Sunday	puul·ēe	pully, <i>s.</i>
eo·dēe	woody, <i>a.</i>	pop·ūlēe	pebbly, <i>a.</i>
meo·dēe	moody, <i>a.</i>	ae·ūpmēe	halfpenny, <i>s.</i>
Zad·urdēe	Saturday	vaaw·ūrpmēe	fourpenny, <i>a.</i>
shee·ūdēe	shady, <i>a.</i>	vil·umēe	filmy, <i>a.</i>
math·udēe	methodist, <i>s.</i>	naat·ūmēe	anatomy, <i>s.</i>
lae·ūdēe	lady, <i>s.</i>	aak·n·nēe	hackney, <i>s.</i>
Wai·nzdēe	Wednesday	chai·nēe	china, <i>s.</i> (ware)
Chùe·zdēe	Tuesday	puy·nēe	peony, <i>s.</i>
Dhuuz·dēe	Thursday	gyn·ēe	guinea, <i>s.</i>
pee·chēe	pitchy, <i>a.</i>	min·ēe	{ minnow, <i>s.</i> many, <i>a.</i>
tich·ēe	touchy, <i>a.</i>	tuur·nēe	
muur·schēe	mischievous, <i>s.</i>	rat·n·nēe	retinue, <i>s.</i>
mau·njēe	mangy, <i>a.</i>	uun·ēe	only, <i>ad.</i>
widh·ēe	withe, <i>s.</i>		

20. Short EE=i.—continued.

zæ·ûpêe	sappy, <i>a.</i>	pun·shêen	puncheon, <i>s.</i>
roo·ûpêe	ropy, <i>a.</i>	faa·rshêen	fashion, <i>s.</i>
vaar·êe	furrow, <i>v.</i>	kuur·shêen	cushion, <i>s.</i>
moa·rêe	moory, <i>a.</i>	chaam·pêen	champion, <i>s.</i>
baur·êe	borrow, <i>v.</i>	bur·êen	burying, <i>past.</i>
kaa·fm·drêe	carpentry, <i>s.</i>	laat·êen	tin, <i>s.</i>
saal·trêe	sultry, <i>a.</i>	vef·têen	fifteen
puul·trêe	poultry, <i>s.</i>	aa·ytêen	eighteen
zaur·êe	sorry, <i>a.</i>	zab·m·têen	seventeen
buur·êe	bury, <i>v.</i>	dhuur·têen	thirteen
fuur·êe	ferry, <i>s.</i>	zek·stêen	sixteen, <i>s.</i>
chuur·êe	cherry, <i>s.</i>	êep	heap, <i>s.</i>
beo·churêe	butchery, <i>s.</i>	dêep	deep, <i>a.</i>
shuur·êe	sherry, <i>s.</i>	chêep	cheap, <i>a.</i>
sal·urêe	celery, <i>s.</i>	shêep	sheep, <i>s.</i>
muur·êe	merry, <i>a.</i>	kêep, kêep·ur	keep, <i>v.</i> keeper, <i>s.</i>
puur·êe	perry, <i>s.</i>	nêep	neap, <i>a.</i>
wuur·êe	wherry, <i>s.</i>	pêep	peep, <i>v.</i>
maas·êe	mercy, <i>s.</i>	zwêep	sweep, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
saa·rêe	saucy, <i>a.</i>	hrêep	reap, <i>v.</i>
klaa·têe	cloddy, <i>a.</i>	ween·tur	winter, <i>s.</i>
aak·têe	active, <i>a.</i>	vuur·dêes	furthest, <i>a.</i>
zab·mtêe	seventy	yuung·gêes	youngest, <i>a.</i>
plai·ntêe	{ plaintiff, <i>s.</i>	boa·lêes	bolus, <i>s.</i>
faur·têe	{ plenty, <i>ad.</i>	poa·lêes	police, <i>s.</i>
thuur·têe	forty	aar·nêes	earnest, <i>a.</i>
maes·têe	thirty	aun·êes	honest, <i>a.</i>
ris·têe	misty, <i>a.</i>	pêes	piece, <i>s.</i>
uur·stêe	} rusty, <i>a.</i>	haar·têes	artist, <i>s.</i>
kris·têe	} crusty, <i>a.</i>	jis·têes	justice, <i>s.</i>
kuur·stêe	} crusty, <i>a.</i>	gyaal·êes	gallows, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i>
fuw·stêe	fusty, <i>a.</i>	raak·lêes	auricula, <i>s.</i>
aav·êe ?	have you ?	jil·êes	jealous, <i>a.</i>
kiz·êe	kersey, <i>s.</i>	zil·êes	zealous, <i>a.</i>
lae·ûzêe	lazy, <i>a.</i>	buul·êes	bellows, <i>s.</i>
vuuz·êe	fursy, <i>a.</i>	daew·lêes	dowlas, <i>s.</i>
skrêech	screech, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	nak·lêes	{ necklace, <i>s.</i>
ruub·êesh	{ rubbish, <i>s.</i>	uur·dnêes	redness, <i>s.</i>
ruub·ij		aak·têenêes	activity, <i>s.</i>
kyat·skêenz	catkins, <i>s.</i>	wik·idnêes	wickedness, <i>s.</i>
rue·ên	ruin, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dee·fnêes	deafness, <i>s.</i>
gêen	go in	staef·nêes	stiffness, <i>s.</i>
wag·êen	wagon, <i>s.</i>	big·n·nêes	bigness, <i>s.</i>
pij·ên	pigeon, <i>s.</i>	uurch·nêes	richness, <i>s.</i>
vuur·kêen	firkin, <i>s.</i>	kaun·tri·nêes	contrariness, <i>s.</i>
pai·nshêen	{ pension, <i>s.</i>	kwik·n·nêes	quickness, <i>s.</i>
pin·shêen		zik·n·nêes	sickness, <i>s.</i>

20. Short EE=i.—*continued.*

wee'in-nées	witness, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kēet	kite, <i>s.</i>
guurt-nées	greatness, <i>s.</i>	vuuz-kēet	furse-kite (fal- con), <i>s.</i>
biz-nées	business, <i>s.</i>	vlēet	fleet, <i>a.</i>
maa-trées	mattress, <i>s.</i>	sai-krēet	secret, <i>a.</i>
traav-ées	traverse, <i>v.</i>	muur-ēet	merit, <i>s.</i>
bee-ūrdlēes	beardless, <i>a.</i>	spuur-ēet	spirit, <i>s.</i>
chee-ūl-lées	childless, <i>a.</i>	kuuv-ēet	covet, <i>v.</i>
beg'n-nées	bigness, <i>s.</i>	wēet	white, <i>a.</i>
bee-ūslinées	beastliness, <i>s.</i>	zwēet	sweet, <i>a.</i>
ee-ūl-nées	illness, <i>s.</i>	ēefuy-	defy, <i>v.</i>
skee-ūs-nées	scarceness, <i>s.</i>		
shēet	sheet, <i>s.</i>		

21. Fracture EE-ū=iī.

In this fracture the first element is marked as long throughout. Some of them had been marked by Mr. Elworthy with the first element of medial length [eēū] = (i^l), but the distinction did not seem to be always made in pronunciation. Such words are, therefore, simply marked with *. As to the quality of the first element, [eēū] = (i^l) has been left throughout, as Mr. Elworthy had written, but I certainly sometimes seemed to hear [i-ū] = (i^r), and sometimes [iū] = (i^r). The writing, however, represents what would be the first appreciation of most hearers. See note to No. 14.—A. J. E.

bee-ūrd*	beard, <i>s.</i>	nee-ūl*	needle, <i>s.</i>
ū-fee-ūrd	afraid, <i>a.</i>	pee-ūl*	pill, <i>s.</i> (pillow)
bee-ūd	bead, <i>s.</i>	spee-ūl*	spill, <i>v.</i> spindle, <i>s.</i>
shee-ūd	shade, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	tee-ūl	till, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
aarkee-ūd	arcade, <i>s.</i>	stee-ūl	still, <i>a.</i> ad.
zee-ūd*	seed, <i>s.</i>		steel, <i>s.</i>
chee-ūf*	chafe, <i>v.</i>		feel, <i>v.</i>
dee-ūrth	dearth, <i>a.</i>	vee-ūl	field, <i>s.</i>
kee-ūj*	cage, <i>s.</i>		fill, <i>v.</i>
chee-ūnj*	change, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	Wee-ūl	Will, <i>pr. name</i> , also a testa- ment, <i>s.</i>
shee-ūk*	shake, <i>v.</i>		
kee-ūk*	cake, <i>s.</i>	kwee-ūl*	quill, <i>s.</i>
gee-ūbl*	gable, <i>s.</i>	swee-ūl*	swill, <i>v.</i>
kee-ūbl*	cable, <i>s.</i>	shee-ūm*	shame, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
anjee-ūl*	angel, <i>s.</i>	zee-ūm*	seam, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ee-ūl	ill, <i>a.</i> ad. <i>s.</i>	bee-ūldēen*	building, <i>s.</i>
	hill, <i>s.</i> yield, <i>v.</i>	vee-ūrn	fern, <i>s.</i>
Bee-ūl	Bill, <i>s.</i> and <i>pr.</i> <i>name</i>	bee-ūn	bean, <i>s.</i>
bee-ūl*	build, <i>v.</i>	ūgee-ūn	again, <i>ad.</i>
gee-ūl*	gill, <i>s.</i> guild, <i>v.</i>	kee-ūn*	cane, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
chee-ūl*	child, <i>s.</i> chill, <i>v.</i>	klee-ūn*	clean, <i>a.</i>
shee-ūl*	shield, <i>s.</i>	shee-ūp*	shape, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kee-ūl*	kill, <i>v.</i>	kee-ūp*	cape, <i>s.</i>
mee-ūl*	mill, <i>s.</i>	skee-ūp*	escape, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

21. Fracture EE·ū=ii'.—*continued.*

zlee·ūp	{	sleep, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	bee·ūstex*	{	beasts, <i>s. pl.</i>
ū·bēeneē·ūp*		sleep, <i>v. pret.</i>	fee·ūs*	{	feast, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
bee·ūr		beneaped, <i>a.</i>			fast, <i>s.</i>
dee·ūr		bear, <i>s.</i>	chee·ūs*		chase, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fee·ūr*		dear, <i>a.</i>	kee·ūs*		case, <i>s.</i> (box)
shee·ūr*	{	fear, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	skee·ūs*	{	scarce, <i>a.</i> and <i>ad.</i>
zhee·ūr	{	share, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	skee·ūs		
kee·ūr*		shear, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	lee·ūs		last, <i>v.</i>
skee·ūr		care, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	prizivee·ūrunz		perseverance, <i>s.</i>
klee·ūr		scare, <i>v.</i>	ū·shee·ūk(i*)		shaken, <i>p.p.</i>
nee·ūr		clear, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>	pee·ūrt		pert, <i>a.</i>
spee·ūr		mere, <i>a.</i> near, <i>a.</i>	bee·ūt		beat, <i>v.</i>
tee·ūr		spear, <i>s.</i>	ū·bee·ūt		beaten, <i>p.p.</i>
stee·ūr		tear, <i>s.</i>	gee·ūt		gate, <i>s.</i>
vee·ūr		steep, <i>a.</i> steer, <i>s.</i>	lee·ūt	{	leak, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
shee·ūm·lēes*		fear, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>			leat, <i>s.</i>
shee·ūp·lēes*		shameless, <i>a.</i>	shee·ūv*		shave, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kee·ūrlēes*		shapeless, <i>a.</i>	kee·ūv*		cave, <i>s.</i>
bee·ūs*		careless, <i>a.</i>	dhee·ūz		this, <i>pr.</i>
		beast, <i>s.</i>	kee·ūz*		case, <i>s.</i> (matter)

22. Long E'O=æ₂æ₂.

This vowel forms one of the greatest difficulties in the dialect and also in North Devon. It is usually considered to be French *u*=[ue]=(yy), and on referring to list No. 34, it will be found that some of the words here entered occur there also. The sound therefore apparently fluctuates. The next attempt to appreciate the sound gave it as French *eu* in *feu*=[eo]=(æ). But this seemed on further hearing to be too fine and delicate. It appears to me that the lower part of the throat, or pharynx, between the mouth and the larynx, is carelessly enlarged, and hence that the sound is obscured, both for [ue] and [eo], and this fact, which is represented by an "inferior" 2 in Palaeotype (*Early English Pronunciation*, p. 1100, col. 2, bottom), may be noted in Glossic by a grave accent, as [ue, èo]=(y₂, æ₂). At any rate these signs will represent sounds not unlike [ue, eo] which are heard in these Western dialects. In No. 30 it will be seen that it has been found convenient to use [ɪ, ùo] in a similar manner. I have not had a sufficient opportunity to become familiar with these very peculiar vowel-sounds, to imitate or analyze them properly, and hence the convenience of having some arbitrary symbols. See *Postscript*.—A. J. E.

rèo·tid	{	rooted, <i>a.</i>	stèo·d	{	stood, <i>v.</i>
vèo·tid		footed, <i>a.</i>	bèo·bée		booby, <i>s.</i>
bèo·tid		booted, <i>a.</i>	lèo·bée		looby, <i>s.</i>
èo·d	{	wood, <i>s.</i> (would, <i>v.</i> emphatic).	prèo·f		proof, <i>s.</i>
shèo·d	{	shod, <i>pret.</i> and <i>pp.</i>	bèo·sh		bush, <i>s.</i>
		should, <i>v.</i> emph.	pèo·sh		pash, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kèo·d		could, <i>v.</i>	bèo·dh		booth, <i>s.</i> both, <i>a.</i>
mèo·d		mood, <i>s.</i>	yèo·dh		youth, <i>s.</i>
brèo·d		brood, <i>s.</i>	tèo·th		tooth
			tèo·nj		twinge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

22. Long E'O= ε_2 —continued.

èoj	huge, <i>a.</i>	yèo	you, <i>pr.</i>
gèoj	gouge, <i>s.</i>	èop	{ whoop, <i>v.</i>
èo'd-kauk	woodcock, <i>s.</i>	kèop	{ hoop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
dèondl	dwindle, <i>v.</i>	akèop	coop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
bèoshl	bushel, <i>s.</i>	lèop	scoop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
èom	womb, <i>s.</i>	drèop	loop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kèom	combe, <i>s.</i>	trèop	droop, <i>v.</i>
lèom	loom, <i>s.</i>	stèop	troop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
blèom	bloom, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	pèor	stoop, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
rèom	room, <i>s.</i>	bèoz	pure, <i>a.</i>
brèom	broom, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kèos	{ abuse, <i>s.</i>
krèom	crumb, <i>s.</i>	tü-bèot	{ course, <i>s.</i>
grèom	groom, <i>s.</i>	mèot	{ coarse, <i>a.</i>
drag-èon	dragoon, <i>s.</i>	rèot	to boot
bülèon	balloon, <i>s.</i>	vèot	moot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mèon	moon, <i>s.</i>	üvèot	root, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
voa'rnèon	forenoon, <i>s.</i>	bae-ürvèot	foot, <i>v.</i>
spèon	spoon, <i>s.</i>	prèov	afoot, <i>ad.</i>
zèon	soon, <i>a.</i>	gèodz	barefooted, <i>a.</i>
bèo	beau, <i>s.</i>	èoz	prove, <i>v.</i>
übèo	above, <i>a.</i>	èoz	goods, <i>s.</i>
dèo	due, <i>a.</i>	bèoz	ooze, <i>v.</i> , whose
gèo-kèo	cuckoo, <i>s.</i>	gèoz	noose, <i>s.</i>
lèo	loo, <i>s.</i>	chèoz	boose, <i>v.</i>
slèo	slough, <i>s.</i>	dhèoz	goose, <i>s.</i>
ünèo	enough, <i>ad.</i>	pèoz	choose, <i>v.</i>
drèo	through, <i>prop.</i>		those, <i>pr.</i>
ran'divèo	{ rendezvous, <i>s.</i>		puss, <i>s.</i>
	(common)		

23. Short E'O= ε_1 .

Difficulties of appreciation necessarily increase when the vowel is both obscure and short. The following list is made out of three parts, which Mr. Elworthy assigned to different vowels. The first part he considered to be the same as in No. 22, that is, with the vowel long. But on hearing him pronounce, the vowel sounded to me rather short than long, and these words (with two exceptions about which I hesitated) end in [k]. The consonant immediately following a vowel seems materially to alter its quality in this dialect, especially when the vowel is short. Vowels which Mr. Elworthy considered to be the same, varied immediately to my ear under the influence of different consonants, and when he was asked to lengthen the vowel, or pronounce it with some consonant before which it did not appear in the dialect, he generally failed to reproduce the sound. Acting upon this feeling, I have put as the second part of this list a set of words all ending in [l] which occasioned Dr. Murray, Mr. Sweet, and myself extreme difficulty to analyze, and which we all practically gave up. The vowel they contained seemed to me at first like the Swedish $u=[ui']=[\bar{u}]$ pronounced very short. Dr. Murray thought it was the Italian *o chinco* = $[uo']=(\bar{u})$ (which is probably merely the same as $[ui']$ with a wider pharynx), also pronounced very short. Mr. Sweet took the sound to be the Polish y fractured, thus $[\bar{e}ti']=(\bar{e})'$, but still extremely short, and as this Polish sound is merely $[ui']$ with the lips

23. Short E'O= ϵ_1 .—*continued.*

opened, it would appear that all three of us were at first pretty well agreed respecting the position of the tongue. But on hearing the words pronounced many times over on successive days, it appeared that the tongue was drawn up so sharply into the [ɪ] = (ɪ) position as materially to affect the quality of tone, and that I could best imitate the sound by attempting to keep the tongue in the position for [ɪ] all the time that I tried to pronounce [èɔ] = (ϵ_2) very briefly, the vowel-sound dying out almost immediately into the sound of [ɪ], giving the appearance of a fracture, and then the [ɪ] ending smartly. It will be seen in the text that Mr. Elworthy considers this vowel-sound to be quite a shibboleth. It is best imitated by attempting to call *bull* [b'èol] = (bɪl), quite short, putting the tongue in the position for [ɪ] *before* the lips are opened. The third part of this number forms the second and greater part of No. 30 [80'], where the words are printed, because Mr. Elworthy appreciated the vowel differently. The note prefixed to that number will explain the difficulties here felt. See also *Postscript*. —A. J. E.

PART I.

èok'id	hooked, <i>a.</i>	rèok	rook, <i>s.</i>
krèok'id	crooked, <i>a.</i>	krèok	crook, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
èok	hook, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	tèok	took, <i>pret.</i>
bèok	book, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	ù-tèok'	taken, <i>p.p.</i>
lèok	look, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zèok	suck, <i>v.</i>
kèok	cook, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zèon'dur	sooner, <i>a.</i>
pèok	pook, <i>s.</i>	fèoch'ür	future, <i>s.</i>

PART II.

bèol	bull, <i>s.</i>	stèol	stool, <i>s.</i>
pèol	{ pull, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	rèol	rule, <i>s.</i>
	{ pool, <i>s.</i>	mèol	mule, <i>s.</i>
vèol	{ full, <i>a. ad.</i>	spèol	spool, <i>s.</i>
	{ fool, <i>s.</i>	draid'fèol	dreadful, <i>a.</i>
skèol	school, <i>s.</i>	an'fèol	handful, <i>s.</i>
èol	wool, <i>s.</i>	buul'i-vèol	belly-full, <i>s.</i>
tèolz	tools, <i>s.</i>		

PART III.

This list is the same as No. 30, Part II.

24. Short I= i .

These words have a quite pure [ɪ] = (i). But Mr. Elworthy does not admit this sound in open unaccented syllables, see No. 20 [èe] = (i). In the closed unaccented syllables, as in the inflexion -ed = [id] = (ɪd), it is often obscured, and tends to fall into either [i'] = (y), or [i] = (i), see note to No. 30. —A. J. E.

-id	{ -ed., inflexion	kling(d)	clung, <i>v. pret.</i>
	{ after <i>g</i> hard,	gid	gave, <i>v. pret.</i>
	{ oh, sh, r.	ù-gid'	given, <i>p.p.</i>
kuub'id	cupboard, <i>s.</i>	dan'gid	dogged
Fid	Fred,	lid	lead, <i>s.</i>

24. Short I=i.—*continued*.

blid	bleed, <i>v.</i> blood, <i>s.</i>	chik	cheek, <i>s.</i>
mid	may, might, <i>v.</i>	aub·jik	object, <i>s.</i>
stid	{ stud, <i>s.</i> study,	lik	leek, <i>s.</i>
	{ <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	slik	aleek, <i>a.</i>
gyil(d	geld, <i>v.</i>	kau·lik	collect, <i>s.</i>
wis·turd	worsted, <i>s.</i>	buul·ik	bullock, <i>s.</i>
ũ·mil·urd	{ mellowed, <i>a.</i>	mik	meek, <i>a.</i>
	{ and <i>p.p.</i>	stuum·ick	stomach, <i>s.</i>
zing·id	{ sang, <i>v. prot.</i>	krik	creek, <i>s.</i>
zing	{ sing	frik	freak, <i>s.</i>
ũ·fik·sid	fixed, <i>p.p.</i>	shrik, zhrik, zrik	shreak, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lis·tid	enlisted, <i>a.</i>	strik	strike, <i>s.</i> strict, <i>a.</i>
ris·tid	rusted, <i>a.</i>	sik, zik	seek, <i>v.</i>
pidh·ēe	prythee	as·ik	hassock, <i>s.</i>
pid·igrēe	pedigree, <i>s.</i>	stik	stuck, <i>v. prot.</i>
shilf	shelf, <i>s.</i>	kau·nvik	convict, <i>s.</i>
ũ·dig·	dug, <i>p.p.</i>	wik	week, <i>s.</i>
hrig	rig, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	skwik	squeak, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
dhing	thing, <i>s.</i>	twik	tweak, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
ũ·kling	clung, <i>p.p.</i>	zik	sick, <i>a.</i>
zling	{ sling, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dhingk	think, <i>v.</i>
zling·id	{ slung, <i>v. prot.</i>	zlingk	alink, <i>v.</i>
vring	wring, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dringk	drink, <i>v. prot.</i>
zing	sing, <i>v.</i>	ũ·dring·k	drank, <i>p.p.</i>
ũ·zing	sung, <i>p.p.</i>	zringk	shrink, <i>v.</i>
bich	beech, <i>s.</i>	ee·nstingk	instinct, <i>s.</i>
jich, jis	such, <i>a.</i>	wingk	winch, <i>s.</i>
tich	touch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zingk	sink, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
klich	clutch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	trib·l	treble, <i>a.</i>
krich	crutch, <i>s.</i>	fid·l	fiddle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
binsh	benoh, <i>s.</i>	hrid·l	riddle, <i>s.</i>
blish	blush, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	trid·l	treadle, <i>s.</i>
oa·vur·plish	overplus, <i>s.</i>	jing·l	jingle, <i>v.</i>
vlish	fledged, <i>a.</i>	zing·l	single, <i>a.</i>
rish	rush, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	shil	shell, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
brish	brush, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	stil	steel, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
drish	thrush, <i>s.</i>	sil	{ sell, <i>v.</i>
krish	crush, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zil	
likurish	liquorice, <i>s.</i>	wil	wheel, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
mau·rgij	{ mortgage, <i>v.</i>	bit·l	beetle, <i>s.</i> (insect)
	{ and <i>s.</i>	kit·l	kettle, <i>s.</i>
jij	judge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	nit·l	{ nettle, <i>s.</i> little,
trij	trudge, <i>v.</i>		
vik·ūrij	vicarage, <i>s.</i>	zit·l	settle, <i>s.</i> (seat)
bik	beak, <i>s.</i>	sil·dum	seldom, <i>ad.</i>
mad·ik	mattock, <i>s.</i>	id·n ?	is not ?
vuur·dik	verdict, <i>s.</i>	tid·n	it is not
puur·fik	perfect, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>	ũ·bin·	been, <i>p.p.</i>

24. Short I=i.—*continued.*

zid'in	{ seeding, <i>s.</i> and <i>part.</i>	jùe-bis	{ dubious, <i>a.</i> dost? dust, <i>s.</i>
gyil-dëen	{ gelding, <i>s.</i>	dis	{ desk, <i>s.</i>
gin	{ against, <i>ad.</i>	chis	{ chest, <i>s.</i>
vlag'in	{ flagon, <i>s.</i>	jis	{ just, <i>a.</i> and <i>ad.</i>
pin'shin	{ pension, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vaa'rjis	{ verjuice, <i>s.</i>
bik'in	{ beacon, <i>s.</i>	kaa'rkis	{ carcase, <i>s.</i>
zid'lin	{ seedling, <i>s.</i>	lis	{ enlist, <i>v.</i>
tin	{ tun, <i>v.</i>	maal'is	{ mallow, <i>s.</i>
stin	{ stun, <i>v.</i>	paal'is	{ palace, <i>s.</i>
zin	{ son, sun, <i>s.</i>	bris	{ breast, <i>s.</i>
kizh'un	{ occasion, <i>s.</i>	ris	{ rust, <i>s. v. pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>
lim'un	{ lemon, <i>s.</i>	kris	{ crust, <i>s.</i>
diz'n	{ dozen, <i>s.</i>	kris'tez	{ crusts, <i>s.pl.</i>
ship	{ sheep, <i>s.</i>	tris	{ trust, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
vlip	{ flippant, <i>a.</i> (pliant)	maes'tris	{ mistrust, <i>s. v.</i> <i>pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>
zin'dur	{ cinder, <i>s.</i>	au'vis	{ always, <i>ad.</i>
ving'ur	{ finger, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	wis	{ worse, <i>a.</i>
bridh'ur	{ brother, <i>s.</i>	yit	{ heat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lizh'ur	{ leisure, <i>s.</i>	git	{ get, <i>v.</i>
plizh'ur	{ pleasure, <i>s.</i>	vurgit	{ forget, <i>v.</i>
trizh'ur	{ treasure, <i>s.</i>	jit	{ jot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
lik'ur	{ liquor, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	klit	{ clot, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fid'lar	{ fiddler, <i>s.</i>	nit	{ net, nut, <i>s.</i>
pid'lar	{ pedlar, <i>s.</i>	zit	{ set, <i>v.</i> sit, <i>v.</i>
zing'lar	{ singular, <i>a.</i>	jint	{ joint, <i>s.</i>
mil'ur	{ mellow, <i>a.</i>	pin'itunt	{ penitent, <i>a.</i>
sil'ur	{ cellar, <i>s.</i>	mid'ü	{ meadow, <i>s.</i>
ship'ur	{ shepherd, <i>s.</i>	bliv	{ believe, <i>v.</i>
lip'ur	{ leper, leopard, <i>s.</i>	kridz	{ curds, <i>s.</i> (always)
vlit'ur	{ flutter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	stil'yurdz	{ steelyards, <i>s.</i>
sip'tur	{ sceptre, <i>s.</i>	siz'ez	{ scissors, <i>s.</i>
iv'ur	{ ever, <i>ad.</i>	vij'itülz	{ vegetables, <i>s.</i>
skiv'ur	{ skewer, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zinz	{ since, <i>ad.</i>
jis'tëes	{ justice, <i>s.</i>		

25. Long OA=oo.

These words seemed to me to have clear [öa]=(oo), without any trace of a subsequent [öö], that is, not to be the London [oa'w]=(oo'w). Some few perhaps approach [äo]=(oo), but this was too uncertain, except when before *r*, for me to transfer them to list No. 13.—A. J. E.

boa	bow, <i>s.</i>	snoa	snow, <i>s.</i>
uul'boa	elbow, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	droa	throw, <i>v.</i>
übloa	blown, <i>p.p.</i>	troa	trough, <i>s.</i>
stoa	stone, <i>s.</i>	stroa	straw, <i>s.</i>
snoa	dost know?	voa	foe, <i>s.</i>

25. Long OA=oo.—*continued.*

yoa	ewe, <i>s.</i> hew, <i>v.</i>	bluy·nvoa·l(d	blindfold, <i>a.</i>
zoa	sew, <i>v.</i>	woa·l	whole, <i>a.</i> (emph.)
stoa·ld	stole, <i>pret.</i>	zoa·l(d	sold, <i>pret.</i>
oa·f	off, <i>ad.</i>	zoa·l	sole, soul, <i>s.</i>
loa·k	lock, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	koa·m	comb, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tad·loak	pad-lock, <i>s.</i>	oa·vm	oven, <i>s.</i>
smoa·k	smoke, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kloa·vm	cloven, <i>a.</i>
voa·k	folk, <i>s.</i>	woa·vm	woven, <i>a.</i>
yoa·k	yelk, yolk, yoke	loa·lün	lowland, <i>s.</i>
oa·l(d	old, <i>a.</i> hold, <i>v.</i>	kroa·p	creep, <i>v.</i>
boa·l(d	bold, <i>a.</i>	soa·jur	soldier, <i>s.</i>
vree·oa·l(d	freehold, <i>a.</i>	koa·mur	comber, <i>s.</i>
koa·l(d	cold, <i>a.</i>	poa·lēes	police, <i>s.</i>
sko·l(d	scold, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	moa·ēes	moist, <i>a.</i> most, <i>a.</i>
moa·l(d	mould, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	oa·pmünt	opening, <i>s.</i>
toa·l(d	told, <i>pret.</i> and <i>a.</i>	ū·kroa·pt	crept, <i>p.p.</i>
ū·stoa·l	stolen, <i>p.p.</i>	oa·v	hoe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
voa·l(d	{ fold, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	loa·v	loaf, <i>v.</i>
	{ foal, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	groa·v	groove, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

26. Short OA=o.

This true short [ɔa] = (o) in closed syllables forms as remarkable a feature in the dialect as short [ɛe] = (i), No. 20. Some words seem to have both the long and short vowel, as [voa·ks, vōaks] = (vooks, vōks). The sign [ɔa] has been used throughout to direct attention to this rare and peculiar shortening of a vowel usually long.—A. J. E.

wōal	whole, <i>a.</i>	hrōap	rope, <i>s.</i>
hōap	hope, <i>v.</i>	krōap	creep, <i>v.</i>
slōap	slope, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	mōaūt	mote, <i>s.</i>
mōap	mope, <i>v.</i>	klōaz	clothes, <i>s.</i>
Pōap	Pope	vōaks	folks

27. Fracture OA·ū=oo'.

These fractures varied slightly in the purity and length of the first element, especially before [r], so that [oa·ū, ao·ū, oaū·, aoū·] = (oo', oo', o', o') may be occasionally said. But I was not able to separate them into groups, and sometimes the differences seemed unintentional.—A. J. E.

noa·ūtid	noted, <i>a.</i>	ū·noa·ūd	known, <i>p.p.</i>
shoa·ūrd	shard, <i>s.</i>	droa·ūd	threw, <i>pret.</i>
koa·ūrd	cord, <i>s.</i>	ū·groa·ūd	grown, <i>p.p.</i>
voa·ūrd	ford, <i>s.</i>	troa·ūd	trod, <i>pret.</i>
woa·ūrd	hoard, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	toa·ūd	toad, <i>s.</i>
shoa·ūd	showed, <i>pret.</i>	ū·zoa·ūd	sown, <i>p.p.</i>
ū·shoa·ūd	shown, <i>p.p.</i>	soa·ūrtid	sorted, <i>a.</i>
bloa·ūd	blew, <i>pret.</i>	broa·ūch	{ broach, <i>v.</i>
noa·ūd	knew, <i>pret.</i>		{ brooch, <i>s.</i>

27. Fracture OA·ü=oo.—*continued.*

loa·üd̥h	loath, <i>a.</i>	noa·ürt	naught, <i>s.</i>
vag·iboa·ün	vagabond, <i>s.</i>	poa·ürt	port, <i>s.</i>
aloa·ün	alone, <i>a.</i>	soa·ürt	sort, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
droa·ün	throne, <i>s.</i>	goa·üt	goat, <i>s.</i>
toa·ün	tone, <i>s.</i>	ü·goa·üt	got, <i>p.p.</i>
stoa·ün	stone, <i>s.</i>	vurgoa·üt	forgot, <i>p.p.</i>
goa·ür	goad, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	koa·üt	coat, <i>s.</i>
shoa·ür	shore, <i>s.</i> sure, <i>a.</i>	moa·üt	moat, <i>s.</i>
moa·ür	more, <i>a.</i>	noa·üt	note, <i>s.</i>
voa·ür	fore, before, <i>ad.</i>	droa·üt	throat, <i>s.</i>
yoa·ür	your, <i>pr.</i> (emph.)	oa·üz	hoarse, <i>a.</i>
noa·ütēes	notice, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	doa·üz	{ doze, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
oa·üs	oast, <i>s.</i> host, <i>s.</i>		{ dose, <i>s.</i>
doa·üs	dose, <i>s.</i>	kloa·üz	clothes, <i>s.</i>
kloa·üs	close, <i>a.</i>	noa·üz	nose, <i>s.</i>
oa·ürt	aught, <i>s.</i>	hroa·üz	rose, <i>s.</i>

28. Short OE=æ.

This vowel forms another of the difficulties in this dialect. Dr. Murray appreciated it as [i']=(y). After having heard the list read several times on different days, I adhered to my first appreciation [øe]=(æ) as conveying to me the best general impression of the sound. But occasionally the sound [i] or [eo], No. 30, seemed to be used. See *Postscript*.—A. J. E.

asloen·	alant, <i>a.</i>	woe·ver	however, <i>ad.</i>
toet·ur	titter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	kwoe·ur	quiver, <i>s.</i>
spoet·ur	spitter, <i>s.</i>	woeth·lēes	worthless, <i>a.</i>
oev·ur	ever, <i>ad.</i>	moes	miss, <i>v.</i>
goev·ur	giver, <i>s.</i>	troes	trust, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
shoev·ur	shiver, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	foet	fit, <i>v.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>a.</i>
skoev·ur	skewer, <i>s.</i>	shoet	shalt, <i>v.</i>
loev·ur	liver, <i>s.</i>	poet	pit, <i>s.</i>
daeloev·ur	deliver, <i>v.</i>	spoet	spit, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kloev·ur	clever, <i>a.</i>	yoet	heat, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
noev·ur	never, <i>ad.</i>	woet	oat, <i>s.</i>
soev·ur	sever, <i>v.</i>	skwoent	squint, <i>v.</i>

29. Long OO=uu.

This list comprises the only words which Mr. Elworthy can give, containing unfractured [ōo]=(uu). But this list and No. 31 serve to show that this sound is not absolutely strange to the dialect, as is usually thought. In almost all the words the dialectal [ōo, oo·ü]=(uu, uu') corresponds to an original [ōa] sound.—A. J. E.

übōo·	above, <i>prep.</i>	doo·rubl	durable, <i>a.</i>
gōo	go, <i>v.</i>	kroo·m	crumb, <i>s.</i>
ügōo·	gone, <i>p.p.</i>	foo·unt	{ fluent, <i>a.</i> (of a
moo·zik	music, <i>s.</i>		{ river only)

30. Doubtful OO', perhaps Glossic I', E'O, U'O= i_1, e_2, u_2 .

This list of words has occasioned me the greatest difficulty of any. Mr. Elworthy thought that the vowel was the same in all, and was surprised at any difficulty being felt. But Dr. Murray had been unable to make anything of them beyond my first rough appreciation, when I sometimes, under the influence of a labial consonant, seemed to hear [uo]=[u], at others and generally [e']=(eh), and at others again I felt a little fracturing by a prefixed [i]=(i). This appreciation had been made rapidly. On the last revision some months afterwards, Mr. Elworthy pronounced each word to me several times over and in different orders, and I was able to separate them distinctly into three parts. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, when he heard some of them, at first said he heard French *œ* [œ]=[œ], and then thought that the Dutch *i*=[é]=[e'] was the proper sound. But as this is also a Scotch sound, native to Dr. Murray, who had not recognized it, this appreciation appeared very doubtful. In deference to Mr. Elworthy's opinion that these words have all the same vowel, I retain them in one list under a sign [oo'] which is not used in Glossic, but I spell the words in three ways.

Part I. consists of those words in which the resemblance to [i]=(i) is most striking. In correcting the spelling of the dialectal phrases and sentences in the body of the paper, I found that Mr. Elworthy wished an accented [iz] to become occasionally an unaccented [oo's], and on listening attentively there seemed to be nothing more than such an obscuration of [i]=(i) as would be effected either by raising the back of the tongue as for [i']=(y), or widening the lower part of the pharynx, as for [i]=(i₂) (see No. 22), and after much hesitation I selected the last symbol. The effect is not very different from the Dutch *i*. On examining the words in the list, it will be found that [i] is preceded generally by a sibilant [s, sh] or by [r], or a [t], or followed by a sibilant, or [p], and possibly these consonants (chiefly unvoiced) may have driven an [eo]=(e₂) sound into [i]=(i₂).

Part II. consists of words marked [æo]=(e₂) the same as in No. 23, from which I cannot distinguish them. These seem to have the normal vowel, of which [i] is an alteration effected by the adjoining consonant, and possibly several words in this list have as much right to be put in Part I. as some of the words therein included. Most hearers would suppose these words to have [œ] or [uu] or [u] as their vowel.

Part III. consists of words where, for the most part, a labial consonant seems to have given the vowel more distinctly some of the [oo] or [uo] character. Indeed, some of these words have also the sound of [uo]. There are very few of them, which adds to the difficulty of the appreciation.

It is impossible not to recognize in this difficulty one which must have beset our early Western writers, when they did not seem to know whether to use *i* or *u* in many words, and it is possible that the whole of it arises from junctures made long ago from degraded fractures of the [eeðð]=(iu) class, passing first through many degradations of both elements. As a proof of the difficulty which it occasions, it may be mentioned, that though Mr. Elworthy was wonderfully exact in his reproduction of the sounds (an unusual and difficult feat) for the first three days of my final examination of this list, yet on the fourth he became uncertain, although he had not been absent from the district so much as a week, and had been accustomed to hear the words and pronounce them from childhood. See *Postscript*.—A. J. E.

PART I.

chīm·lēe	}	chimney, s.	trīm·l	tremble, v.
chīm·b·lēe			dril	drill, v. and s.
dhīm·l		thimble, s.	shrīl	shrill, a.
nīm·l		nimble, a.	tril	trowel, s.
brīm·l		bramble, s.	vrl	frill, s.

30. Doubtful OO', perhaps Glossic I', E'O, U'O=₁, ₂, ₃.

Part I.—continued.

simp'l	simple, <i>a.</i>	chilmur	chamber, <i>s.</i>
chlp	chip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	timur	timber, <i>s.</i>
ship	ship, <i>s.</i>	simpur	simper, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
zip	{ soap, <i>s.</i>	wispur	whisper, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
	{ sip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	shiltur	shelter, <i>s.</i>
bilur	billow, <i>s.</i>	wls	whist, <i>s.</i>
slur	cellar, <i>s.</i>	jilt	jilt, <i>s.</i>

PART II.

bèob	bib, <i>s.</i>	plèom	plim, <i>v.</i>
glèob	glib, <i>a.</i>	zlèom	slim, <i>a.</i>
nèob	nib, <i>s.</i>	stèom	stem, <i>s.</i>
rèob	rib, <i>s.</i>	rèom	rim, <i>s.</i>
krèob	crib, <i>s.</i>	brèom	brim, <i>s.</i>
tèob	{ tib, <i>s.</i> (small bear)	grèom	grim, <i>a.</i>
skwèob	squib, <i>s.</i>	prèom	prim, <i>a.</i>
gèol'd	gild, <i>v.</i>	trèom	trim, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>
ũ-shèom'd	ashamed, <i>a.</i>	wèom	{ whim, <i>s.</i> winnow, <i>v.</i>
zwèomd	swam, <i>v. prot.</i>	zwèom	swim, <i>v.</i>
pèol'churd	pilchard, <i>s.</i>	zèom	seem, <i>v.</i>
ũ-pèol'urd	pillowed, <i>a.</i>	vèolum	film, <i>v.</i>
gèol'tée	guilty, <i>a.</i>	shèol'éen	shilling
èonsh	inch, <i>s.</i>	lèomp	{ limp, <i>a.</i> and <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
pèonsh	pinch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	shréomp	{ shrimp, <i>s.</i>
vèonsh	finch, <i>s.</i>	zhрэomp	
pèoch	pitch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	krèomp	crimp, <i>v.</i>
mèolah	milch, <i>a.</i>	dèop	dip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
blèom'ish	blemish, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	lèop	lip, <i>s.</i>
fèon'ish	finish, <i>v.</i>	klèop	clip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fèol'th	filth, <i>s.</i>	slèop	slip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fèol'trée	filthy, <i>a.</i>	nèop	nip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tèolth	tilth, <i>s.</i>	snèop	snip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
dèoth	doth, <i>v.</i>	pèop	pip, <i>s.</i>
zmèoth	smith, <i>s.</i>	rèop	rip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
dèopth	depth, <i>s.</i>	drèop	drip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
pèol'ij	pillage, <i>v.</i>	trèop	trip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
tèolij	tillage, <i>s.</i>	strèop	strip, <i>v.</i>
zèol	sill, <i>s.</i>	tèop	tip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
nèop'l	nipple, <i>s.</i>	lèom'bur	limber, <i>a.</i>
krèop'l	cripple, <i>s.</i>	mèom'bur	member, <i>s.</i>
pèon'ikul	pinnacle, <i>s.</i>	Saptèom'bur	September, <i>s.</i>
zwèov'l	swivel, <i>s.</i>	Noavèom'bur	November, <i>s.</i>
lèom	limb, <i>s.</i>	pèol'fur	pilfer, <i>v.</i>
klèom	climb, <i>v.</i>		

30. Doubtful OO', perhaps Glossic I, E'O, U'O=*i*, *e*, *u*.Part II.—*continued*.

pèol'ur	pillar, pillow, <i>s</i> .	krèops	crisp, <i>a</i> .
pèop'lur	poplar, <i>s</i> .	èolt	hilt, <i>s</i> .
skréob'lur	scribbler, <i>s</i> .	bèolt	built, <i>pret</i> .
pèop'er	pepper, <i>s</i> .	gèolt	gilt, guilt, <i>s</i> .
krèopur	crupper, <i>s</i> .	mèolt	milt, <i>s</i> . (spleen)
fèoltur	filter, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .	spèolt	spilt, <i>a</i> .
skrèoptur	scripture	tèolt	tilt, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
spèotur	spitter (spud), <i>s</i> .	kwèolt	quilt, <i>s</i> .
zèolvur	silver, <i>s</i> .	bèol'yürdz	billiards, <i>s</i> .

PART III.

fūol'ij	} village, <i>s</i> .	wūom'čēn	{ women, <i>s</i> .
vūol'ij		wūon	
pūol'gurmij	pilgrimage, <i>s</i> .	wūop	one, <i>s</i> . (are)
mūolk	milk, <i>s</i> .	wūol'ivaer	{ whip, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
sūolk	silk, <i>s</i> .	vūol'vae'rēe	
wūom'l	wimble, <i>s</i> .	pūor'čēmunt	{ fieldfare, <i>s</i> .
wūol	will, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .	pūol'čēmunt	
wūomp'l	wimple, <i>s</i> .	wūol'ū	pyramid, <i>s</i> .
			willow

31. Fracture OO'ū=uu'.

See note to No. 29.

boo'ūrd	board, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .	oo'ūr	ore, oar, <i>s</i> .
boo'boo'ūrd	above-board, <i>a</i> .	boo'ūr	{ boar, <i>s</i> . bore, <i>v</i> .
zoo'ūrd	sword, <i>s</i> .	koo'ūr	
loo'ūd	load, <i>ad</i> .	saikoo'ūr	cure, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
ūbroo'ūd	abroad, <i>ad</i> .	moo'ūr	secure, <i>v</i> . and <i>a</i> .
hroo'ūd	road, <i>s</i> .	zoo'ūr	more, <i>a</i> .
too'ūd	toad, <i>s</i> .	stoo'ūr	sore, <i>a</i> .
boo'ūth	both, <i>v</i> .	foo'ūs(t	store, story, <i>s</i> .
voo'ūth	forth, <i>ad</i> .	boo'ūs(t	force, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
goo'ūl	gold, <i>s</i> .	goo'ūs(t	boast, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
zoo'ūl	sull, <i>s</i> . (plough)	koo'ūs(t	ghost, <i>s</i> .
boo'ūn	bone, <i>s</i> .	roo'ūs(t	coast, <i>s</i> .
hroo'ūp	rope, <i>s</i> .	poo'ūs(t	roast, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
zoo'ūp	soap, <i>s</i> .	too'ūs(t	{ post, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
voo'ūt	{ vote, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .	koo'ūrt	
		traan'spoo'ūrt	(letter only)
koo'ūch	devote, <i>v</i> .	spoo'ūrt	toast, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
hroo'ūch	coach, <i>s</i> .	soo'ūrt	toat, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
voo'ūrij	roach, <i>s</i> .	boo'ūt	court, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
poo'ul	forge, <i>s</i> .		transport, <i>v</i> .
voo'ūm	pole, <i>s</i> .		sport, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
stoo'ūn	foam, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .		sort, <i>v</i> . and <i>s</i> .
	stone, <i>s</i> .		boat

32. Short U=e.

This list consists of two parts. The five words in Part I. had been referred to [u']=(e), as an indistinct [uu]=(æ), but they sounded to me just like my own [u]=(e), which I employ, and seem to hear usually in literary English, instead of [uu]=(æ). See No. 37. On the other hand, [i] or [eo]=(i, e) may be the more correct form.

Part II. consists of words ending in unaccented syllables containing an "obscure" vowel, which, if not [u]=(e), was not distinguishable from it by me. This short [u] has often been written [ü] by Mr. Elworthy, especially when not in a closed syllable. Although unnecessary, this short mark has been generally retained.—A. J. E.

PART I.

shuf	shift, <i>s.</i>	stuf	stiff, <i>a.</i>
kluf	cliff, <i>s.</i> cleft, <i>a.</i>	alum	slim, <i>a.</i>
druf	{ drift, <i>s.</i> draft, <i>s.</i>		
	{ draught, <i>s.</i>		

PART II.

un	him, <i>pro.</i>	mae·üzmunt	amazement, <i>s.</i>
keen·durd	kindred, <i>s.</i>	kee·üzmunt	casement, <i>s.</i>
kau·nsëekuns	consequence, <i>s.</i>	vurtuy·zmunt	advertisement
an·shunt	ancient	bae·ütmunt	abatement, <i>s.</i>
paer·shunt	patient	saa·rpunt	serpent, <i>s.</i>
kaun·sëekunt	consequent, <i>a.</i>	aar·unt	errand, <i>s.</i>
frai·kunt	frequent, <i>a.</i>	fuur·unt	foreign, <i>a.</i>
vuy·lunt	violent, <i>a.</i>	dai·sunt	decent, <i>a.</i>
ee·mplëemunt	implement, <i>s.</i>	kuur·sunt	crescent, <i>s.</i>
gree·munt	agreement, <i>s.</i>	pin·ëetunt	penitent, <i>a.</i>
prai·chmunt	preachment, <i>s.</i>	pae·ütunt	patent, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kroa·üchmunt	encroachment	saa·rvunt	servant, <i>s.</i>
fraash·munt	refreshment, <i>s.</i>	praz·unt	present, <i>s.</i>
paa·ymunt	payment, <i>s.</i>	vùol·burt	filbert, <i>s.</i>
sid·ëemunt	sediment, <i>s.</i>	kaum·furt	comfort, <i>s.</i>
raa·ymunt	raiment, <i>s.</i>	faak·ut	faggot, <i>s.</i>
maun·imunt	monument, <i>s.</i>	jaak·ut	jacket, <i>s.</i>
jij·munt	judgment, <i>s.</i>	raak·ut	racket, <i>s.</i>
uur·jmunt	regiment, <i>s.</i>	braak·ut	bracket, <i>s.</i>
lauj·munt	lodgement, <i>s.</i>	juung·kut	junket, <i>s.</i>
gee·üjmunt	engagement, <i>s.</i>	thik·ut	thicket, <i>s.</i>
jaak·munt	ejectment, <i>s.</i>	spik·ut	spigot, <i>s.</i>
aa·ylmunt	ailment, <i>s.</i>	wik·ut	wicket, <i>s.</i>
tang·lmunt	entanglement, <i>s.</i>	maa·rkut	market, <i>s.</i>
suy·nmunt	signature, <i>s.</i>	tring·kut	trinket, <i>s.</i>
oa·pmunt	opening, <i>s.</i>	rauk·ut	rocket, <i>s.</i>
kunsaa·rnmunt	concernment, <i>s.</i>	lauk·ut	locket, <i>s.</i>
mish·nrmunt	measurement, <i>s.</i>	pauk·ut	pocket, <i>s.</i>
kweet·munt	acquittance, <i>s.</i>	sauk·ut	socket, <i>s.</i>
laut·munt	allotment, <i>s.</i>	buuk·ut	bucket, <i>s.</i>

32. Short U=e. Part II.—*continued.*

saal·ut	salad, <i>s.</i>	fuur·ut	ferret, <i>s.</i>
vaal·ut	valet, <i>s.</i>	wuur·ut	wherret, <i>v.</i>
drib·lut	dribblet, <i>s.</i>	suut	soot, <i>s.</i>
hring·lut	ringlet, <i>s.</i>	uur·sut	russet, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>
uy·lut	eyelet, <i>s.</i>	kraav·ut	cravat, <i>s.</i>
bil·ut	billet, <i>s.</i>	zaa·put	sawpit, <i>s.</i>
waal·ut	wallet, <i>s.</i>	aa·rmput	armpit, <i>s.</i>
buul·ut	bullet, <i>s.</i>	tū	too, to, <i>ad. prep.</i>
puul·ut	pullet, <i>s.</i>	zū	so, <i>ad.</i>
uul·mut	helmet, <i>s.</i>	aar·u	arrow, <i>s.</i>
bag·unut	bayonet, <i>s.</i>		harrow, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
uur·nut	rennet, <i>s.</i>	bar·u	barrow, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i>
aur·nut	hornet, <i>s.</i>	mar·u	marrow, <i>s.</i>
puut	put, <i>v.</i>		morrow, <i>s.</i>
pau·put	puppet, <i>s.</i>	spaar·u	sparrow, <i>s.</i>
puul·put	pulpit, <i>s.</i>	shad·u	shadow, <i>s.</i>
tuup·ut	tippet, <i>s.</i>	mid·u	meadow, <i>s.</i>
kaar·ut	carrot, <i>s.</i>		

33. Short UA=α.

These few words seem to contain a very difficult vowel, but it may be merely the action of this [dur], or perhaps more properly [du.r] = (dæ) final. Dr. Murray assigned [ua] = (α), and I have retained his appreciation for want of a better. But I hesitated between [o'] = (oh) and [uu] = (u), and the latter is not far off the sound. The [d] is here very peculiar, as in the word [tæ·tū·dæz] = (tæ·tū·diz), referred to in a note on the text. See *Postscript*.—A. J. E.

buad·ur	butter, <i>s.</i>	shnad·ur	shutter, <i>s.</i>
guad·ur	gutter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	muad·ur	mutter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kuad·ur	cutter, <i>s.</i>	spnad·ur	sputter, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

34. Long U E=y₂y₂.

This is generally considered as the French u=[ue] = (yy) long, but both Dr. Murray and myself, acting upon the previous experience of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, consider it to be an obscure and deep variety of this sound, produced probably by widening the lower part of the pharynx, and hence properly expressed by (y₂). Compare No. 22. See *Postscript*.—A. J. E.

ohùe·b	tube, <i>s.</i>	blùe	blue, <i>a.</i>
kùe·b	cube, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	flùe, vlùe	flue, <i>s.</i>
stùep·eed	stupid, <i>a.</i>	glùe	glue, <i>s.</i>
ù·dùe·d	done, <i>p.p.</i>	slùe	slough, <i>s.</i>
ùe	who? <i>pr.</i>	nùe	new, <i>a.</i>
bùe	view, <i>s.</i>	vuy·ur·nùe	bran-new, <i>ad.</i>
dùe	do, <i>v. (emph.)</i>	pyùe	pew, <i>s.</i>
shùe	shoe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	spùe	spue, <i>v.</i>
Jùe	Jew, <i>s.</i>	rùe	row, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kùe	cue, <i>s.</i>		(of hay)
lùe	lee, <i>a.</i>	drùe	through, <i>ad.</i>

34. Long U'E=y₂y₂.—*continued.*

krùe	crew, <i>s.</i>	yùe	use, <i>s.</i>
Sùe	Sue (Susan)	dées'pùe't	dispute, <i>s.</i>
tùe	{ to, <i>prep. (emph.)</i>	sùe't	suit, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
	two, too	ùe'z	whose, <i>pr. v.</i>
stùe	stew, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	bùe'z	abuse, <i>v.</i>
vùe	few, <i>a.</i>	rai'fùe'z	refuse, <i>s.</i>
yùe'zhl	usual, <i>a.</i>	mùe'z	{ amuse, <i>v.</i>
skùe'faa'rsheen	askew, <i>ad.</i>		moss, <i>s.</i>
chùe'n	tune, <i>s.</i>	nùe'z	news, <i>s.</i>
dùe's	dence, <i>s.</i>	yùe'z	use, <i>v.</i>
purjùe's	produce, <i>v.</i>	krùe'el	cruel
sprùe's	spruce, <i>s.</i>	kùe'urt	court, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

35. Short U'E=y₁.

These three words seem to have the short sound of [ùe], but they may rather belong to [i]. The sound is so short and squeezed that it is very difficult to appreciate it. See *Postscript.*—A. J. E.

jùek	duke, <i>s.</i>
zùep	sweep, <i>v. pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>
ũ-zùep	swept, <i>p.p.</i>

36. Short UO=u.

These words were pronounced with a true [uo]=(u), but it will be seen that 'pepper' and 'whip' are also found in No. 30, Parts II. and III., and it is at least very likely that [zuok] may occasionally have the same sound. The smallness of the number of words in both [uo] and [ùo], No. 30, makes the separation of the two sounds rather doubtful.—A. J. E.

zuok	suck, <i>v.</i>	wuop	whip, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
yuok	{ yolk, <i>s.</i> yoke, <i>s.</i>	zuok'ur	sucker, <i>s.</i>
	yolk, <i>s.</i>	puop'ur	pepper, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

37. Short UU=x.

In almost all forms of English, the vowels in the accented and unaccented syllables of such a word as *husband*, differ. In the literary dialect they are as in [hux'bu'nd] or [huux'bu'nd]=(hæz'bænd) or (hæz'bænd), but in the dialects they are mostly distinguished as in [huux'bund]=(hæz'bænd), or, as in the present case, as in [uux'bun]=(x'bæn). In Mr. Elworthy's dialectal pronunciation the [uu] was very marked. This is a very "thick" sound, and much resembles [ða]=(o); indeed, the latter is often taken for the former, as it only differs from it by the rounding of the lips.—A. J. E.

tuur'ũ	turf, <i>s.</i>	buur'ndũld	brindled, <i>a.</i>
kuurb	curve, <i>s.</i>	guur'zũld	grizzled, <i>a.</i>
uub	ebb, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	buur'nd	burnt, <i>a.</i>
ruub	rob, <i>v.</i>	ũ-buur'nd	burnt, <i>p.p.</i>
wuub	web, <i>s.</i>	uurd	red, <i>a.</i> rid, <i>v.</i>
kau'bwuub	cobweb, <i>s.</i>	buurd	bread, <i>s.</i>
kuus'eed	cursed, <i>a.</i>	wuul'buur'd	well-bred, <i>a.</i>

37. Short UU = ɹ. — *continued.*

dhuur'ubuu'rd	thoroughbred, <i>a.</i>	buur'ndl	brindle
uun'durd	hundred, <i>a.</i>	buur'dl	burl, <i>v.</i> ¹
dhuurd	third, <i>a.</i>	guur'dl	grill, <i>v.</i> girl, <i>s.</i>
druung'kurd	drunkard, <i>s.</i>	kuur'dl	curl, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
vuul'urd	fallowed, <i>v. pret.</i>	puur'dl	pearl, <i>v.</i> perl, <i>v.</i>
wuurd	{ hoard, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> word, <i>s.</i>	vuur'dl	furl, <i>v.</i> ferule, <i>s.</i>
		wuur'dl	world, <i>s.</i> whirl, <i>s.</i>
buud	{ bud, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i> but, <i>conj.</i> (before a vowel)	twuur'dl	twirl, <i>v.</i>
uuf'üd		skwuur'dl	squirrel, <i>s.</i>
tuung'üd	hoofed, <i>a.</i>	fuum'l	fumble, <i>v.</i>
skuud	{ tongued, <i>a.</i> scab, (on a wound)	muum'l	mumble, <i>v.</i>
kyat-uuk'üd		taum'l	tumble, <i>v.</i>
zlai'püd	{ slept (<i>emphatic</i> <i>pret.</i>)	buun'l	bundle
hrat'üd		buul	belle, <i>s.</i> bell, <i>s.</i>
spuur'ëetüd	cat-hocked, <i>a.</i>	rai'buul	rebel, <i>v.</i>
thuus'tëe	slept (<i>emphatic</i> <i>pret.</i>)	duul	dull, <i>a.</i>
tuut'ëe	rotted, <i>a.</i>	kuul	cull, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
uuf	spirited, <i>a.</i>	muur'ikl	miracle, <i>s.</i>
shuuf	thirsty, <i>a.</i>	smuul	smell, <i>s.</i>
skruuf	potato, <i>s.</i>	nuul	knell, <i>s.</i>
druug	potato, <i>s.</i>	jin'ül	general, <i>a.</i>
buurch	hoof, <i>s.</i>	spuul	spell, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kuurch	shift, <i>s.</i>	uur'ul(d	herald, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
puur'ëesh	scurf, <i>s.</i>	vuur'ul	ferule, <i>s.</i>
buulsh	drag, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	tuul	tell, <i>v.</i>
buursh	breech, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	siv'ül	several, <i>a.</i>
kuursh	crutch, <i>s.</i>	wuul	well, <i>a.</i> ad. <i>s.</i>
uulth	perish, <i>v.</i>	dwuul	dwell, <i>v.</i>
wuulth	belch, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zwuul	swell, <i>v.</i>
twuulth	brush, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	zuul	self, <i>pr.</i>
suur'inj	crush, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	eezzuul	himself, <i>pr.</i>
fuur'nj	health, <i>s.</i>	uur'ëen	herring, <i>s.</i>
kuur'nj	wealth, <i>s.</i>	fuurm	{ firm, <i>a.</i> form, <i>s.</i> (bench)
uurj	twelfth, <i>a.</i>	buum	
guurj	syringe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dhuum	bung, <i>s.</i>
uursk	fringe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	uul'üm	thumb, <i>s.</i>
uuk	cringe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	ruul'üm	elm, <i>s.</i> halm, <i>s.</i>
kaany'duuk	ridge, <i>s.</i>	oa'vur-wuul'üm	realm, <i>s.</i>
kau'nduuk	grudge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	dhuum	over-whelm, <i>v.</i>
chuuk	risk, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	buuz'um	thrumb, <i>s.</i>
ü-chauk(t	hock, <i>s.</i> (of horse)	puud'n	bosom, <i>s.</i>
tuuk	decoy duck, <i>s.</i>	buuz'gëen	pudding, <i>s.</i>
tuur'bl	conduct, <i>s.</i>	kuur'shëen	buskin, <i>s.</i>
	choke, <i>v.</i>	dwuul'ëen	cushion, <i>s.</i>
	choked, <i>p.p.</i>	kruub-chain	dwelling, <i>s.</i>
	tusk, <i>s.</i>	zwuul'ëen	curb-chain, <i>s.</i>
	terrible, <i>a.</i>		swelling, <i>s.</i>

¹ See page 198.

37. Short UU=æ.—*continued.*

kuur·snēen	christening, <i>s.</i>	kuuv·ur	{ cover, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
yuur·ēen	hearing, <i>s.</i>		covert, <i>s.</i>
uurn	run, <i>v.</i>	wuur	{ whether
uy·urn	iron, <i>s.</i>		where, <i>ad.</i>
muurn	mourn, <i>v.</i>	yuur	{ hear, here, ear,
uup·urn	apron, <i>s.</i>		year, your
skuul·itn	skeleton, <i>s.</i>	guur·duy·ūr	gridiron, <i>s.</i>
uuz·bun	husband	zuur	sir
fuul·un	felon	puur·ntēes	apprentice
uum·un	woman, <i>s.</i>	uuls	else, <i>a.</i> and <i>pron.</i>
ruun	urn, <i>s.</i>	mēom·burns	remembrance, <i>s.</i>
yuun	yon, <i>ad.</i>	kaum·burns	encumbrance, <i>s.</i>
bēeyuun·	beyond, <i>prep.</i>	daef·urns	difference, <i>s.</i>
kuur·maza	crimson, <i>s.</i>	een·dūrns	hindrance, <i>s.</i>
uulp	help, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	hig n·urns	ignorance, <i>s.</i>
pluump	pump, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	puurns	prince, <i>s.</i>
bang·kurp	bankrupt, <i>s.</i>	taem·purns	temperance
chuur·up	chirp, <i>v.</i>	dailiv·urns	deliverance
stuur·up	stirrup, <i>s.</i>	riv·urns	reverence, <i>s.</i>
gurnudee·ūr	grenadier, <i>s.</i>	uur·dūns	riddance, <i>s.</i>
kaa·fmdur	carpenter, <i>s.</i>	puur·tnuns	pertinace, <i>s.</i>
vuur·dur	further, <i>ad.</i>	dēestur·vuns	disturbance, <i>s.</i>
shuug·ur	sugar, <i>s.</i>	gruuts, guurts	groats
uudh·ur	either, <i>a.</i>	buus	{ burst, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
shaal·ur	shallow, <i>a.</i>		<i>pres.</i> and <i>pret.</i>
nnudh·ur	neither, <i>a.</i>	fuus	first, <i>s.</i>
taa·lur	tallow, <i>s.</i>	aum·ligus	omnibus
suur·klur	circular, <i>a.</i>	kuus	curse, <i>s.</i>
muum·l-lur	tumbler, <i>s.</i>	thuus(t	thirst
tuum·l-lur	tumbler	muus	must, <i>v.</i>
swaul·ur	swallow, <i>v.</i>	Kan·lmus	Candlemas
buul·ur	bellow, <i>v.</i>	Kuur·smus	Christmas
fuul·ur	fellow, <i>s.</i>	nuus	nurse, <i>s.</i>
bai·dfuul·ur	bedfellow, <i>s.</i>	puus	purse, <i>s.</i>
muul·ur	mellow, <i>a.</i>	brak·sus	breakfast, <i>v., s.</i>
vuul·ur	{ fellow, <i>s.</i>	spuur·ēet	spirit, <i>s.</i>
	fallow, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i>	buurnt	brunt, <i>s.</i>
yuum·ur	humour, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fuurnt	affront, <i>v.</i>
gēo·nur	good, now!	daef·urnt	different, <i>a.</i>
fuun·ur	funeral, <i>s.</i>	guurnt	grunt, <i>v.</i>
tuum·pur	temper, <i>s.</i>	puurnt	print, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
kuur·ditar	creditor, <i>s.</i>	vuurnt	front, <i>s.</i>
shuul·tur	shelter, <i>s.</i>	guurt	great, <i>a.</i>
smuul·tur	smelter, <i>s.</i>	udhuur·t	athwart, <i>ad.</i>
spuul·tur	spelter, <i>s.</i>	huurt	wort, <i>s.</i> (berry)
wuul·tur	welter, <i>s.</i>	smuurt	smart, <i>a.</i>
drug·ēestur	druggist, <i>s.</i>	dai·zurt	desert, <i>s.</i>
vuur	fur, <i>s.</i> fir, <i>s.</i>	mag·ut	maggot, <i>s.</i>

37. Short UU=ɪ.—*continued.*

shuut	{	shoot, <i>v.</i> <i>pres.</i>	buur·chez	breeches, <i>s.</i>
ū-shuut·		and <i>pret.</i> also <i>s.</i>	druugz	dregs, <i>s.</i>
twuulv		shot, <i>p.p.</i>	wuur·daap·lɜ	hoard-apples
dēes·tuurv·		twelve, <i>a.</i>	skwuur·yulz	skittles, <i>s.</i>
muuv		disturb, <i>v.</i>	dhurzul·z	themselves, <i>pr.</i>
ruuv		move, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	uul·durz	elders, <i>s.</i>
juubz		roof, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	uurz	{ hers, <i>pr.</i> she
vuur·wurdz		jobs, <i>s.</i>		{ is, <i>v.</i>
		forwards, <i>ad.</i>	gyaal·ripurz	gallopers, <i>s.</i>

38. Diphthong UW=əʊ.

This is the literary diphthong [uw]=(əʊ), but there is a slight tendency to make the first element a little longer; the sound, however, does not reach [u·w, əʊ·w]=(əʊʊ, əəʊʊ), and is not at all the same as [uww]=(ɹʊ).—A. J. E.

mai·lē-	{	mealy-mouthed	struwt	{	strut, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
muw·dhid					(also prop)
muw·dh		mouth, <i>s.</i>	buw		bow, <i>v.</i> bough, <i>s.</i>
zuwdh		south, <i>s.</i>	chuw		chew, <i>v.</i>
uw·zl		household, <i>s., a.</i>	luw		allow, <i>v.</i>
juwl		jole, <i>s.</i>	kluw		claw, <i>s.</i>
dhuw·zun		thousand	zuw		sow, <i>s.</i>
vuw·lur		fowler, <i>s.</i>	uwz		house, <i>s.</i>
duws(t		dust, <i>s.</i>	muwz		mouse, <i>s.</i>
kluw(t		clout, <i>s.</i>	duw·st·uw·z	{	dust-house
stuwt		stout, <i>a.</i>			(chaff-house)

39. Diphthongal Fracture UW·ū=əʊʊ.

This fracture seems to occur before [l] only. Before [r] the diphthong changes to [aaw]=(au), see No. 4.

shuw·ūl	shovel, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
wuw·ūl	foul, <i>a.</i> fowl, <i>s.</i> vowel, <i>s.</i>

40. Diphthong UY=əi.

This is also the literary fine long *i*; it does not become [u·y, əi·y]=(əi, əəi) in this dialect, but these forms are heard in East Somerset. It is quite distinct also from either [uuy]=(ɹi) on the one hand, or [aay, aai]=(ai, aai) on the other, and hence is kept quite clear of both No. 18 and No. 5 or 6.—A. J. E.

uy	eye, <i>s.</i>	zluyd	{	slide, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
duy	die, dye, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>			sledge, <i>s.</i>
tuur·ifuy	terrify, <i>v.</i>	ū-zluy·d		slid, <i>p.p.</i>
ū-luy·	lain, <i>p.p.</i>	vluyd		flew, <i>v.</i> (<i>pret.</i>)
bruyb	bribe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	hruyd		ride, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
truyb	tribe, <i>s.</i>	struyd		stride, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
skruyb	scribe, <i>v.</i>	dai·d·luy·vurd		deadalive, <i>s.</i>
uyd	hide, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	ū-muy·ndud	{	minded (in the
ū-uy·d	hidden, <i>p.p.</i>			mind to), <i>s.</i>
ū-duy(d	died, <i>p.p.</i> and <i>s.</i>	tuydh		tithe, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>

40. Diphthong UY=é'i.—*continued.*

uyth	height, <i>s.</i>	truyn, twuyn	twine, <i>v.</i>
bruy·dl	bridle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vuyn	{ fine, <i>a.</i> find, <i>v.</i>
luyk	like, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>		{ and <i>s.</i>
béeluy·k	belike, <i>ad.</i>	wuyn	wind, <i>v.</i>
aa·rdluyk	hardly, <i>ad.</i>	bruyp	ripe, <i>a.</i>
een·wurdluyk	inwardly, <i>a.</i>	truyp	tripe, <i>s.</i>
gau·dluyk	godly, <i>a.</i>	wuyp	wisp, <i>s.</i>
uur·ch-luyk	{ richly, rich, <i>ad.</i>	vuy·ndur	finder, <i>s.</i>
	{ and <i>a.</i>	suy·fur	cipher, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
zing·l-luyk	singly, <i>ad.</i>	buy·gur	beggar, <i>s.</i>
kéo·l-luyk	coolly, <i>ad.</i>	vruy·tur	writer, <i>s.</i>
déom·luyk	dimly, <i>ad.</i>	uys	{ hoist, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
thee·n-luyk	thinly, <i>ad.</i>		{ ice, <i>s.</i>
zoo·ur-luyk	sorely, <i>ad.</i>	juys	{ joist, <i>s.</i> (<i>sing.</i>
kéo·aluyk	coarsely, <i>ad.</i>		{ and <i>plur.</i>)
læ·üt-luyk	lately, <i>ad.</i>	tuys	entice, <i>v.</i>
sund·unt-luyk	suddenly	vuyz	fist, <i>s.</i>
vuy·z-baul	fives-ball, <i>s.</i>		{ write, <i>v.</i> right,
bé·uy·n-an·	behindhand, <i>a.</i>	vruyt	{ wright, <i>a.</i>
buy·gin	begging, <i>s.</i>		{ and <i>v.</i>
tuy·lin	tiling, <i>s.</i>	paynt	{ pint, <i>s.</i> point,
vruy·tin	writing, <i>s.</i>		{ (rarely)
uy·lun	island, highland	vuy·lunt	{ violet, <i>s.</i>
uyn	hind, <i>s.</i>		{ violent, <i>a.</i>
buyn	bind, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	duy·munt	diamond, <i>s.</i>
éo·dbuyn	woodbine, <i>s.</i>	luyv	life, <i>s.</i>
fuyv	fine, <i>a.</i>	üluy·v	alive, <i>a.</i>
chuyv	{ chimb, <i>s.</i> chine,	nuyv	knife, <i>s.</i>
	{ <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	struyv	strive, <i>v.</i>
kuyn(d	kind, <i>a.</i>	wuyv	wife, <i>s.</i>
muyn(d	mind, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vruy	fry, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
puyn	{ pen, <i>s.</i> (cattle	vuy·stez	fists, <i>s.</i>
	{ pen)	suy·zez	assizes, <i>s.</i>
spuyn	spine, <i>s.</i>	uyz	eyes, <i>s.</i>
hruym	rime, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vuyz	advise, <i>v.</i> fives, <i>s.</i>
hruyn(d	rind, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	suyvz	chives, <i>s.</i>

41. Diphthongal Fracture UY·ü=é'í'.

Before [l] and [r] a fracture arises as usual, but the [r] does not convert [uy] into [aey]. Compare Nos. 4 and 7.—A. J. E.

wuy·ülduuk	wild duck	uy·ür	{ iron, <i>s.</i> hire, <i>v.</i>
puy·ül	pile, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		{ and <i>s.</i>
muy·ül	mild, <i>a.</i>	muy·ür	admire, <i>v.</i>
muy·üld	mile, <i>s.</i>	een·tuyür	entire, <i>a.</i>
tuy·ül	tile, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vruy·ür	friar, <i>s.</i>
vuy·ül	{ viol, <i>s.</i> file, <i>v.</i>	vuy·ür	fire, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
	{ and <i>s.</i> phial, <i>s.</i>	kwuy·ür	require, <i>v.</i>
wuy·ül	{ while, <i>ad.</i>	suy·ür	desire, <i>v.</i>
	{ wild, <i>a.</i>	kwuy·üt	quiet, <i>a.</i>

42. Diphthong UUY= $\text{æ}'\text{é}$.

This is full [uuy], very nearly [oay]=(oi), and confused constantly with [auy]=($\text{a}'\text{é}$). It occurs only after [w], or rather in the fractural triphthong [wuuy]=($\text{uæ}'\text{é}$), which is again fractured before [l], as in [bwuuyl]=($\text{buæ}'\text{é'l}$).
—A. J. E.

bwuuy	boy, <i>s.</i>	gèod·bwuuy	good-bye
bwuuyðl	boil, <i>v.</i>	pwuuy·zn	poison, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
spwuuyðl	spoil, <i>v.</i>	bwuuy·lur	boiler, <i>s.</i>
bwuuy·lëen	boiling, <i>s.</i>		

III.—CONSONANTS.

In the following lists the words are arranged in the alphabetical order of the ordinary spelling, reckoning from the beginning of the word. The numbering of the lists, for the sake of reference, continues that of the vowel lists. The consonants treated are those which are specially related to consonants in the literary dialect.

43. F initial retained.

It is commonly supposed that in Somersetshire every initial [f, s, th] is changed into [v, z, dh]. This is far from being the case. The words in this list never change [f] into [v]. It will be observed that they are almost all of foreign origin.

fable	fæ·ùbl, <i>s.</i>	faucet	fau·sut, <i>s.</i>
face	fæ·ùs, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fault	fau·ùt, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
facia	fæ·ùshur, <i>s.</i>	faultless	fau·tlëes, <i>a.</i>
fact	faak, <i>s.</i> and <i>v.</i>	faulty	fau·tëe, <i>a.</i>
factory	faak·turëe	fawn (young } deer) }	fau·ün, <i>s.</i>
fade	fæ·ùd, <i>v.</i>	favour	fæ·üvur, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fail	faa·yül, <i>v.</i>	feature	fai·chur, <i>s.</i>
failing	faa·ylëen, <i>pres.</i>	February	Fib·urëe, <i>s.</i>
fain, <i>a.</i> , feign, <i>v.</i>	faa·yn [<i>part.</i>]	fee	fee, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
faint	faa·ynt, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	feeble	fai·bl, <i>a.</i>
fair, <i>s.</i> and <i>a.</i> }	fæ·ür	felon, villain	fuul·un, <i>s.</i>
fare, <i>s.</i> }		felony, villainy	fuul·unëe, <i>s.</i>
faith	faa·th	fellow	fuul·ur, <i>s.</i>
faithful	faa·ythfëol, <i>a.</i>	female	fai·mae·ül, <i>a.</i> , <i>s.</i>
false	fau·ls, faa·ls, <i>a.</i>	fence	fai·ns, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fame	fæ·üm, <i>s.</i>	ferment	furmaint, <i>v.</i>
family	faam·lëe, <i>s.</i>	ferret	fuur·ut, <i>s.</i>
farm	faa·rm, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fever	fai·vur, <i>s.</i>
farmer	faa·rmur, <i>s.</i>	fidgit	fæj·ut, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
farrier	faa·rynr, <i>s.</i>	fife	fuyf, <i>s.</i>
ferry	fuur·ëe, <i>s.</i>	figure	fig·ur, <i>s.</i>
fashion	faa·rshëen, <i>s.</i>	figure (to cypher)	fig·urëe, <i>v.</i>
fast, <i>s.</i> , feast, <i>s.</i>	fëe·ùs	affiliate	fil·ëe·ae·ùt, <i>v.</i>
fate	fæ·ùt, <i>s.</i>	filter	fil·tur, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
fated	fæ·ùtid, <i>a.</i>		

43. F initial retained.—*continued.*

filth	fil·trée	force, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	foo·ūs
fine	fuyn, <i>v.</i> and <i>a.</i>	foreign, <i>a.</i>	fuur·éen, fuur·unt
finery	feuy·nurée, <i>s.</i>	forest, <i>s.</i>	fau·rées
finish	fin·éesh, <i>v.</i>	fortune, <i>s.</i>	fau·rtéen
firm, <i>a.</i>		foundation, <i>s.</i>	fuwndae·ūrshun
form, <i>s.</i> (bench)	} fuurm	fountain	fuwn·téen
fit, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fit	fracas, <i>s.</i>	frae·ūkus
fitch, (polecat) <i>s.</i>	fich	fraction, <i>s.</i>	fraak·shun
fix, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	faeks	fractious, <i>a.</i>	fraak·shus
flame, fleam, <i>s.</i>	flae·ūm	frail, <i>a.</i>	fraa·yūl
flask, <i>s.</i>	flāas	frame, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	frae·ūm
flat, <i>a.</i>	flāat	Frank	Frangk
flippant, <i>a.</i>		fray, <i>v.</i>	fraa·y
(pliant, elastic)	} flip	freak, <i>s.</i>	frik
Florey, <i>p. n.</i>		frequent, <i>a.</i>	
(Combe-Withiel)	} Fluur·ée	and <i>ad.</i>	} frai·kūnt
flue, <i>s.</i>	flùe	frill, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fril
fluent, <i>a.</i>		front, <i>s.</i> ,	
(running quickly, of a river only)	} foo·unt	affront, <i>v.</i>	} furn(t)
flute, <i>s.</i>	flùe·t	and <i>s.</i>	
forage, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fau·rēj	fruit, <i>s.</i>	frùe·t
		fried-potatoes, <i>s.</i>	fruy·tae·ūdēez
		fuller's earth, <i>s.</i>	fuul·urzath
		fundament, <i>s.</i>	fuun·dēemun(t)
		furnace, <i>s.</i>	fuur·nées
		fusty, <i>a.</i>	fuws·tée

44. F and V initial both used occasionally.

In the following list the [f] is always retained when the word is emphatic, and generally in the words forming Part I. it is more common than [v], but in the other words [v] is more common than [f]. So far as I could make out, the words really began in all cases with [fv], as [fvee·ū·r] = (fvii·x), that is, the voice of [v] was not commenced as soon as the position was assumed, and hence a faint [f] was heard before it. This is like [sz] in the German *sie* = [szee] = (szii), and in all German words beginning with *s*. In the English finals, when no vowel or consonant follows, the reverse process takes place, as "it is *his*" = [it·iz·hizs] = (it·iz·khizs). In both cases it is assumed that [z] only is pronounced, thus [zee, hiz], because the voice is so much more powerful than the hiss, that the latter is unobserved. This I believe to be the case with the Somersetshire initials [fv, sz, shzh, thdh]. But when much emphasis is laid on the word the hiss is driven out so sharp as to predominate, and hence the buzz is not observed, and [f, s, sh, th] alone are recognized.—A. J. E.

PART I.

Generally [f], sometimes [v].

fat, <i>a.</i> and <i>s.</i>	faat, vaat	fig, <i>s.</i>	fig, vig
father, <i>s.</i>	{ faa·dhur	forty, <i>a.</i>	{ fau·rtée
	{ vaa·dhur		{ vau·rtée
fear, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fee·ūr, vee·ūr	fox, <i>s.</i>	fau·ks, vau·ks
fiddle, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fid·l, vid·l	fumble, <i>v.</i>	fuum·l, vuum·l
fight, <i>v. s.</i>	fai·t, vai·t		

44. F and V initial both used occasionally.—*continued.*

PART II.

Generally [v], sometimes [f].

afraid, <i>a.</i>	{ üvee·ürd	first, <i>a.</i>	vuus, fuus
felt, <i>s.</i>	{ üfee·ürd	fish, <i>s.</i>	vee·sh, fee·sh
fester, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	vuult, fuult	flannel, <i>s.</i>	vlan·ëen, flan·ëen
figgy-pudding,	vas·tur, fas·tur	fling, <i>v.</i>	vling, fling
<i>s.</i> (always	{ vig·ëe puud·n,	forge, <i>v.</i>	voa·ürj, foa·ürj
used for		fret, <i>v.</i>	vraet, fraet
plum pud-		fringe, <i>s.</i>	vuurnj, fuurnj
ding)	fig·ee puud·n	fry, <i>v.</i>	vruy, fruy

45. F initial becomes invariably V.

fag	vaa·g, <i>v.</i>	filbert	vil·burt, <i>s.</i>
fall	vaa·l, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	fill	vee·ül, <i>v.</i>
fallow	vuul·ur, <i>v. s.</i>	film	vil·um, <i>s.</i>
fan	van, <i>s.</i>	fin	vee·n, <i>s.</i>
fang	vang, <i>s.</i>	goldfinch	goo·lvraensh, <i>s.</i>
far	vaa·r, <i>a.</i>	find	vuyn, <i>v.</i>
farther	vaa·rdur, <i>ad.</i>	finger	ving·ur, <i>s.</i>
farthest	vaa·rdëest, <i>a.</i>	fir	vuur, <i>s.</i>
far-fetched	vuur·vau·t, <i>a.</i>	fire	vuy·ür, <i>s.</i>
farrow	{ vaar·ëe, <i>v.</i>	firing	vaay·ürëen, <i>s.</i>
farthing	{ vaa·rth, <i>s.</i>	firkin	vuur·këen, <i>s.</i>
fast	vaa·rd·n, <i>s.</i>	fish	vee·sh, <i>s.</i>
fathom	vaa·s, <i>a.</i> and <i>ad.</i>	fist	vuys, <i>s.</i>
fawning	vadh·um, <i>s.</i>	five	vuyv, <i>s.</i>
fearless	vau·nin	fives	vuyz, <i>s.</i>
feather	veeür·lëes, <i>a.</i>	flag	vlag, <i>s.</i>
feeling	vaedh·ur, <i>s.</i>	flail	vlaa·yül, <i>s.</i>
feet	vee·ülëen, <i>s.</i>	flagon	vlag·ëen, <i>s.</i>
fell	vëet, <i>s.</i>	flange	vlanj, <i>s.</i>
felloe	{ vuul, <i>v.</i> (in sew-	flank	vlangk, <i>s.</i>
fennel	{ ing)	flaw, <i>s.</i>	{ vlae·ür
fern	vuul·ur, <i>s.</i>	flare, <i>v.</i>	
ferule	vin·ul, <i>s.</i>	flax	vlaeks, <i>s.</i>
fetch	vee·urn, <i>s.</i>	flea	vlai, <i>s.</i>
fetlock	{ vuur·ül, <i>s.</i>	fledged	ü·vlaej, <i>p.p.</i>
few	{ vuur·dl, <i>s.</i>	fleece	vlee·z, <i>s.</i>
field	vaach, <i>v.</i>	flesh	vlaa·rsh, <i>s.</i>
fieldfare	vaet·lauk, <i>a.</i>	flew	vluyd, <i>v. pret.</i>
file	vùe, <i>a.</i>	fitch	vleech, <i>s.</i>
	vee·ül, <i>s.</i>	flint	vling, <i>v.</i>
	vee·ül·vaer, <i>s.</i>	flock	vlaent, <i>s.</i>
	vaay·ül, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>		vlok, <i>s.</i>

45. F initial becomes invariably V.—*continued.*

flog	vlog, <i>v.</i>	fowl	vuw-ül, <i>s.</i>
floor	vloor, <i>s.</i>	fright	vruyt, <i>s.</i>
flow	vloa, <i>s.</i>	fro'	vroa, <i>prep.</i>
flour	vlaw-ür, <i>s.</i>	frolick	vrau-lik, <i>s.</i>
flood	vhd, <i>s.</i>	froth	vrau-th, <i>s.</i>
flush	vlish, <i>a.</i>	frost	vrau's(t, <i>s.</i>
flutter	vltur, <i>v.</i>	further	vuur-dur, <i>ad.</i>
fly	vluv, <i>v.</i>	found	vuwn, <i>v. pret.</i>
foal	voa-l, <i>s.</i>	four	vaaw-ür, <i>a.</i>
foam	voa'm, <i>s.</i>	free	vree, <i>a.</i>
fog	vog, <i>s.</i>	freehold	vree-öal, <i>a.</i>
fold	voa-l, <i>s. and v.</i>	freeze	vree-z, <i>v.</i>
folks	vöak's, <i>s. p.</i>	frost	vrau's, <i>s.</i>
foot	vèot, <i>s.</i>	fresh	vraash, <i>a.</i>
for	{ vaur (emph.)	Friday	Vruy-dée, <i>s.</i>
	{ vür, <i>prep.</i>	friend	vrai'n, <i>s.</i>
forbear	vurbæ'r, <i>v.</i>	fringe	vuur-nj, vrinj, <i>s.</i>
forbid	vrubee'd, <i>v.</i>	frock	vrok, <i>s.</i>
forgive	vurgee', <i>v.</i>	frog	vrog, <i>s.</i>
forake	vursæ-ük, <i>v.</i>	from	vrom, <i>prep.</i>
ford	voa-ürd, <i>s.</i>	fry	vruy, <i>v. and s.</i>
fore	voa'r, üvoa'r, <i>a.</i>	full	vèol, <i>a.</i>
fork	vaurk, <i>s.</i>	fumble	vuum-l, <i>v.</i>
forehead	vaur-aed, <i>a.</i>	furbish	vuur-bish, <i>v.</i>
forth	voa-üth, <i>ad.</i>	furl	vuur-ul, <i>v.</i>
fourfoot	vaur-veot, <i>a.</i>	farlong	vuur-long, <i>s.</i>
fortnight, <i>s.</i> }	vaurtnēet	furlough	vuur-loa, <i>s.</i>
fortunate, <i>a.</i> }		furrow	voa-ür, <i>s.</i>
forward	vuur-wurd, <i>a.</i>	furze	vuuz, <i>s.</i>

All compound words are sounded in the same manner as their simple components, except where otherwise noted.

46. F final becomes V.

calf, <i>s.</i>	kyaa-v	loaf, <i>s.</i>	loa-v
half, <i>s.</i>	aa-v	roof, <i>v. s.</i>	ruuv
leaf, <i>s.</i>	lee-v	sheaf, <i>s.</i>	shee-v
life, <i>s.</i>	luy-v	wife, <i>s.</i>	wuy-v

47. F final becomes U.

turf, *s.* taur-ü

48. F final is lost.

bailiff, <i>s.</i>	baa-ylēe	himself	ee-zzuul-
plaintiff, <i>s.</i>	plaa-yntēe	herself	uur-zuul-
handkerchief, <i>s.</i>	hang-kichur		

49. V initial becomes DH.

very, <i>ad.</i>	dhuur·ëe	vetches, <i>s. pl.</i>	dhaach·ëz
veal, <i>s.</i>	{ dhae·ül (some-times)	vouch, <i>v.</i>	{ dhuwch (common)

50. V initial becomes F.

value, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	faal·ëe (common)
victuals, <i>s.</i>	faet·lz (common)
village	fuol·ij (common)

51. V final becomes F.

heave, <i>v.</i>	haef(t	cloven, <i>pp.</i>	{ ü·klaef
leave, <i>v.</i>	laef	lieve, lief, <i>ad.</i>	{ ü·klaef·tid
cleave, <i>v.</i>	klaef	Fivehead	lee·f
			Fuy·faed

52. V final becomes B.

curve, <i>s.</i>	kuurb	valve, <i>s.</i>	vaal·b
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53. V final lost.

give, <i>v.</i>	gëe	expensive	aekspai·nsee
gave, <i>v. pret.</i>	gyid	abusive, <i>a.</i>	{ bùe·zëe (very common)
given, <i>prep.</i>	ü·gid·	native, <i>s.</i>	nae·ütëe
forgive, <i>v.</i>	vurgëe·	laxative, <i>s.</i>	laak·sitëe
have, <i>v.</i>	ae·ü	active, <i>a.</i>	{ aak·tëe, haak·tëe (very common name of cart-horse)
lieve, <i>ad.</i>	lai	destructive, <i>a.</i>	struuk·tëe
above, <i>prep.</i>	boo, üboo·	deceptive, <i>a.</i>	saep·tëe
serve, <i>v.</i>	{ saa·t		
(earn wages; deserve?)			
themselves, <i>pr.</i>	dhuur·zuul·z		
-ive	{ -ëe, or -ëef		
	never -ëev		

(Other words of this kind are not common.)

54. S initial becomes Z.

sack	zaak, <i>s.</i>	sand	zan(d, <i>s.</i>
sad	zad, <i>a.</i>	sap	zae·üp, <i>s.</i>
saddle	zad·l, <i>s.</i>	sat	zaut, <i>v. pret.</i>
sage	zae·üj, <i>s.</i>	Saturday	Zad·urdëe, <i>s.</i>
said	zaed, <i>v. pret.</i>	saw	zaa, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>
sailor	zae·ülur, <i>s.</i>	say	zai, <i>v.</i>
sale	zae·ül, <i>s.</i>	segment	zaeg·munt, <i>s.</i>
sallow	zaal·ü, <i>a.</i>	sedge	zaej, <i>s.</i>
salt	zaalt, <i>s.</i>	see	zee, <i>v.</i>

54. S initial becomes Z.—*continued.*

seed	zid	silver	zilvur, s.
seem	zim, v.	since	zinz, ad.
self	zuul, pr.	sinew	zin'ëe, a.
sell	zll, v.	sing	zing, v.
selves	zuulz, pr.	single	zing'l, a.
set	zit, v.	sink	zingk, v.
settle	} { zit-l, s.	sip	zlp, v.
settle		sir	zuur
seven	zaeb'm, a.	sister	zaes'tur, s.
sew	zoa, v.	sit	zit, v.
sick	zik, a.	site	zuyt, s.
side	zuyd, s.	six	zika, a.
sieve	zëev, s.	sixth	zikst, a.
sift	zaefft, v.	size	zuyz, s.
sigh	zaa'y, s. v.	sketch	{ zkich, s., almost two syllables
will	zll, s.		

Note that *s* is almost invariably sounded as *z* before *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *u*, and *w*, but the following are exceptions: *sort* soa'urt, *soes* soa'üs, *sovereign* suuv'rin, *sugar* shung'ur, *sure* shoa'ür.

55. S final becomes TH.

moss, s. mau'th

56. SH and ZH initial both used occasionally.

See the note introductory to No. 44.—A. J. E.

share (of a plough) s. }	zhee'ür, shee'ür	shears, s. pl. {	zhee'ürz shee'ürz
shave, v.	zhee'üv, shee'üv	sheaf, s.	zhee'v, shee'v
shear, v.	zhee'ür, shee'ür		

57. SH initial becomes ZH.

shred	zhreed, s.	shrivel	zhreòvul, v.
shrew	zhruè, s.	shroud	zhruwd, s.
shriek	zhrik, v. and s.	Shrove-tide	Zhroa'v-tuy'd, s.
shrimp	zhreòmp, s.	shrub	zhrub, s.
shrink	zhrink, v.		

58. SHR becomes ZR.

shrug, v. zrug

And most of the words in No. 57 occasionally.

59. TH initial is retained.

thick, s.	thik ¹	thin, s.	theen
thief, s.	theef	though, conj.	thauf

¹ The hard *t*h distinguishes the adjective from the demonstrative *dhik that*.

60. TH initial becomes DH.

The list would include all words beginning with *th*, which are not contained in Nos. 59, 61, and 62.

61. TH initial becomes D.

thistle, *s.* duy'al, duy'shl

And all words beginning with *THR*, which becomes *DR*.

62. TH initial becomes V.

thatch, *s. v.* vaach, *also* dhaach.

63. TH final becomes F.

sheath, <i>s.</i>	zhee'f		cloth, <i>s.</i>	klauf(common)
moth, <i>s.</i>	mau'f		tooth, <i>s.</i>	toof

64. 'GH' final becomes F.

though, <i>conj.</i>	thau'f (always)		tough, <i>a.</i>	tüuf
(as though)	(ü'zau'f)		cough, <i>s.</i>	kau'f
dough, <i>s.</i>	düuf(sometimes)		slough, <i>v.</i>	slüuf

65. 'GH' final is lost.

trough, <i>s.</i>	troa		enough, <i>ad.</i>	ü-nùe
through, <i>prep.</i>	drùe		slough, <i>s.</i>	slùe
plough, <i>s. v.</i>	pluw			

66. R transposed.

PART I.

R placed after the vowel before which it stands in usual English.

ready, <i>a.</i>	uur'dëe		run, <i>v.</i>	urn
red, <i>a.</i>	uurd		runner, <i>s.</i>	urn-ür
reduce, <i>v.</i>	ürdùe's		rush, <i>v. and s.</i>	uursh
rennet	uur-nüt		rust, <i>v. and s.</i>	uurs(t
rich, <i>a.</i>	uurch		rust, <i>a.</i>	uur'stëe
Richard	Uur-chut		bread, <i>s.</i>	baurd
rid, <i>v.</i>	uurd		brunt, <i>s.</i>	baurnt
riddance, <i>s.</i>	uur'düns		brush, <i>v. and s.</i>	buursh
riddle	uurd'l, huurd'l		crush, <i>v. and s.</i>	kuursh
ridge, <i>v. and s.</i>	uurj		crust, <i>s.</i>	kuurst
risk, <i>v. and s.</i>	uursk		crystal, <i>s.</i>	{ kuur'stul (al-ways)
ruddy, <i>a.</i>	uur'dëe			

66. R transposed. Part I.—*continued.*

front, <i>s.</i>	} fuurn(t	grist, <i>s.</i>	{ guur(t (some-
affront, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>			
great, <i>a.</i>	guurt		times), gree's
grenadier, <i>s.</i>	guur·nudee·r	gristle, <i>s.</i>	(generally)
griddle, <i>v.</i>	guur·dl	grit, <i>s.</i>	guur·al
gridiron, <i>s.</i>	guur·duy·ur	gritty, <i>a.</i>	guur·tée
grim, <i>a.</i>	guurm	groats, <i>s.</i>	guurts
grin, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	gnurn	grudge, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	guurj
grisly, <i>a.</i>	guurz·lëe	grunt, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	guurnt
grizzle, <i>v.</i>	guur·zl	trundle, <i>v.</i>	tuurn·dl
grizzled, <i>a.</i>	ûguur·zl(d	trust, <i>v.</i> and <i>s.</i>	taurs

PART II.

R placed before the letter which precedes it in usual English.

percussion, <i>s.</i>	prëekuush·un	pervert	prëevuur·t
persuade	prëeswae·üd	urn, <i>s.</i>	run
perspire	praespuy·ür	curdz, <i>s.</i>	kridz
perspiration {	praes·purae·ür-		
	shun		

IV.—NAMES OF THE LETTERS OF THE ALPHABET.

A ae·ü	H ae·üch	O oa	V vai
B bee	I uy	P pai	W duub·lyùe
C see	J jae·ü	Q kùe	X aeks
D dee	K kae·ü	R aa·r	Y wuy
E ai·	L uul	S as	Z zad
F af	M ai·m	T tai	& anpaa·sëe
G jee	N ai·n	U yùe	

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POSTSCRIPT ON THE DOUBTFUL VOWELS. BY ALEX. J. ELLIS, ESQ.

On referring to the notes prefixed to Nos. 22 *eo*, 23 *eo* short, 28 *oe*, 30 *oo'* or *i*, *eo*, *uo*, 33 *ua*, 34 *ie*, 35 *us* short, it will be seen that I had much difficulty in appreciating the sounds actually pronounced, and felt great hesitation as to the correctness of the form I ultimately adopted. Indeed *eo*, *i*, *uo*, *ie*, are rather arbitrary symbols than Glossic letters, and properly indicate only that though the sounds heard bore a superficial resemblance to those represented by *eo*, *i*, *uo*, *ie*, in Glossic, the nature of that resemblance was not understood. And although *oe* was used with less hesitation, it may likewise be incorrect. Since my last long examination of the West Somersetshire sounds as pronounced by Mr. Elworthy, I have had an opportunity to examine at much greater length the sounds used in the Peak of Derbyshire and South Lancashire. I have thus become acquainted with certain dialectal habits of speech which may possibly help to explain those in West Somerset; but I have thought it best to make no alteration in what I wrote immediately after hearing Mr. Elworthy speak, as I had no opportunity of correcting the impressions I then received by a fresh examination.

The difficulties, it will be seen, relate principally to those sounds which are produced by the joint action of the tongue and lips. Now in pronouncing a vowel-sound, both tongue and lips have to be kept in the same position throughout, as any change of position also changes the sound. There are certain amounts of closure of the lips associated with certain heights of the tongue in the cultivated languages of Europe. But it by no means follows that in the uncultivated dialects of these languages the same should be the case. Coarse and rude as a dialect speaker appears to a cultivated speaker, it will be found on examination that the dialect speaker has generally a greater range of sounds, and distinguishes any deviation from them, as by a speaker from a neighbouring village, with much greater readiness. One of the peculiarities of dialectal speech is its constant replacement of a simple by a "fractured" vowel, that is, a fixed by a gliding sound produced by changing the position of the tongue or mouth or both while pronouncing. In Derbyshire and South Lancashire it is a habit to begin to pronounce *oo* with the mouth quite wide open, and to go on closing the lips as the sound is continued. The result, *oo*, is a fracture; beginning by a sound *uw*, not unlike the French *ue*, and ending like a pure *oo*. At the first moment it strikes a Londoner as *ou*, and by variously altering the amount of closure of the lips at first, and the rapidity with which they are closed, sounds more or less resembling *ue*, *oo*, *oe*, may be produced. It seems very probable that this action of the lips may exist in West Somerset and Devonshire. My recollection of the peculiar sound of *oo* in *moon* in North Devonshire is, that it was almost

precisely the same as *mōn*. To appreciate this *oo*, say *too*, and while uttering the sound of the vowel open the lips suddenly very wide, producing *uu'*. The difference of the sounds *uu'* and *oo* is very striking, and there is a clear *primā faciē* resemblance of *uu'* to *ue* or *eo*, and also to *uu*, *oe*. Then in attempting to say *too*, begin with the mouth open, or a quarter or half open, and close to the usual position for *oo*, keeping the tongue steady in its usual position for *oo*, and study the results. It seems to me that we have here the key to this curious collection of sounds in West Somerset, which must certainly have been formed by native means alone.

But there is another sound in Derbyshire and South Lancashire which may be written *u*, and may be imitated by putting the lips in the position for *oo*, and then trying to say *uu*. This brings the tongue much lower than for the usual sound of *oo*, and produces a sound which seems to hesitate between *oo* and *uu*, being really less sonorous than *oo* and less obscure than *uu*. It is possible that this may be the *uo* of No. 30, or at least that such an *uo* is produced by similar means. And a half closure of the lips tends to "thicken" *uu* considerably. See note to No. 37. The *uu* sound (No. 33) is properly *au* with open lips. But it differs very slightly from *uu*, which is *oa* with open lips.

Now that attention has been directed to these dialectal alterations of sound, we may probably be able to analyze and explain other dialectal alterations which have baffled observers. Dr. Murray has lately been examining the sounds of Westmorland, and seems to have ascertained there also the existence of forms like *oo*, *u*. The Norfolk *ue*, and Scotch *eo*, may turn out to have been generated in the same manner. Those to whom these sounds are strange are puzzled by them extremely, and most observers have been content to assume them to be like the well-known European *ue*, *oe*, *eo*; but this is, in fact, a mere confession of ignorance. The great difficulty which I have experienced in obtaining any conception of the generation of these West Somerset sounds, makes me feel the necessity of a complete reconsideration of the whole subject.—A. J. E.

VII.—FIFTH ANNUAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DELIVERED AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, FRIDAY, THE 19TH OF MAY, 1876. BY THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, M.A., LL.D.

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THE WORK OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FROM MAY, 1875, TO MAY, 1876.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,—

LAST year's Address contained a short report of the Society's proceedings from December, 1874, to May, 1875. It will, therefore, be no very difficult task to give you a brief account of the various subjects that formed the topics of discussion from the middle of last year up to the present time.

Our members are too busy with special investigations to be able to find time to deal with intricate linguistic theories, however interesting they may be; and doubtless the 'Science of Language' is far better served by silent and quiet workings in special nooks and corners of the philological field than by the noisy propounding of theories that have little or nothing to do with linguistic facts.

Much valuable time, too, is often lost in the discussion of questions that produce no profitable results, reminding one of the scholar who spent the best years of his life in trying to solve the, to him, very important question, whether the name of Samson's mistress should be pronounced Del'-il-ah or De-lī'-lah!

Wear by year shows us how important it is that the pecu-

liarities of each language and class of languages should be studied in the light of their own collected and systematised facts. Much harm has undoubtedly been done to philology by the hazardous guesses of theorists, who have been misled and entrapped by dealing with facts altogether beyond their ken. It is, indeed, very dangerous to write about a language one is only imperfectly acquainted with. A good instance of the blundering a very clever scholar may be guilty of in rashly comparing something he well knows with something else he fancies he knows, but is utterly ignorant of, occurs in the Egyptian Grammar just published, in which the learned author, Mr. P. Le Page Renouf, having given the etymology of the Egyptian *re-pu* (=there is the alternative), with which he is well acquainted, ventures to compare it with the origin of the English *or*, concerning which he is altogether in the dark. "'Or,'" he says, "is only a derived meaning in the Hebrew וְ, a construct noun, signifying 'will,' 'choice,' and in the Latin *vel*, an old imperative of *volo*." Fortunately we know that *or* (O.E. *āhwæðer*, *āwðer*, M.E. *auþer*, *ouþer*, *ofer*)=any-whether, either, any one of two.

The comparative philologist (and what philologist is not always comparing?) must constantly be on his guard lest he be deceived by purely imaginary and accidental coincidences.

The only paper that came before the Society last year dealing with language and its growth was a short one by our esteemed honorary member, Professor Whitney, on the "Theory of Roots in Language," in which the writer attempted to prove, as he has elsewhere in many admirable essays, that "behind the development of grammatical structure, the formation of words and parts of speech, lies a radical stage for all human speech." Language itself began with the desire to communicate thoughts to others. It is not, as some have called it, the creator of society, but is itself a social institution of slow growth, like that of law and government.

Language is a human instrument, and, as a means (and not the only one) of expressing thought, is the product of man's

intellectual powers, and resembles other social institutions in its gradual development from very simple beginnings.

Professor Whitney insists strongly on the fact that language does not in reality begin with those natural and instinctive utterances expressing emotions and feelings, as a laugh, cry, sigh, or sob, which are not the exclusive property of man, but belong more or less to the lower animals. The motive or intent to be intelligible and to communicate converts these into language as the expression of thought. The first essays in this direction may have been very rude, and must have been helped out by other signs now in a great measure disused (because not *now* necessary), as gestures and tones.¹ Bearing this in mind, it matters not whether we adopt the *bow-wow* and *pooh-pooh* theories of language, or whether we believe that roots have had their origin in interjections and imitative sounds. We might even go so far as to agree with Mr. Darwin that, prior to language as the expression of human thought, the "primeval man, or rather some early progenitor of man, probably first used his voice in producing true musical cadences, that is, in singing, as do some of the gibbon apes at the present day; that this power would have been especially exerted during the courtship of the sexes—would have expressed various emotions, such as love, jealousy, triumph—and would have served as a challenge to rivals. It is therefore probable that the imitation of musical cries by articulate sounds may have given rise to words expressive of various complex emotions."

Language, being dependent on man's social relations, has an historical growth, and it is the province of linguistic science to trace the history of this development as far back as we can, so as to arrive at the simple beginnings of speech. The philologist has to deal with *significant vocables*. If in the course of his investigations he can find out *how* certain sounds became significant, so much the better; but he is not obliged to waste valuable time in trying to discover the reason.

¹ Dr. Trumbull, speaking of numerals in the North-American languages, says that "the name is not completely independent of the sign." If Captain Burton's statement be correct, the Arahos of North America, "who possess a scanty vocabulary, can hardly converse with one another in the dark."

By a process of analysis much like that adopted by the chemical student, we resolve composite words into their primary elements. And just as the chemist puts implicit faith and confidence both in his method and his results, so does the student of language.

The chemist, for instance, believes that hydrochloric acid gas is a compound of hydrogen and chlorine. He can, by analysis, obtain each separately, and, by synthesis, it is possible for him to unite them. Though he finds that neither of these gases exists in a free and uncombined state *now*, yet he cannot but believe that each of them must have had an independent existence prior to the formation of the compound. He believes that simplicity is anterior to complexity.

The philologist has equal faith in his analytical results. It is this analysis that has shown us that such a simple-looking form as *am* is a compound (= *as-mi*), that *beam* (originally a tree) is a derivative from the root *bhu* (=to be); cf. the Gothic *bag-m* (= *baw-m*) and German *baum*. So *thumb* (= *thum*, the stout or strong finger) is formed from the root *thu* (Sanskrit *tu*, to grow, be strong), in O.E. *theon*, Gothic *theihan*, to thrive, grow.¹ Dr. Trumbull has shown that in Algonkin and many other American languages the thumb is the *big*, *thick*, *stout*, or *chief* finger. In Dakota it is *napi hunka* (the hand's elder).

But a novel theory has of late been started, which asserts that philologists (and Indo-European philologists especially) have been mistaken and deceived, and that this simplicity they imagined they have discovered is only the result of their own logical analysis, and has nothing corresponding to it in language itself. The author of this new theory puts complexity before simplicity, and does not hesitate to declare "that words have grown out of sentences by means of comparison and determination;" that "language begins with the sentence, and not with the individual word; the latter is the last growth of time, the last result of simplifi-

¹ *The ffe synger is the thowmbe, and hit has most myzt,
And fastest haldes of alle the tother, forthi men calles it riȝt*

(MS. Cantab. Ff. v. 48, f. 82 in Hall.)

cation and reflection ;" that "single words will be found as soon as the minds of the speakers are sufficiently advanced to look for them,"—that is, I suppose, as soon as they become experienced philologists !

I alluded to this hypothetical view of language in my last Address, little thinking that I should ever be accused of having nicknamed it "the Jelly-fish theory." I had too much respect for the author of the *Assyrian Grammar* and the great promoter of Assyrian studies in this country to make any fun of his hypothesis, as laid down in the "Principles of Comparative Philology." I was, therefore, much astonished by Mr. Sayce's allusion to myself in his article in the April number of the "Contemporary Review" for this year on '*The Jelly-fish Theory of Language.*' The writer has, however, by no means proved his point. The very instances he has brought together go far to disprove his bold assertions. Because we have arrived, by etymological analysis, at certain significant vocables called roots, it by no means follows that our results, any more than the chemist's, are false.

If we take the word *death* or *dead*, and get rid of the formative particles, we come to the significant part *dea*. Are we to believe that no such vocable as this ever had any independent existence? Fortunately the preservation of the primitive *die*, from which *death* and *dead* have been formed, puts the matter beyond all doubt.

These elementary significant sounds have, of course, come under the influence of phonetic change during the process of tradition, and are much unlike what they were originally. In *do* and *deed* we can hardly trace the same elemental root, and only a philological analysis is able to determine their relation. Nor has phonetic decay only attacked Aryan roots ; it has by no means spared the monosyllabic words of the Chinese language. Many of the old sounds have disappeared in this primitive form of speech, and we find that *chi* represents an older *tii* or *dik*, and *fah* goes back to a more ancient *pap* or *bap*.

A true analysis shows that what is often deemed simple may be composite, and a careful examination of the derivatives from a living root will serve to show us that an ap-

parently simple form is often only a worn-down relic of an older root. On the other hand, phenetic decay may reduce a derivative to the condition of a root. Cf. *die* (or *dee*, a dialectic pronunciation) with M.E. *degen*, Goth. *daujan*.

We have heard a good deal of late about the abuse of the so-called pronominal theory. It is well known that the division of roots into predicative and demonstrative was one of the first results of a close philological analysis, and the classification is a great gain to linguistic terminology.

These terms do not necessarily imply any essential difference between the two classes of roots, nor do those who employ these terms deny that the demonstrative roots may not have been originally predicative.

But, nevertheless, Aryan philologists have been taken to task for assigning to these demonstrative particles ("convenient figments of the linguistic analyst," says Mr. Sayce) so important a function in grammatical changes. It is familiar to all how the genitive case-suffix, in numerous languages belonging to totally different families of speech, has sprung out of the postposition of an older relative or demonstrative pronoun. Other cases, too, are supposed to have their origin in some demonstrative root. It is of course difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of this process of case-formation. It is equally difficult to understand why, in the Dravidian tongues, a word for *eye* should be the sign of the locative, or why a demonstrative—"here" should form both "the locative-of-separation-case" and the subjunctive mood, as it does in Tamil.

The philologist has, however, to deal with what he actually finds in language, not to be everlastingly crying out, "How can these things be?" In language we have to determine and settle with the genesis of the word, and this, when discovered, will not always account for and explain the genesis of the antecedent thought. The chemical student might as well refuse to believe in the formation of the compound sal-ammoniac (chloride of ammonia) from the union of chlorine and ammonia, because he was unable to understand how the combination of two gaseous bodies could form a solid.

I find that M. Bréal has given a satisfactory answer to the anti-demonstrativists in his translation of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*:—"On demandera sans doute comment des syllabes qui à l'origine, avaient simplement une valeur indicative, ont pu arriver à exprimer l'action, l'agent ou l'instrument.¹ Mais ici, comme dans toutes les autres parties de l'histoire de nos idiomes, se révèle la présence d'une intelligence toujours en éveil, qui, une fois en possession des premiers éléments du langage, y a fait entrer peu à peu des idées pour lesquelles ils n'avaient pas été créés. De même que des formes sœurs, mais devenues distinctes par une variété de prononciation, ont souvent reçu des acceptions très-différentes, de même que des accidents phoniques sont devenus le principe de flexions grammaticales, de même aussi ces suffixes *a*, *va*, *ta*, *ya*, *na*, peut-être synonymes à l'origine, prirent peu à peu des significations particulières. Il ne faut pas reporter jusqu'aux premiers jours de la parole humaine des nuances qui sont l'œuvre des siècles : instrument d'une pensée qui devenait plus riche et plus nette, le langage a dû, par une sage répartition de ses ressources, égaler ses moyens d'expression aux besoins toujours plus exigeants de l'esprit. Les suffixes à signification si variée des langues Indo-Européennes sont le produit d'un petit nombre de racines indicative, diversement combinées entre elles, et où l'homme a insinué des idées qui leur étaient primitivement étrangères." —*Grammaire Comparée*, tome ii. *Introduction*, pp. xxv.—xxvi.

The employment of demonstratives to form cases and derivatives is by no means restricted to the Aryan tongues. In Chinese we find that 之 (*ch'*) stands for *it*, *him*, *them*; *which*, *what*; *this*, *that*; is used as a sign of the genitive; points out the action of the preceding transitive verb, and forms abstract nouns.

¹ "On objecte que des racines pronominales, ayant simplement le sens démonstratif, sont trop vides pour exprimer des idées de possession, d'agent, de qualité, d'action, d'instrument; mais précisément parceque ces racines étaient vides, l'esprit y faisait entre sans peine les notions qu'il voulait, et il a fallu d'abord que les substantifs dont nous parlons fussent dépouillés de leur signification trop pleine, pour devenir aptes au rôle de suffixe." —*Grammaire Comparée*, tome iv. *Introduction*, p. xix.

者 (*ché*) is a demonstrative or a relative; marks the agent, and forms abstract substantives.

諸 (*chu*) is used as an adjective of number (all, every); is a pronoun at the end of the sentence; does the duty of an interrogative particle; performs the part of a preposition (=at, upon, from), and is a sign of the dative or ablative.

In the old Egyptian language the use of a demonstrative went far beyond all this in connecting a subject with its predicate, and the demonstrative *pu* = "*idem*" had the same value as the substantive verb has in other languages, cf.

(*uʿa*)—*f pu* *äten* (*äb*)—*f pu* *ähā*=his right eye, that (=is) the sun; his left eye, that (=is) the moon.

In the language of one of the early members of this Society, "Words are not to be interpreted so much from what they actually say, as from what they imply; and they perform every function that they can be reasonably expected to perform, when the implication is understood by the speaker and the hearer." When we know that in the Dravidian dialects "*that wrote*" = written, we see no reasonable grounds for doubting that the *n* and *d* of our own participles were originally demonstrative (cf. English *gif-t* and Latin *do-nu-m*). The Chinese use of their indicative or pronominal particles in forming abstract nouns and adjectives seems to indicate clearly the origin of the *-th* (*-t*) in *grow-th*, *dear-th*, *fif-th*, *right-t*, etc., in the demonstratives *the*, *that* (cf. 'the bad' = what is bad, or badness).

Demonstratives may be heaped up, as in the suffix *-tat* (Lat. *veritat-is*), without exciting wonder, when we think of words in our own tongue like *spinster*, or the Tamil redundancies mentioned in Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar.

But to the Society's work again. Many subjects were discussed, not at our ordinary meetings, but in the valuable and interesting memoirs contained in last year's Address; as *Chinese* by Dr. Legge; *Semitic* by Mr. Cheyne; *Sanskrit* by Professor Eggeling; *Pāli* by Mr. Rhys Davids; *Keltic* by Mr. Rhys; *Greek* by Professor Mayor; *Latin* by Professor Wagner; the *Romance dialects* by M. Paul Meyer and M.

Picot. Russian philology was admirably treated of last year by the well-known Slavonic scholar Mr. Morfill; and the Society is indebted to him for a paper on the "Russian Language and its Dialects," in which the writer showed the synthetic character of the language, pointed out certain peculiarities of its numerals, and remarked on the so-called aspects of its verbs. Attention was also called to Russian literature, and the want of a lexicon of the Little or Malo-Russian. Mr. Ralston has told us in the *Academy* (April 22, 1876) that Slavonic philologists are by no means idle; and for the benefit of Slavonic students at home he has given a description of a new and little known work, but of great interest and value, entitled "*Archiv für slavische Philologie*," edited by Dr. V. Jagié. Among its contributors are Professor A. Leskien of Leipsic, and Professor W. Nehring of Breslau.

A few members treated of grammatical subjects: Mr. Cayley discussed "Gender-forms," and endeavoured to show how the natural arrangements of sexual designations might cause them to acquire different phonetic forms, as when the Aryan feminine is distinguished by a strengthened vowel, or else to be associated with different pronouns (as in the Hebrew prefixes and suffixes).

Those interested in the question of "Gender" should read Bleek's paper on "Concord, the origin of the Pronouns, and the formation of classes or genders of Nouns," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. i. 1872.

Mr. Danby Fry gave us some curious statistics respecting "French Gender." A short supplementary paper to this was read by Mr. Dawson, in which its author tried to clear up some difficulties of French etymology.

Professor Mayor read a short paper, in which logic and philology met together not altogether very amicably, by the late Professor Grote, "On Renan and Max Müller." These learned representatives of different branches of philology were accused of defective logic in drawing conclusions from single words like *father*, *daughter*, etc.

Most of the papers, however, read at our fortnightly meetings were either on *dialects* or *phonetics*.

As to dialects on English soil, scholars are now very busy in atoning for past neglect, and there are a few diligent workers gathering up as fast as they are able the fragments that have survived the destructive influences of time, education, or inter-communication. A few years hence there will be little or nothing left of our long-neglected patois.

Mr. H. Jenner, in a very interesting paper, now in print, brought under our notice the present state of the "Manx Language," its grammar and literature, from which we learn that Manx is dying out slowly but surely. "Those who speak it now are all of them old people, and when the present generation has grown up and the older folk have died off, it will cease to be the mother-tongue of any Manxman." Mr. Jenner read also a paper on "The Traditional Relics of the Cornish Language in Mounts Bay," embodying his own investigations in the villages of Newlyn, Mousehole, Penzance. The fisher class, he showed, have preserved many relics of the old Cornish speech, and still retain the numerals as far as twenty, besides some few words and phrases that have a value of their own in determining the pronunciation of the last stage of the language.

The history of the old Cornish speech well illustrates the sad fate of many dialects. It came at last to be represented by one old woman who had not given up her vernacular. Not only are dialects wiped out, but those who speak them pass away; and Humboldt, we are told, saw in South America a parrot, which was the sole living creature that could speak a word of the language of a lost tribe.¹

Our Society revels in *phonetics*, the depths of which some of our members are always sounding. Mr. C. A. Fennell occupied an evening with the important subject of "Muscular Economy in Speech," in which he discussed and opposed the generally received doctrine of economy in muscular exertion usually supposed to be a sufficient explanation of the many changes of speech-sounds.

¹ I am here reminded of a passage in the first act of the *Nāgānanda*, in which one of the signs of an ascetic grove is a parrot reciting a verse of the Sāma Veda.

In special phonetics the same member treated of "The Triple Gradation of *A* in Gothic."

Professor C. Rieu returned to the interesting subject of "Persian Phonetics." Modern Persian, like English, has sprung from a highly inflected language, and merits more than a passing notice from philologists on account of its new formations and developments.

Our Vice-President, Mr. A. J. Ellis, dealt very ably and lengthily with the difficulties of "Ancient Greek Pronunciation." I need hardly say that the paper was of immense interest to philologists as well as to phonetists, and not only struck a new vein, but illuminated our previous darkness.

Mr. Sweet, whose researches in Teutonic phonetics have at various times come before the Society, gave us the results of his personal investigations as to "The Character of North-German." Many curious grammatical as well as phonetic peculiarities, that have hitherto been overlooked, were pointed out, and the paper convinced us that there is yet much to be done in the humbler walks of Teutonic philology.

English dialects, chiefly in their phonetic aspects, were well represented.

Mr. F. T. Elworthy, whose paper last year on "The Dialect of West Somerset" is printed in our Transactions for 1875-6, again discussed the peculiarities of this important branch of Western English.

Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, whose presence so often among us bears testimony to his interest and zeal for our Society, has long laboured in the field of Dialectology. French, Spanish, Basque, Finnic, and English dialects are deeply indebted to him for time and money spent in promoting their study. Quite recently he brought before us the results of his "Recent Researches into the Dialects of Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Monmouthshire, with Notes on those of Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Surrey, Middlesex, Berkshire, etc." He endeavoured to establish the existence of three leading dialects (South-Western, Northern, and Midland), with ten transitional ones (1. North-Eastern,

2. North-Western, 3. North-Midland, 4. Western, 5. East-Midland, 6. South-Eastern, 7. Eastern, 8. Devonian, 9. Cornish, 10. Salopian).

Mr. Ellis, who not only takes an interest in, but also an active part in promoting the study of, our local dialects, is hard at work upon their phonetic differences, and when he has brought the immense mass of material, collected from numerous trustworthy sources, into shape, we shall have the results of his inquiries laid before us and subsequently embodied in a forthcoming part of his *opus magnum*—the History of English Pronunciation.

ENGLISH DIALECTS.

But while we acknowledge that the study of our provincialisms is necessary to a thorough history of English sound-changes, yet their phonetic characteristics do not constitute their only interest for philological students of English. The relics they have preserved for us have a linguistic and literary value, and no history of the development of our language can be considered complete that entirely ignores them.

Our present standard English was originally a local dialect, which, under favourable circumstances not accorded to others, rose to the condition of a literary language. At the same time it must be borne in mind that our present standard English is indebted to almost all the other dialects for certain grammatical and lexicographical forms, whose special provincial origin is now forgotten or lost sight of. No one dialect of old English is competent to account for all our present grammar and vocabulary. The history of our pronouns, for instance, must be gathered from a study of the old Northern literature; while our verb necessitates a knowledge of Northern and Midland peculiarities.

All the ancient dialectic characteristics are not by any means quite effaced in their modern representatives, and the publications of the English Dialect Society will enable those who take an interest in local dialects to study them as independent idioms, having a separate existence and a peculiar

growth and history of their own. While writing this report my eye lighted upon the publications already referred to, and on turning over the leaves of a few of them I was struck by the extent of the vocabularies of some of our existing dialects.

The process of word-formation has, to a great extent, been checked and limited in the literary dialect, since it is so much easier to borrow words ready made than to form new ones. The number of derivatives, therefore, from any given root are extremely few in our "book language" as compared with those in the earlier periods or in our patois.

In the provincial dialects word-making seems to have been in active operation, and is so still wherever the old idioms are in full play; and we find no repugnance to such formations as *lowths*¹ (lowlands), *footh*¹ (= *fulth*, abundance), *foothy*¹ (well-off), *coolth*² (coolness), *lewth*² (shelter), *blowth*² (blossom), *teamful*¹ (brimming), *deftish* (dextrous), *betterment*¹ (amendment), *growsome*¹ (applied to weather favourable for growing crops), *lixom* (= *likesome*, amiable), *skathy* (mischievous).

In Early English we had *fighty* (warlike), *frighty* (timid). So in our dialects we meet with *lasty*¹ (durable), *wanty* (deficient), *oxey*² ("not *steerish*," ox-like), *deedy*² (active, clever), *deedily*² (earnestly), *deedless*² (helpless, spiritless), or *dateless*¹ (foolish), *floaty*² (rank), *sloumy*¹ (slow), *shirky*² (deceitful).

We have kept *don*, but have not gone so far as to adopt *donnings*² (fine clothes), *dontles*¹ (clothes), or *douters*¹ (extinguishers, from the derivative verb *dout* (= do out).

In Middle English we meet with *daffe* and *bedaffen*; and as dialectic forms we find to *daffe*¹ (to chat, loiter, fault, confound, daunt *), *bedaff* (to confuse), and we still retain *daft*; but where are the North-country *daffock* (a simpleton, fool), *daffe* (to become weak-minded, waver, change), *daftlike* (foolish), *daffish* (shy, modest), *daffy* or *duffy* (soft, insipid, foolish), *daff-head* (a blockhead), *daffly* (forgetful), *dafties* (silly folks), *daftish* (rather stupid), *daftness* (imbecility)?

Even *eye* is a fruitful parent in Yorkshire, and includes among its offspring *eeful* (observant), *eeing* (discerning,

¹ Northern. ² Southern. ³ Herefordshire. * See *Much Ado*, iv. 1.

perceiving), *eeny* (cellular), *ee-preeaf* (ocular demonstration), *ee-sconner* (the baleful glance).

Laugh gives us *laughter*¹, but *lay* has in our dictionaries no corresponding *laughter*¹ (a laying or setting of eggs, a brood of chickens). Nor does *fly* (*flegg*¹) give us *flegged* (fledged), *fligs*¹ (fledgelings), and *fliggurs*¹ (birds that can fly),* *fliggard*¹ (a kind of kite), *fligger* (to flitter). *Ere* stands almost alone; and we miss *eresh*¹ (rather early), and *erest*¹ (the foremost). We have *game*, but not *to game*¹ (to mock), *gammer*¹ (to gossip), and *gamock*³ (foolish silly sport, to romp). *Gather* has not given rise to *gathersome*¹ (social), while *ill* produces no *ill-deed*, *illify*, *cow-ills*, etc., as in Yorkshire.

The *Whitby off* not only means *offspring*, but is the parent of *off-come* (apology), *offish* (unwell, shy, unsocial); *offil*, which is actually used as a verb in the phrase 'has he *offill'd* weel?' (has he left much property, or cut up well?), and *offily* (ill-proportioned).

The *Sussex in*=to inclose land, to house corn; and *innings*=land that has been inclosed from the sea.

We have *carve*, but it has not given us *kerf*² (a notch). *Claw* makes no derivative like *clawk* (to scratch). Although *swill* is left us, *swilker* (to dash) only survives in our local dialects. The Northern *spelk*, a derivative of *spill* (a splinter of wood), and the East-Midland *pulk* (from *pool*) are as good as *yolk*, *lar-k*, etc. While *tight* of course comes from *tie*, we should be now at a loss to understand the *Sussex ox-tights* (chains for fastening oxen up), or *wanty*¹ (= *wamb-tie*, belly-band).

How well do our provincial glossaries illustrate a solitary form in literary English. Thus *slattern* finds its relatives in the Northern *slat* (to slop, a spot), *slat* (splashed), *slatter* (to waste, spill), *slattery* (wet). *Gobble* is allied to Elizabethan and provincial English *gobbet* (a morsel, bit), and to the dialectic forms, mostly Northern, *gob* (mouth, an open or wide mouth, idle talk, prate, portion, lump), *gobbet* (the mouth, a mouthful), *gobble* (to do anything fast, to grumble), *gobbler* (a turkey-cock), *gobloch* (a lump, mass), *gob-thrust* (a stupid fellow), *gob-*

¹ Northern. ² Southern. ³ Salop. * Palsgrave has *signess*=plumage.

fight (an interchange of angry words, a feat at eating), *gob-ful* (mouthful), *gob-slotch* (a dirty, voracious eater), *gobstick* (a wooden spoon), *gobbish* (talkative), *gobby* (inclined to babble, wordy), *gobbin* (a greedy person), *gob-meat* (food), *gobstring* (a bridle), *gobvent* (utterance), *gobwind* (an eructation), *snotter-gob* (the red part of a turkey's head). *Clammy* finds its kindred in the East-Anglian *clam* (a clamminess, a dirty slut); the Northern *clam* (to dry up), the Sussex *clam* (a rat-trap), Yorkshire *clam* (slimy), *clame* or *cleam* (to stick, glue together, daub), *clamm'd* (clogged), *clams* (forceps). *Seldom* has now no *seld* (rare), as in M.E., but receives light from the North-country *selt* (a chance). We have *clay*, but not the Yorkshire *clag* (to adhere), nor *claggy*, *cledgy* (sticky, tenacious), *clagg'd*, (clogged up), etc.

Not only do our local dialects surpass us in word-making, but they have gone far beyond us in preserving the original meaning of a word, and in extending its signification. Compare, for example, the Northern *warp* (to cast, also to *bend*, to lay eggs), with our restricted use of the verb. We have no noun like the Southern *warp* (four of a thing, applied to herrings), or the East-Anglian *warps* (flat wide beds of ploughed land).

We cannot now employ *went* (as in Kent and Sussex) for a cross-way, nor are we able to say with a North-countryman that the milk is *wented* or turned sour. The Sussex dialect even preserves a noun *wint* from the verb *wind*, meaning a *turn*. In Kentish *charr'd* is used like *wented* (sour). The Sussex use of *trade*, indicating its connexion with *tread*,¹ means 'the ruts in a road,' also 'anything to carry,' 'household goods,' 'lumber.' In this dialect we can talk of a *team* (instead of a litter) of pigs, and use *queer* as a verb in the sense of to puzzle; while to *flight* means to shoot wild ducks, i.e. to let fly at them, and *flogged* means tired out, beaten. *Hug* now signifies to embrace, but we miss the meaning it has in the North of 'to carry,' whence *news-huggers*=news-carriers. An East-Anglian's *wrongs* are crooked arms, or large boughs of trees when the faggot-wood is cut

¹ cf. 'the trade-winds.'

off. Our *crab* and *crabbed* are well illustrated by the North-country *crabbe* (to provoke, stumble), *crob* (to reproach, reprove). In an old Scotch Glossary it translates *offendo*. To catch a *crab*, used in rowing, may be connected with this. It is quite certain the term once belonged to hawking. R. Holme says (p. 238), "*Crabb* is when hawks standing too near fight with one another."

The Northern *thrang* or *throng*¹ is used as an adjective in the sense of 'busy,' busily employed.' In some of the Northumbrian dialects *forgive* = thaw, from its original sense of *to give up*. The Yorkshire *snuffers* are the nostrils, and *wine-berries* are gooseberries, not grapes. The East-Anglian *baffle* (to ill-use, beat about) throws a flood of light on the original meaning of the "book" word. We know that a *baffled* knight was not very leniently treated. *Baffled*, as applied by a Norfolk peasant to standing corn or grass beaten about by the wind, or stray cattle, adds greatly to our knowledge of the modern term.

Callow is usually restricted to unfledged birds, but the provincial use of the word has no such limitation. The Kentish phrase 'to lie *callow*' has the meaning of to lie in an exposed manner with few clothes and the curtains undrawn. A Sussex man can apply *callow* to the woods when they are just beginning to bud out; while an East-Anglian employs it with respect to land, the surface of which has been removed in digging for gravel.

Ham (our *home*) in Sussex is applied to a level pasture field. In the vale of Gloucester it signifies a stunted common pasture for cows; while *grist* (= *grind-t*) is a week's allowance of flour for a family. In Kent, *linger* is to long after a thing.

Fathom once meant to grasp, embrace; in Norfolk it means to spread out or fill out (like corn). In this dialect *stow* is to confine cattle in a yard or pound. *Grope* (O.E. *grapian*, to touch, feel, lay hold of) has now a very restricted meaning with us. In M.E. it meant to probe a wound, among other significations. In the North *groping*

¹ In "The Gost Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy, l. 3084, *thrange* is used in the sense of busily, heartily.

denotes 'a mode of ascertaining whether geese or fowls have eggs,' also 'a mode of catching trout by tickling them with the hands under rocks or banks.' There is also a *grabble*, to grope (in holes for trout).

The North-country *slean* or *slain* (smut of corn) is identical with the p.p. of *slay*, the original meaning of which must have been 'struck,' hence infected; * cf. the North-country *smit*, to infect; *smittle*, infectious. *Gad*¹ (our *goad*) is used for a fishing rod, and for a tall person; *fare* in the South means to ache; cf. *irk*, of Norse origin, with our *work*; in the North it signifies to eat, live; and *farewell* = to taste, relish.

The old English *wurse*, the devil, appears as *ooser* or *oose* in the Dorset speech, and means a mask with opening jaws, put on with a cow's skin, to frighten folk.

In our provincial glossaries we find the primitive forms of many of our derivatives, as *rag*,¹ a drizzling rain; *nim*¹ for *nimble* (also to walk); *gain*,¹ advantageous, as in *ungain-ly*; *snag*, *sneg*,² a snail; *flack*,¹ to flicker; *holl*,¹ hollow; *hag*,¹ to cut (cf. *haggle*), as *bat*,¹ a blow (cf. *batter*), and *bats*,¹ a beating; *cake*,¹ to cackle (like geese); *swell*,² hot, faint (as in *swelter*); *gut*,² a gutter; *drib*,² a dribble; *daze*,¹ to dazzle; *stut*,¹ to stammer, *stutter*; *feg*,¹ fair; *kinn*,¹ a chink; *foor*,² a furrow; *slaum*, *sloum*,¹ a gentle slumber. We say 'it is hazy,' but not 'it hazes' = it rains small. We have *charwoman*, but not now the North country *char*, business, or *char*, to turn, counterfeit. At Whitby, *char* = to bark at (? turn on). Here too we find *clum* = numb, and *clumsome* or *clussome* = clumsy. Ray has *clumps*, an idle person, unhandy, blunt. In Dorset, *clum* = to handle roughly.

We find older forms too, in the North, as *rigg*, a ridge, *fig*, to fly, *lig*, to lie, *brig*, a bridge, *haggle*, to hail, *haggy*, misty.

These instances throw light on the word to *badger* (originally to *haggle* with, to barter), from the verb *buy*. The local dialects have preserved *badger* in the sense of shop-keeper, dealer, corn-dealer, with which we may compare the

* þe deoful . . . sloh Iob mid þære wurste wunde.—Homilies, Bodl. MS. 343, fol. 13.

¹ Northern.

² Southern.

Yorkshire *badgering* (beating down the cost). The softening of *g* to *dg* is also seen in *ledger*, and similar words.

In Early English there was the word *beger* = buyer. 'De *beger* bet litil þar-fore' = the buyer biddeth little for it (O.E. Hom. vol. ii. p. 213).

Curious distinctions are made in our local idioms.

In East-Anglian speech rats *nabble*, and mice *nibble*; in Sussex *nabble* is to gossip, and *nabbler* is a gossip.

A Sussex man speaks of a married woman as *Miss*, and a single one as *Mrs.*; his wife he calls his *mistus*.

Stunt (the same as *stint*) in East Yorkshire means stubborn or inflexible, as a *stunt* child, a *stunt* stick; but *stent* is a portion of work appointed to be done in a set time. As a noun *stint* (or *stent*) signifies limit, quantity, allowance of anything, a limited number of cattle-gates in common pasture (cf. *stunt*, to make a fool of one; *stunty*, obstinate; *stuntish*, sullen). In the West Riding of Yorkshire *blink*, according to Dr. Willan, means to smile, look kindly on; at Whitby it means to *wink*, to shed a tear, to clear up (applied to hazy weather). *Waw* in East Yorkshire is to cry, mew like a cat, while *wawl* is to cry audibly. In some of the Northern glossaries *waw* signifies to bark, while *wawl* is to squeak, cry out.

Numerous words in our dialects belong to a former period, and render them more archaic than the standard English, as the North-country *arf*, afraid; *carl-cat*, a tom-cat; *ween-cat*, a she-cat; *dow*, to mend, be good; *fang*, to seize; *foor-days*, late in the day; *for-worden*, overrun with (lice, dirt), pronounced at Whitby *forworden*, is the E.E. *forworthen*, the p.p. of *forworthen*, to perish; *sweb*, a swoon (M.E. *swefn*, a dream); *unleed*, bad (applied to venomous creatures as well as to persons); *wikes*, corners of the mouth; *bote*, bounty; *dream-holes*, the spaces between the luffer-boards in belfry windows, to let out the sound of the bells. (In the Owl and Nightingale, l. 21, we have "the *drem* . . . of harpe and pipe.") East Anglian *cooth*, a cold; *coathy*, surly; *cothish*, faint, cf. the Lincolnshire *coathe*, a swoon. (In Dorset *cothe* is applied to a disease in sheep. In

Somerset *cothe* is to become rotten.) The Sussex *amper*¹ (O.E. *ampre*, *ompre*, a swelling vein) = a flaw, fault in linen or woollen clothes, also a swelling sore, forms the derivatives *ampery* = beginning to decay (applied to cheese), *ampre-ang* = a decayed tooth. It occurs but once in E. English (see O.E. Hom. vol. i. p. 237). The Sussex *teller*, a branch,² is only found in the literature of the oldest English period; *hoe*,³ fuss, anxiety, is the M.E. *howe*, O.E. *hoga*, care, anxiety; the Northern *hig*, disgust, enmity = O.E. *hyge*, care, animus.

This archaic character makes all provincial glossaries very helpful to students of our earlier literature, and many terms that I have come across I was only able to gloss by their aid, as *cagge* (Allit. Poems), to carry = provincial *cadge*; *biclarted* (in O.E. Hom. Second Series, where the MS. has *biclaried*) was suggested by the North-country word *clart*, to daub. Mr. Robinson gives *clart*, a smear of dirt; *clarted*, bedaubed; *clartiness*, untidiness; *clarts*, daubs; *clarty*, untidy, dirty, petty. The North-country *elt*,⁴ to knead, explains *eillen* in Genesis and Exodus, which at first sadly puzzled me; *lopperd*, curdled, made Hampole's *lopird* (*lopred*) plain enough, in spite of the readings of many Southern transcripts.

In my O.E. Hom. Second Series, p. 37, the phrase 'the fule *floodri*' occurs twice. I have glossed *floodri* conjecturally as *mire*. It is no doubt a literal error for *floodre*, the dative case of *flooder*, and is represented by the North-country *fodder*, foam, and is connected with the Craven *fodder up*, to overflow; Icelandic *flæðr*, flood-tide, *flæða*, to flood over. (There is an O.E. *flæðer* = flakes of snow, which appears in Early English as *flother*, and in the Yorkshire patois as *flothery*, 'slovenly, but showy.')

In these Homilies, p. 165, l. 35, occurs the strange form *stoples*, steps, probably for *steples*, identical with the East-Anglian *stepples*, a short flight of steps.

¹ In the East of England *anbury* or *anderry* is applied to a knob or excrescence on potatoes or turnips. It is also said to mean "a kind of bloody wort on a horse."

² In Kent *teller* = a sapling; in the North it means to germinate.

³ Southern.

⁴ My attention was drawn to this by Dr. Stratmann.

In the *Cursor Mundi* we meet with the phrase '*throd* and *thriven*.' The North-country dialects alone explain it by their use of *brodden*, to thrive, grow; *throddy*, plump; cf. Icelandic *bróask*, to wax, grow. Stratmann gives no instance of the word.

In a case tried in the police courts the other day, a woman spoke of having '*nicked* a watch.' I find this, to us, horribly vulgar word, in common use among boys. It occurs in various dialects with the sense of to cheat, steal; and it curiously enough turns up in the *Cursor*. This work will furnish an early written authority for many of our dialectic words.

A North-country cattle-dealer will say to a farmer, "I'll gie ya fifteen shillin a-piece for thore hundred cows, an ya'll let ma *shoot* ten on em."

By *shooting*¹ ten, he means expelling or *driving* out ten of the worst. So in the *Cursor* we read of the blind man who was healed by Jesus, that

Wiþ þis þai *shotte* him as a dogge
Riȝt out of þaire synagog.

(Fairfax MS., l. 13658, p. 784.)

The Trinity (Midland) MS. has *hunted* for *shotte*.

The *Cursor span*, to wean, appears in North-country glossaries as *speān*, which also means to germinate, as corn, when it begins to be detached from the parent grain; cf. *spainin*, the weaning of lambs. The oldest English *spanan* = to seduce, allure, which is a secondary meaning from *spana* (provincial *spean*), a teat, dug. So *sanke*, 'to assemble,' for which, as far as I know, the *Cursor* is the only English written authority, appears in the Cumberland glossaries as *sank*, with the sense of a 'quantity, collection,' cf. Icelandic *sanka*, *samka*; Dan. *sanke*, to collect.

Skep, a basket, in the *Cursor*, is widely known. In the North it is a deep round coarse basket. In Sussex it means a flat bushel, a vessel for yeast, a bee-hackle, a bee-hive (as in Norfolk), and even a hat. M.E. *stipre*, only conjecturally defined as a support or prop in my *Legends of the Holy*

¹ cf. the phrases, "Rubbish may be *shot* here"; A *shotten* herring" (Shakespeare).

Rood (cf. "The stipre that is under the vine set"), is identical with the Northern *stiper*, a piece of wood fixed upright in the doorway of a barn, against which the double doors are shut.

The Northern *laighton*, a garden (Ray gives *liten*, a garden), Sussex *litten* (O.E. *lic-tun*), a churchyard, throws light on *leyhtun*, a garden, and *leyhtunward*, the gardener, in O.E. Miscellany, 45/291, 53/576.

Litnen or *lite*, to trust to, which occurs in O.E. Homilies, vol. i. p. 7, and also in the Ormulum and Cursor, is represented by the North-country *lite*, to wait, expect or depend on. There is also a Northumbrian noun *lite*=expectation, anticipation. Stratmann queries the derivation from Icelandic *lita*, 'to look to one;' recip. 'to look to one another.' The presence and use of the dialectic terms remove all doubt about the origin of the word. The E. Eng. *lipnen* or *lipnien*, to trust to, depend on, of whose origin we know nothing, is a substitute for *litnen* in the Moral Ode, and still survives in the North-country *lippen*, to rely on, trust to.

Chaucer's English is illustrated by the Northern *new-fangle*, fond of new clothes. *Hind*, in the North, is a farm bailiff, one who has the charge of cattle (see Prol. l. 603). *Garner*, in the Midland counties, is still a bin, as in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales (l. 593); while *gay* in East-Anglian means gaudy, speckled, as light-coloured cattle (see Prol. l. 74). The phrase, 'atte unset stevene,' in the Knight's Tale, l. 666, is well illustrated by the Cumberland phrase, 'to set the *steveren*,' i.e. to agree upon the time and place of meeting previous to some expedition. Cf. Northern *stem*, *steem*, to bespeak a thing; Dorset *stem*, a period of time, *stemmy*, to work at set times, take one's time.

To *stoke* occurs in the Knight's Tale (l. 1688) with the sense of to stab, stick. In many dialects we find *stoke* in the sense of to poke, or stir the fire (hence *stoker*), and *stоче* (a softened form of *stoke*), a stab. It seems a rare word in our early literature. I have, however, come across it in the Cursor, l. 7667, p. 442 (Fairfax version):

þe king þen hent a sper ful sharp
to *stoke* him þorow-out þe wagh.

The Cotton MS. has *stair*, evidently an error for *staic*, representing Icelandic *steikja*, to spit; while *stoke* is evidently connected with Icelandic *staka*, to punt, push.

Many of Shakespeare's words may be explained by a reference to provincial glossaries. The Northern *mop*, to look affectedly, look about like a child, *mop-eyed*, a simpleton, explains *mope* and *mop* in the *Tempest*, Act V. Sc. 1, l. 239. *Deg* or *dag*, to moisten, drizzle, a North-country word, clears up *decked* in the same play, Act I. Sc. 2, l. 155; and the North-country phrase, '*rack* of the weather,' i.e. the tract in which the clouds move, admirably explains the well-known line: "Leave not a *rack* behind."

Sometimes a word or form turns up in our provincial speech that we should in vain look for in all our Old English dictionaries and glossaries, but which nevertheless is a genuine Teutonic form. Amongst the Northern expressions given by Peacock, we find 'that *lids*,' where *lids*=manner, corresponding very closely to the Gothic suffix in '*swa-lauds*,' so much, '*hwe-lauds*,' what sort.

English etymology might receive some help from our provincial idioms. Mr. Wedgwood has made much use of them in his endeavour to trace our words back to their sources. He misses, however, the true derivation of *greaves*, sediment of melted tallow, which in the "Imperial Dictionary" is described as 'not in use or local.' In the North *greaves* are sometimes called *scratchings* or scraps. There can be no doubt that it is connected with the root *grave* in engraved, a grave; cf. the Northern *greeave*, to dig, pare, slice. He overlooks also the true etymon of *stingy*, from the verb to 'sting.' An East Anglian says the 'air is *stingy*,' that is, nipping, biting, bitter. *Stinge*, a sting, is a good North-country word; *stingy*=is ill-tempered, while *hingy*=inclined to idle, or hang about.

The Whitby dialect preserves the correct form of the modern *landlubber* (not noticed in Wedgwood) as *landlouser*=landleaper. Cotgrave has "Villotier, a vagabond, *landloper*, earth planet, continual gadder from town to town."

The change (not very old) from *landloper* to *landlubber* is due to such compounds as *abbey-lubber*, etc.

A good deal more might be said from an antiquarian point of view about the importance of our local dialects, but I must refrain, in order to bring to your notice the several reports, which constitute the chief feature of the Presidential Address.

SANSKRIT.

Last year we had a very valuable report on the ancient Hindu Language by Professor Eggeling, who now occupies the Chair of Sanskrit at Edinburgh. This year the founder of that Chair, Dr. John Muir, has kindly consented to lay before us the chief results in Vedic studies. Three years ago we were indebted to the author of "Original Sanskrit Texts" for a comprehensive report on Sanskrit.

"The approaching completion of the great Sanskrit and German Lexicon compiled by Drs. Böhtlingk and Roth was announced in Professor Eggeling's contribution to the Presidential Address of last year. Since then that most important work has actually been finished. The preface to the seventh and last quarto volume bears date the 4th August, 1875. The principles on which Professor Roth has proceeded in this Lexicon in the explanation of Vedic words are stated by himself in the preface to the first volume, published in 1855, from which I have given large translated extracts in my paper on the Interpretation of the Veda, printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, vol. ii., pp. 307 ff. A history of the Lexicon, which was given in an Address by Professor Roth to the Meeting of Orientalists at Innsbrück, in September, 1874, has just been printed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, at whose expense the work was issued. Among other points, reference is there made to the insufficiency of the materials at the disposal of the compilers for the discovery and registration of the Indian medical terms, and for the exposition of the technical expressions peculiar to the Hindu philosophy. In an article in the *Academy* for 12th February last, a just and discriminating tribute is paid by Professor Max Müller to the great merits of this Lexicon in the departments

elaborated by both the editors; and in the Preface to the first volume of his translation of the R̥ig-Veda, published in 1869, pp. xvi. ff., he had already expressed his opinion of its value.

“Professor Grassmann’s Dictionary of the words in the R̥ig-Veda, which was also noticed in the Presidential Address of last year, has now been completed. It is reviewed by M. Auguste Barth in the *Revue Critique* of the 12th February. In the postscript, which bears date the 8th August, 1875, Professor Grassmann promises us a translation of the R̥ig-Veda, to appear at no distant date, which will supply important aid towards the better determination of the sense of the words; and in which, by distinguishing the ages of the hymns, he expects to be able to assist in fixing the sense of the Indian liturgical expressions. While Professor Grassmann’s version is still in the future,¹ two important contributions have already been made to the translation of the R̥ig-Veda during the year under review. The first is ‘Seventy Hymns of the R̥ig-Veda,’ translated into German verse by Karl Geldner and Adolf Kaegi, pupils of Professor R. Roth, with contributions (including a preface) by the latter himself. The second work to which I refer is the first volume of a complete translation of the same Veda into German prose by Professor Alfred Ludwig, of Prague. This volume, which has only recently appeared (the preface being dated at the end of last November), embraces 442 out of 1017 hymns which the Veda contains. The hymns are arranged in a different order from that of the original collection, those which relate to each deity being grouped together in different sections. The liturgical, epic and historical pieces are to follow. The second volume, now in the press, will complete the collection; and a third is to contain an Introduction, noticing all important matters, and a Commentary. A smaller work, ‘The Philosophical and Religious Conceptions of the Veda in their Development,’ had previously been published by Professor Ludwig last year.

¹ Since the above was written, and the President’s Address delivered, one Fasciculus of Professor Grassmann’s translation has appeared.

“Without a careful study of these works, I could not venture to pronounce a decided or specific opinion on their merits. But the quarter from which the first-named book (‘Seventy Hymns of the R̥ig-Veda,’ etc.) proceeds is a guarantee for its value. It has been subjected to a minute critical examination by M. Abel Bergaigne in the *Revue Critique* for the past half year, pp. 369 ff. and 385 ff. And in a paper just issued by Professor Haug,¹ of Munich, to be noticed below, I observe that he objects to metrical translations as much less suited than prose to give a clear and accurate representation of the sense of the Vedic hymns. From my cursory inspection of Professor Ludwig’s translations, and the opinion which I hear expressed of his work, I cannot doubt that it will be found to furnish important contributions to our knowledge of the ancient hymns with which it deals, and which are so difficult, from the uncertainty attaching to the sense of many of the words which they contain. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that we are to have two critical translations of the whole R̥ig-Veda (this and Grassmann’s), besides the ‘Seventy Hymns’ of Messrs. Geldner and Kaegi, and the further aid which we may expect from the future volumes of Professor Max Müller’s promised translation.

“While engaged in writing this notice, I have received the paper of Professor Haug’s above referred to, being a translation and explanation (from the Transactions of the Royal Bavarian Academy) of the long hymn of Dirghatamas, in R̥ig-Veda, vol. i. p. 164. This hymn contains a number of enigmatical questions and answers of various purport, of which Professor Haug essays the solution, and explains that questions of this kind were proposed on sacrificial occasions by one of the priests to the sacrificer and to another priest. A string of similar questions are put by a Yaksha to King Yudhisht̥hira in the third book of the Mahābhārata, verses 17330 ff.”

¹ I regret to say that the death of this scholar was announced in the early part of this month (June, 1876).

I am indebted for what follows to the kindness of Professor Eggeling.

“The completion of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary, the successive parts of which have contributed so much to the progress made in Sanskrit research during the last twenty-five years, has already been adverted to by Dr. Muir.

“In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Professor Thibaut of Benares has printed a highly interesting paper—originally read at a meeting of the London Oriental Congress—on the *S’ulva-sūtras*, or rules on the construction of the various kinds of altars used for Vedic sacrifices. It is to these rules that we have to look for the first attempts at geometrical calculation among the Hindus; and Dr. Thibaut shows that solutions of some important problems, such as the Pythagorean proposition, were independently arrived at by the Hindus at an early period. Dr. Thibaut is also publishing the text of the *śulva-sūtras* of Baudhāyana, with a Sanskrit commentary and an English translation, in the *Pandit*, a journal published at Benares by Messrs. Lazarus and Co. In the monthly issues of this periodical the publication of the *Kāśikā Vṛitti*, a comment on the grammatical aphorisms of Pāṇini, has also been continued by Professor Bālaśāstrin of Benares.

“Mr. K. T. Telang, of Bombay, already favourably known to European scholars by several papers, especially an interesting essay on the Rāmāyana and its assumed connexion with Homer’s Iliad, has now published a metrical English translation of the famous philosophical treatise, the *Bhagavadgītā*. Dr. Lorinser, some years ago, endeavoured to show that the author of this work was acquainted with and largely borrowed from the New Testament, a view which has been severely criticized by European scholars also. Mr. Telang unfortunately is under the impression that Dr. Lorinser’s conclusions have been accepted by the generality of European Indianists, and in a highly ingenious introduction to his translation tries to show, with much warmth and, I think, not without success, that these views are unfounded.

He further endeavours to prove that the Sanskrit work is much older than is generally supposed, viz. that it preceded both Buddhism and the systematic treatises of the Hindu systems of philosophy. Whether or not the Hindu scholar is right in his conclusions—and few will probably admit that he has definitely settled the latter point—we cannot but congratulate him on the skilful manner in which he wields his critical pen.

“In his ‘Indian Wisdom,’ Professor Monier Williams has presented to the general reader a useful and interesting sketch of the chief departments of Sanskrit, especially post-vedic, literature, abundantly illustrated with versions of characteristic passages.

“Professor Weber, of Berlin, has likewise published a second German edition of his Lectures on the History of Indian Literature, with notes embodying the additional results of research since the first appearance of the work in 1852. Though this plan has manifestly its inconveniences, it has at least the advantage of putting clearly before the reader’s eye the progress made during nearly a quarter of a century in the exploration of Sanskrit literature.

“To Dr. A. Burnell we owe an important critical essay on the grammatical systems of the Hindus and their relation to each other.

“Our knowledge of Hindu law literature has been enlarged by two publications, viz. by an edition of the Institutes of Gautama, by Professor Stenzler, of Breslau, who intends shortly to publish also a German translation of this work; and by an English translation of the Institutes of Narada, by Dr. J. Jolly, of Würzburg.

“The relative antiquity of the several recensions of Kālidāsa’s plays, the *Sakuntalā* and the *Vikramorvaśī*, especially the former, has received a good deal of attention at the hands of Professors Weber and Pischel, in several papers published by these scholars. The point is very difficult to decide; but it is extremely important, as it involves a variety of questions, especially our estimate of the degree of authority we have to allow for the teachings

of Prākṛit grammarians, in restoring the original texts of the older plays. Meanwhile, Dr. Pischel has rendered a good service by a critical edition of the hitherto inaccessible South-Indian recension of the *Urvaśī*.

"On one of his recent official tours for examining the Collections of Sanskrit and Prākṛit Manuscripts in Western India, Dr. G. Bühler discovered, among numerous other important and scarce works, the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, an artificial epic on the life of King Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla of the western line of Chālukyas, who reigned at Kalyāṇi in the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. The text of this historical poem has now been brought out by Dr. Bühler, with an analysis of the work. Dr. Jacobi, of Bonn, has also contributed to Professor Weber's *Indische Studien* an interesting paper on the *Viracharitam*, a poem the subject of which forms the life of a prince, Śūdrīka, who is here represented as having lived at the time of, and as having been connected with the founders of the Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana eras.

"In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, and the writer of these remarks have published a catalogue of the Society's Collection of Buddhist Sanskrit works.

"Of recently published translations of Sanskrit works may be mentioned one of Kālidāsa's play, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, by Professor C. H. Tawney, of Calcutta; and a new version of Jayadeva's famous song, the *Gītāgovinda*.

"Messrs. Trübner & Co. have brought out an extremely useful Catalogue of the Sanskrit Books and Pamphlets hitherto printed in Europe and India; supplying a desideratum much felt by Sanskrit scholars since the publication of Zenker's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*."¹

¹ Trübner & Co. have published for the Trustees of the British Museum the Catalogue of the Printed Sanskrit Texts in their Library. This Catalogue has been compiled by Dr. Haas, the newly-elected Professor of Sanskrit at London University College, and is a testimony to his knowledge and industry.

LANGUES OUGRO-FINNOISES.

The important and most Western branch of the Turanian family of languages, known as the Altaic, or Ugro-Finnic, has hitherto been unnoticed in our Annual Reports, and the Society has to express its thanks to M. Ch. Eug. de Ujfalvy, Vice-President de la Société Philologique at Paris, and Professor of Oriental History and Geography at the Ecole Speciale des Langues Orientales, Paris, for his interesting paper. By birth a Hungarian, though resident at Paris, he has lately published a Grammar of the Magyar and Finnic Language, and has devoted himself to this branch of Oriental study, and is Editor of the *Revue de Philologie et d'Ethnographie*.

“L'étude de la linguistique et de la philologie dans le domaine des langues ougro-finnoises a fait de grands progrès ces dernières années. Chargé pour la première fois par la société philologique de Londres de lui exposer la marche de cette étude, je suis obligé de remonter jusqu'à l'année 1870, d'autant plus que ces travaux sont généralement écrits en suédois ou en russe et par cela même peu connus du public savant de l'Europe occidentale. Je passerai en revue ces publications en les classant selon les grands centres où elles se sont produites.

“*Finlande*.—Je signalerai tout d'abord un livre appelé à faire époque dans la philologie altaïque, le grand *dictionnaire finnois-suédois* de M. *Lönnrot*,¹ dont le premier volume, paru en 1874, est une œuvre colossale, bien supérieure à tout ce qui s'est publié dans ce genre en Finlande. Le savant médecin de la Finlande, qui en recueillant les rhapsodies de son pays a été le véritable créateur du ‘*Kalévala*,’ a fait une œuvre durable dont la nécessité se faisait d'autant plus sentir que les dictionnaires depuis *Juslenius*² jusqu'à *Eurén*³ présentent chacun un grand nombre de lacunes et de déficiences. Non seulement le plus grand nombre de matériaux a été réuni avec une patience inouïe, mais encore ces matériaux ont été groupés et disposés avec un esprit méthodique et sûr

¹ *Suomalais-Ruotsalainen Sanakirja* (A—M). Helsingissä, 1874.

² *Finnici lexici tentamen*. 1745. ³ *Finsk-ävensk Ordbok*. Tavasthuus, 1860.

et un discernement peu commun. C'est un livre de philologie remarquable.

“Un ouvrage qu'on peut placer sans hésiter à côté de la grande publication de M. Lönnrot, c'est l'édition allemande des *'Kulturwörter in den Westfinnischen Sprachen'*¹ de M. Ahlqvist. Ce travail qui poursuit la solution d'une thèse historique et en quelque sorte ethnographique, est cependant d'un grand intérêt pour le linguiste et le philologue, car c'est la philologie et la linguistique qui sont la clef de voûte sur laquelle repose l'édifice de ces surprenantes découvertes. Les résultats auxquels arrive M. Ahlqvist, s'accordent avec les données de Tacite, de Ptolémée et de Jornandès sur les peuples riverains de la mer Baltique. On peut regretter de trouver dans ces travaux un certain parti-pris et un esprit trop exclusif, mais ils ne laissent pas d'être considérables et dignes de la plus sérieuse attention, et l'auteur y soutient son opinion avec une dialectique des plus judicieuses et une méthode scientifique vraiment remarquable. M. Ahlqvist est en outre bien connu du monde savant de l'Europe par ses *Grammaires vèpse*,² *vôte*,³ *mordvine*,⁴ etc., et en dernier lieu par ses fragments d'une grande *grammaire finnoise*,⁵ qui ont paru en allemand, et qui traitent de la composition des noms et de la dérivation des *'nomina actionis.'* M. Ahlqvist publie en outre une revue philologique, intitulée : *'Kieletär'*⁶ la fille du langage, renfermant une série de travaux originaux qui font preuve d'une vaste érudition. Cette revue qui porte pour épigraphe le dicton d'Erasmus : *'Admonere volumus, non mordere, prodesse, non laedere,'* a paru pour la première fois en 1871 et est arrivée à son 9^{me} numéro. Parmi ses collaborateurs les plus zélés, nous signalerons M. Genes qui y a

¹ Die Kulturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen. Ein Beitrag zur älteren Kulturgeschichte der Finnen. Deutsche umgearbeitete Ausgabe. Helsingfors, 1875.

² Anteckningar i Nord-Tschudiskan. Helsingfors, 1859.

³ Wotisk Grammatik. Helsingfors, 1856.

⁴ Versuch einer mokscha-mordvinischen Grammatik nebst Texten u. Wörterverzeichnis. St. Petersburg, 1861.

⁵ Auszüge aus einer Grammatik der finnischen Sprachen : Zweites und drittes Stück. Zusammensetzung des Nomens. Ableitung der Nomina actionis. Helsingfors, 1872 et 1874.

⁶ Kieletär, tutkimuksia, arvosteluja ja muistutuksia. Suomen Kirjallisuuden ja Kielitieteen alalta. Toimittanut Aug. Ahlqvist.

publié une *grammaire de la langue wépsse*,¹ travail fort estimable.

“M. *Yrjö Koskinen* est historien, mais dans ses nombreux et remarquables travaux, il touche souvent à la linguistique² et à la philologie;³ ce serait donc manquer à ma tâche, si je passais sous silence son nom dans cette courte énumération. En Finlande, comme dans chaque pays où la vie nationale renaît, tout le monde sans distinction se met un peu à la tâche, et chacun apporte sa pierre à la réédification de la grandeur nationale. En Finlande, comme ailleurs, cette tâche n'est pas envisagée de la même façon; les uns, tout en acceptant la civilisation étrangère, veulent être avant tout les fils de leurs œuvres, les autres croient à un glorieux passé dont ils rêvent le retour, ils repoussent toute immixtion étrangère, fût-elle aussi civilisatrice que possible; quoiqu'il en soit, les deux écoles sont animées d'un sentiment sacré,—l'amour de la patrie—les divergences d'un moment passeront, comme les torrents et les neiges de leur pittoresque pays.

“M. O. Donner est avantageusement connu par ses nombreux travaux philologiques, au nombre desquels nous signalerons un *vocabulaire comparé des langues ougro-finnoises*⁴ dont la première partie a paru en 1874; un *aperçu de l'histoire de la philologie* de ces mêmes idiomes,⁵ et, en dernier lieu, un recueil intitulé: *Chants des Lapons*⁶ qui vient de paraître. Le lexique de M. O. Donner est une œuvre d'heureuse initiative; son travail bibliographique a certainement rendu un notable service à tous ceux s'occupent de ce genre d'étude, et l'édition annotée et explicative de la poésie laponne est d'un intérêt tout particulier, et comme nous avons peu de travaux sur ce peuple si curieux à connaître, sa lecture a été pour nous une véritable révélation. Cette dernière publication pêche

¹ Kieletär. 4 Vihko. Wepsän pohjoiset etujoukot.

² Tiedot Suomen-suurun muinaisuudesta. Helsingissä, 1862. (M. Koskinen est l'auteur d'une remarquable histoire de la Finlande.)

³ Sur l'antiquité des Lèves en Livonie. Helsingfors, 1866. Finska språkets satalära. Åbo, 1860.

⁴ Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen. Helsingfors, 1874. I. Theil.

⁵ Öfversikt af den Finsk Ugriiska språkforskningens historia. Helsingfors, 1872.

⁶ Lieder der Lappen. Helsingfors, 1876.

malheureusement par un grand nombre de fautes allemandes; ce qui prouvent jusqu'à l'évidence qu'à Helsingfors les impressions faites dans cette langue ne sont pas assez soignées.

"M. Krohn a publié en 1872 une petite *grammaire chstonnienne*,¹ à l'usage des Finnois qui est très satisfaisante. La *syntaxe finnoise*² dont M. Jahnsson est l'auteur, est également un travail fort estimable.

"Je signalerai en passant le *dictionnaire allemand-finnois*³ de M. Godenhjelm qui au point de vue de la partie allemande (et c'en est certainement la plus importante, l'ouvrage s'adressant aux Finnois) laisse beaucoup à désirer; il renferme une foule de mots et de locutions, qui n'existent que dans l'imagination de l'auteur.

"*Hongrie*.—A Budapest, l'autre centre des études altaïques, les travaux à signaler sont nombreux et font preuve d'une heureuse émulation.

"M. Paul Hunfalvy, le vétéran de ces études, continue sans relâche ses belles publications; après avoir expliqué la plus grande partie des *textes ostiaques et vogoules* recueillis par Réguly, il vient de faire paraître successivement, dans sa *revue philologique*,⁴ et une *grammaire vogoule*,⁵ et une *grammaire ostiaque*.⁶ Ces deux travaux d'une importance égale pour l'ethnographie, la linguistique et la philologie ont obtenu une médaille de première classe à l'exposition géographique de Paris (1875).

"M. Hunfalvy fait aussi de nombreuses recherches mythologiques, qui ont pour base principale la philologie. Ces travaux ne font qu'assurer davantage à leur auteur la place glorieuse, qu'il s'est acquise parmi les maîtres de la science altaïque.

"La revue philologique dont M. Hunfalvy est le Directeur entre dans sa 12^{me} année et MM. Budenz, Vambéry, etc., en sont les zélés collaborateurs et les fermes soutiens.

"M. Hunfalvy a rencontré dans M. Budenz, esprit éminem-

¹ Wiron Kielioppi Suomalaisille. Helsingissä, 1872.

² Finska språkets satalära. Helsingfors, 1871.

³ Deutsch-finnisches Wörterbuch. Helsingfors, 1873.

⁴ Nyelvtudományi Közlemények (de 1862 à 1873). 10 vol.

⁵ A Kondai vogul nyelv. Pesten, 1872. ⁶ Az osztiaák nyelv. Pesten, 1874.

ment judicieux et critique un puissant auxiliaire. M. Budenz a publié en 1873 *une petite grammaire finnoise*,¹ qui au point de vue du caractère rationnel de son exposition laisse loin derrière elle, les travaux grammaticaux depuis *Vhael*² jusqu'à *Eurén*.³ Les difficultés que présente la langue finnoise y sont traitées avec une attention toute particulière, et le savant académicien de Budapest a réussi à alléger de beaucoup le bagage philologique des grammairiens finnois. Les principes de la phonétique, les déclinaisons et les conjugaisons y sont traitées dans des règles générales, concises et nettement établies sur une base vraiment scientifique.

“Mais l'œuvre capitale de cet esprit infatigable est son *vocabulaire ougro-magyar*.⁴ Ici nous voyons éclater la différence, qui existe entre la méthode de M. O. Donner, et la méthode inaugurée par M. Ahlqvist que M. Budenz a si brillamment continuée. Malgré ses incontestables mérites, l'œuvre de M. Donner ne peut se comparer à celle de M. Budenz, qui lui est bien supérieure par le nombre et la profondeur des recherches ainsi que par la méthode scientifique. M. O. Donner est un sanscritiste qui s'occupe en même temps de l'ougro-finnois, tandis que M. Budeuz est avant tout un Altaïsant qui possède en même temps la connaissance du sanscrit et d'une foule d'autres langues de l'Europe et du monde entier. La maxime de Goethe: '*In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister*' a toujours été pour M. Budenz le guide principal de ses travaux.

“M. Budenz a également publié de nombreux travaux sur la langue des Tchérémisses,⁵ des études ougoures⁶ et en dernier lieu un petit fascicule sur la langue des Lapons de la Suède.⁷

“En Hongrie je nommerai encore M. *Vámbéry* dont le nom est connu dans tout l'univers et qui, aussi savant linguiste qu'ethnographe, est encore un aimable et spirituel conteur.

¹ Rövid finn nyelvtan. Budapest, 1873. ² Grammatica fennica. Åbo, 1733.

³ Finsk språklära, Åbo, 1849. Finsk språklära, Åbo, 1851. Finsk språklära, 1869.

⁴ Magyar-ugor összehasonlító szótár. Budapest, 1872-75.

⁵ Vocabularium čeremissicum utriusque dialecti. Pest, 1866.

⁶ Ugrische Sprachstudien. Pest, 1869.

⁷ Svéd-lapp nyelvmutatványok. 1874-75.

Je ne me sens pas assez de compétence pour me prononcer sur ses nombreux travaux, qui au dire des connaisseurs sont de tout point remarquables.

“MM. *Edelspacher*,¹ *Finály*,² *Volf*,³ et d'autres font de louables efforts pour traiter à fond les questions les plus compliquées de la philologie magyare.

“Je me permettrai encore de signaler à Budapest une revue philologique⁴ de la plus grande importance pour la vie et le développement de l'idiome magyar. Cette revue, intitulée le *Magyar Nyelvőr*, est arrivée à son cinquième volume; elle est dirigée par M. *Szarvas* et un altaïsant distingué M. *Simonyi* y publie ses savantes dissertations.

“Il existe donc une noble émulation entre Helsingfors et Budapest, et cette lutte en champ clos ne manquera pas de devenir heureuse et féconde pour la science.

“*Russie*.—Dans le reste de l'Europe on s'intéresse aussi à ce genre de travaux: M. *Wiedemann* publie depuis un grand nombre d'années des travaux importants relatifs à la philologie altaïque. Ceux qui n'auraient pas estimé à leur juste valeur les premiers essais grammaticaux du savant académicien de St. Pétersbourg ont pu être émerveillés du mérite de sa *grammaire ehstonienne*,⁵ publication toute récente. C'est là un travail d'érudition par excellence, dont l'opportunité sera d'autant plus appréciée que jusqu'ici les grammaires dans cette langue avaient laissé infiniment à désirer.

“*Allemagne*.—Le dernier survivant des vaillants pionniers de l'érudition altaïque, M. *Schott*, contemporain des Castrén et des Sjögren, a publié de 1860 à 1872 une série d'études du plus haut intérêt, sous le titre *altajische Studien*.⁶ Malgré son grand âge le célèbre sinologue de Berlin vient de nous donner dans son dernier travail: *Zur Uigurenfrage*⁷ une

¹ Rumun elemek a magyar nyelvben. Pesten, 1875.

² A magyar rokonértelmű szók. Pesten, 1870.

³ Nyelvemléktár. Régi magyar codexek és nyomtatványok. Budapest, 1874.

⁴ Magyar Nyelvőr, Budapest, 1876 (vme vol.).

⁵ Grammatik der ehstnischen Sprache. St. Petersburg, 1875.

⁶ Altajische Studien. Berlin, 1860-72.

⁷ Zur Uigurenfrage. Berlin, 1874-75.

nouvelle preuve de son étonnante perspicacité et de son grand savoir. Les données souvent fantastiques de Klaproth et les nombreuses inexactitudes de Schmidt sont reprises et rectifiées, et cette intéressante question est présentée sous un nouveau jour. La réputation de Klaproth, considérablement surfaite, est réduite par M. Schott à ses justes proportions.

“Signalons aussi les communications de M. Schott à l'académie de Berlin, où il ne manque jamais l'occasion d'éclairer la savante compagnie sur les diverses questions philologiques et ethnographiques, qui concernent les peuples de l'Oural.

“M. *Weske* a ébauché un essai de grammaire comparée des langues ougro-finnoises,¹ qui malgré sa diffusion contient le fruit de précieuses recherches.

“*Angleterre.*—Le Prince *Lucien Bonaparte*, connu par ses nombreux travaux philologiques, a fait paraître à Londres la traduction de l'Evangile selon St.-Mathieu dans les idiomes et dialectes ougro-finnois suivants : Carélien méridional, Livonien de Kolken, Livonien de Pisen, Permien, Zyrénien Votiaque, Tchérémisses des Montagnes, Tchérémisses de la plaine, Ersa-mordvine, Konda-vogoul, et Ostiaque d'Obdorsk.

“Ces différentes traductions ont été faites sur les lieux par des indigènes, revues par M. Wiedemann et éditées et corrigées par le Prince lui-même à Londres. Comme dans tous ses travaux le Prince a apporté une attention toute particulière et une scrupuleuse exactitude à ces belles publications qui sont d'autant plus précieuses qu'elles représentent souvent les seules données que nous possédons sur quelques unes de ces langues.

“*France.*—M. *Lucien Adam* s'est fait le représentant français de ce genre d'études. Son travail sur *l'harmonie des voyelles dans les langues ouralo-altaïques*,² quoiqu'un peu spéculatif, dénote un jugement sûr et un coup-d'œil juste.

¹ Untersuchungen zur vergleichenden Grammatik des finnischen Sprachstammes. Leipzig, 1873.

² De l'harmonie des voyelles dans les langues ouralo-altaïques. Paris, 1874.

Il serait à désirer que ce savant donnât des travaux de plus longue haleine.

“ M. Lucien Adam a aussi voulu prêter sa précieuse collaboration à une entreprise qui nous intéresse au premier chef. Je veux parler de la *Revue de Philologie et d'Ethnographie* que nous avons eu l'honneur de fonder nous-même en 1874, et qui, tout en voulant travailler au profit des langues non-aryennes en général, s'est consacrée avant tout à la linguistique et à la philologie altaïque et américaine. Le concours de MM. Hunfalvy, Koskinen, Vámbéry, Oppert, L. Angrand, de Charencey, de Mainof, Halévy et autres a permis à cette nouvelle publication, devenue depuis l'organe de la société philologique de Paris, de s'acquitter sans relâche de la tâche à laquelle elle s'est consacrée.

“ Je ne terminerai pas ce rapide aperçu sans vous parler des efforts que M. François Lenormant a faits, pour classer l'accadien ou plutôt le sumérien parmi les langues altaïques, même ougro-finnoises. Le livre que M. Lenormant a publié à ce sujet sur le touranisme de cette langue,¹ a été réfuté depuis et les hommes les plus compétents, tels que MM. Ahlqvist et Budenz, se refusent absolument à y attacher une importance quelconque. M. Lenormant n'a d'ailleurs pas été suivi dans sa campagne par tous les Assyriologues de France. M. Oppert est resté éloigné de la lutte, et le savant professeur du Collège de France a fait à ce sujet une déclaration, qui ne laisse prise à aucune équivoque. ‘*La langue sumérienne, a-t-il dit, n'est pas une langue sémitique, mais je suis loin de vouloir prétendre que ce soit une langue altaïque.*’ Le plus ingénieux entassement des matériaux grammaticaux les plus disparates ne suffit donc pas pour défendre une thèse à tout point insoutenable et nous terminerons cette appréciation par les paroles de M. Budenz : ‘qu’il est malheureux de voir dépenser tant d’esprit et tant d’érudition en pure perte.’ ”

¹ La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes touraniens. Paris, 1876.

TALMUDICAL AND RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

For the elaborate and valuable report on Talmudical and Rabbinical Literature I am indebted to the kindness of Ad. Neubauer, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, whose task is to catalogue the Hebrew MSS. of this Library.

"Hebrew, modified in its grammatical forms and enriched by the introduction of words of other Semitic idioms, or even of Greek and Latin, is commonly called Rabbinic; it can scarcely be considered a dead language, for it is not only employed for books on all branches of science and literature, but is also spoken by a great number of Jews at the present time. Not only books relating to Hebraico-Rabbinical literature have been written in Rabbinic, but classical works of various nations, such as the tragedies of Racine, Shakspeare's Othello, Milton,¹ Lessing's Nathan the Wise, and even Goethe's Faust,² have been translated into it. The last-named work may, without doubt, be considered a great success; and the translator, the late Dr. Letteris, has in our judgment in many respects surpassed the original. The *dramatis personae* are taken from Jewish history; for instance, the learned and dissatisfied Faust is represented by the Talmudical Elishah, son of Abuyah, who, searching too deeply for the solution of theological problems, was finally driven to apostasy. Any Hebrew scholar will read the above-mentioned translations with as much pleasure as the Book of Job. A still better proof can be given of the truth of the assertion that Rabbinic is still a living language. Novels, both originals and translations, are yearly published in this idiom. The

¹ *Ittai hak-Kushi (the Cushite), Othello, der Mohr von Venedig, translated from the English into Hebrew by J. E. Salkinson, with a critical introduction by P. Smolemsky. 8vo. Vienna, 1874. Milton's Paradise Lost, in Hebrew blank verse, by J. E. S. (no date).*

² *Ben Abuyah, Goethe's Faust, eine Tragödie in einer hebräischen Umdichtung. 8vo. Vienna, 1866.*

late Mapo of Kowno (Poland) wrote, amongst several others, a novel under the title *The Love of Sion*,¹ which is a masterly production, both in style and matter. A description of Jewish life in Galicia has appeared in the monthly paper called *hash-Shahar*, which has been considered worthy of a translation into French for the *Révue des deux mondes*.² Sue's *Mystères de Paris*,³ translated into Hebrew, has reached several editions. Finally, treatises on general and special historical subjects, on various branches of natural science, medicine, and mathematics, are constantly published in Rabbinic. These publications are read by Jews in the East, Poland and Russia, Hungary and the Danubian provinces, to whom the Hebrew language is much more accessible than that spoken in their respective countries. No less than four weekly papers are published in Hebrew,⁴ the first columns of which are devoted to current politics, and the last to literature and advertisements. Of course these papers must be read by Jews who know only Rabbinic, or to whom it is more familiar than any other language. Let us also mention a well-known fact, viz. that many of the *beau sèxe* participate in the knowledge of this language. Who would venture after this to assert that the so-called Rabbinical idiom is a completely dead language? We have still to explain our assertion that it is spoken by many Jews. In Jerusalem, for instance, where the Jewish population is composed of men coming from Arabic-speaking countries, from Persia and Kurdistan, from Armenia and Turkey, from Greece and Poland, the only means of communication is Rabbinic, which they all speak more or less fluently. The *Alliance Israélite* at Paris and Vienna, as well as the Anglo-Jewish Association in London, communicate with the Eastern Jews in Hebrew, and all casu-

¹ *Ahabath Cion, amor Zionis, fabula romanensis, e tempore regis Achas*. 8vo. Wilna, 1864.

² 15th of September, 1875.

³ *Mistère Paris*. 8vo. Wilna, 1857. The Hebrew word *Mistère* means "hidden things."

⁴ a. The *ham-Maggid*, published at Lyck (Prussia); b. The *hal-Lebanon*, at Mayence; c. The *haz-Zefirah*, at Warsaw; d. The *Habazeleth*, at Jerusalem. The *hak-Karmel*, at Wilna, is now a monthly magazine, and the *ham-Melitz*, at Odessa, has ceased with its tenth year of existence.

istical correspondence between the rabbis of various countries is carried on in that language. What an active communication is kept up among the learned Jews of all countries may be seen from the publication of several quarterlies,¹ as well as commentaries on the Bible and Talmud, written in this idiom. Strange it is that no attempt has yet been made to bring out a grammar and a lexicon of Rabbinic, so as to enable any one to acquire a fair knowledge of it without the assistance of a Jewish teacher. Biblical and Semitic scholars can scarcely do without an acquaintance with this strange idiom, since important articles on biblical criticism, as well as on inscriptions of various kinds, are to be found in modern Rabbinical publications. We are glad to state that there is a school at Oxford and Cambridge which begins to cultivate this idiom, as will be seen from the various publications made by younger members of both Universities.

"After this introduction on the present state of Rabbinic, we shall pass on to the enumeration of the various publications issued in different countries during the last ten years, having first accounted for the omissions which any critic may easily discover in this report. Scattered as the Jewish people is all over the world, so scattered are their literary productions in various periodicals, as the following considerations will show. 1. Rabbinical learning being concerned with various branches of science and literature, the specialist may expect to find his own particular subject treated, not in periodicals of general Rabbinic literature, but in publications devoted to his specialty. We must therefore not be astonished to find Dr. Steinschneider publishing papers on the history of mathematics and medicine in Schlömlch's² and Virchow's³ *Zeitschriften*; on matters

¹ The *he-Haluz*, published by Schorr; the *Yeshurun*, by Kobak; the *Kokhbe Yisraaq*, by Stern and Weiss; the *hash-Shahar*, by Smolensky; the *hak-Karmel*, by Finn; the *Or Thorah*, by Kohen Zedeq.

² *Abraham Judaeus and Zum Speculum astronomicum des Albertus Magnus*, etc., *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, tomes xii. and xiv.

³ *Constantinus Africanus; Donolo; die toxologischen Schriften der Araber bis Ende des xii. Jahrhunderts*, *Archiv für pathologische Anatomie*, etc. *Tomes xxxvii. xxxviii. and lii.*

concerning the Romance languages in Lemcke's *Jahrbuch*.¹ This last subject is also treated by M. Darmesteter, of Paris, in the *Romania*,² and by Professor Böhmer and the writer of this report in the *Romanische Studien*.³ Historical subjects on the Khazars and Slaves are published in Russian periodicals by Dr. Harkavy,⁴ on Italy by Signor Lattes in the *Archivio Veneto*,⁵ on French rabbis by M. Renan together with the present writer in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*,⁶ and by M. Adrien de Longpérier in the *Journal des Savants*.⁷ Rabbinic, being a step-daughter of Hebrew, has also a right to be considered a branch of an Oriental language, and so we may expect to find papers on it in periodicals devoted to those studies. Thus Dr. Zunz, the late Dr. Geiger, as well as Dr. Steinschneider and others, have contributed papers on Rabbinical philology in the *Deutsch-morgenländische Zeitschrift*; M. Derenbourg and the writer of this report have done the same in the *Journal Asiatique*; Professors F. Lasinio, De Benedetti, and Castelli, as well as Abbate Perreau in the *Annuario*;⁸ the Rev. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy in the Transactions of the Biblical-Archaeological Society.⁹ 2. The savants belonging to various countries contribute to the publications of the academies of their own countries. We shall have to mention by and by many of these important publications. 3. Matters exclusively concerning Rabbinical literature find their place in special periodicals edited by Jewish savants in Hebrew or German. We have already mentioned the former; the most important of the latter are those edited by Drs.

¹ *Isopet hebräisch, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Fabeln im Mittelalter*, Jahrbuch für romanische, etc., Literatur, t. xiii. p. 351.

² *Glosses et glossaires hébreux-français au moyen-âge*, *Romania*, t. ii. p. 146; *deux élégies du Vatican*, *ibid.* iii. p. 443.

³ *Un vocabulaire hébraico-français*, *Romanische Studien*, t. i. p. 103; *de vocabulis franco-gallicis Judaice transcriptis*, *ibid.* p. 197.

⁴ *Transactions of the Archaeological Society* (in Russian), 1872 to 1874.

⁵ *Tomes v. vi. and vii.* ⁶ *Tome xxvii.* p. 431 seqq.

⁷ *Inscriptions de la France, du v^e siècle au xviii^e, etc.*, *Journal des Savants*, 1874, p. 647 seqq.

⁸ *Annuario della società italiana per gli studi orientali*, Firenze, 1873-74.

⁹ *Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 1872, pp. 263-270.

Geiger,¹ Steinschneider² and Berliner,³ at Berlin, and by Professor Graetz at Breslau.⁴ Dr. N. Brüll also edits an annuaire,⁵ and Dr. Rahmer a literary fortnightly appendix to a Jewish periodical.⁶ The periodical edited by Dr. Philippson⁷ has also from time to time small literary articles. Let us in addition mention the *Révue Israélite* in Paris, which only existed for a year, and the *Israelitische Letterbode* edited at Amsterdam by M. Roest. Other Jewish periodicals, written in French, Italian, and English, must be passed over in silence, as possessing no literary importance. With this vast number of papers published in various languages every year on Rabbinical subjects, it is certainly impossible not to be guilty of omissions in a report extending over ten years. It may be added too that many of the articles are either mere notes or of too little importance to be worthy of special notice. So much for the omission of articles published in periodicals. As regards books, too, we can be no more complete. Russia, Poland, Hungary, various Eastern towns, and Leghorn produce every year a large quantity of Rabbinical literature on various subjects: Biblical and Talmudical commentaries, books of prayers and casuistry, Kabbalistical and legendary works, modern poetry, general history, and treatises on natural science, besides new editions of old publications without any help from MSS.; most of these publications never reach our libraries, and we shall not be too severe if we say that we are not any the worse for it. Not to know them may be a loss bibliographically, but not for literature. We shall therefore have nothing to show from those countries if we only except the works of Reifmann, Gottlober, and Gurland.

“Let us now come to the most important publications of

¹ *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1862 to 1875, ceased to appear in consequence of the Editor's death.

² *Ham-Mazkir, hebräische Bibliographie*, 1858, seqq.

³ *Magazin für jüdische Literatur*, 1874 and 1875.

⁴ *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, begun by the late Dr. Frankel in 1846.

⁵ *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, 1874.

⁶ *Beilage zur jüdischen Wochenschrift*, 1870 seqq.

⁷ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1838 seqq.

the last decennium, and, in order to be as methodical as possible, let us begin with *a.* books and monographs containing descriptions of libraries, both public and private, of printed books and MSS.; next will follow *b.* an enumeration of the most important contributions to Talmudical writings; *c.* of commentaries on the Holy Scriptures; *d.* of grammatical and lexicographical works; *e.* of poetry; *f.* of philosophical and miscellaneous texts. Karaite and Samaritan literature are subjects too closely connected with Rabbinic to be omitted here; a brief account of them will therefore follow as a kind of appendix.

“CATALOGUES.—The Library of the British Museum possesses, no doubt, after the Bodleian, the best collection of printed Rabbinical books, the catalogue of which, made by the late Mr. Zedner, has been published by order of the Trustees.¹ The late L. Rosenthal, a very learned Jew of Hanover, possessed one of the best collections of Rabbinical books to be found; it is now at Amsterdam, in the possession of his son George; the catalogue of it has been published on the model of that of the British Museum by M. Roest,² the editor of the *Israelitische Letterbode*. The much regretted Solomon Munk, member of the Institut de France, and Professor of Hebrew in the Collège de France, was, during his tenure of office in the National Library of Paris, preparing the catalogue of its Hebrew MSS. This is undoubtedly the best collection of Rabbinical MSS. after those of the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. He having lost the use of his eyes in 1848, M. J. Derenbourg, now member of the Institut de France, was engaged to revise his slips and to describe the MSS. left uncatalogued by Munk. Through some difficulties connected with the administration of the library, M. Derenbourg did not publish this result of the labours of Munk and himself; a second revision was then made by M. Franck, member of the Institut and Professor in the Collège de France, who, being mostly interested in

¹ *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum*, 1867.

² *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1875.

the history of the Kabbalah, paid full attention only to the MSS. belonging to that branch of literature. Finally, M. Zotenberg, who, though a born Jew, is not a Rabbinical scholar, revised the already twice revised slips, and spoiled the labour of his predecessors by shortening them, and by his inability to fill up the gaps left by Munk and Derenbourg. We may apply here the proverb, 'too many cooks spoil the broth;' but in spite of its faults, he has brought out a useful catalogue, with a carefully elaborated index.¹ The Royal Library of Munich, although not one of the richest in Hebrew MSS., as far as quantity is concerned (there are only 418), has a well-selected set of works, and many of their MSS. have been published in this century. We shall have to mention amongst Talmudical publications the complete MS. of the Talmud of Babylon existing in this Library. Dr. Lilienthal published in 1838 and 1839 a short description of this collection, but at that time the knowledge of Rabbinical literature was not advanced enough to enable him to describe such an important collection correctly, and the author was, we must say, a very poor scholar even for his time. It is indeed fortunate for Rabbinical literature that the well-known bibliographer Dr. Steinschneider undertook to make a catalogue of this collection.² The author is here perhaps a little too short, certainly much shorter than in his catalogues of the printed books in the Bodleian Library and of the MSS. in the Library of Leyden. He is, we are glad to state, not so aggressive against others as in his former works, and this catalogue has the advantage of being written in German, whilst the others are composed in a very unintelligible Latin.—Russia is a rival of other great states, not only politically, but also in literary activity—a rivalry of the greatest advantage for the progress of science and literature. Her academies and other societies are doing, if not more, at least as much as those of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. Its

¹ *Catalogues des Manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, 1866.

² *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, 1875.

memoirs and books on philology and archaeology were formerly published in French and German; they begin now to appear in Russian, which, although inconvenient for most non-Russian savants, is in our opinion thoroughly right. We shall have to learn Russian as we were obliged to learn French and German. The St. Petersburg collections of MSS. of all languages had long been of equal importance to those of the richest libraries of Europe; the Hebrew MSS. alone were of inferior value until 1860, when the Emperor bought a collection of more than 1000 MSS., collected from various synagogues and private libraries in the Crimea as well as in the East, by the late learned Karaite Abraham Firkovitz. Through this acquisition the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg is at present the richest in the world in old Biblical MSS. and works in Karaitic literature; in the latter department it is absolutely unrivalled. The writer of the present notice has given a short account in French and German of the most important of them.¹ We understand that the Russian Government is going to purchase a still richer collection made somewhat later by the same A. Firkovitz. This collection of about 1000 MSS. will add much to the former in Biblical MSS., and by the possession of it the St. Petersburg Library will out-rival the Bodleian Library, which up to this time has been the first for Jewish-Arabic literature. It would be superfluous to say what a boon to the students of Rabbinical literature the publication of the catalogue of the St. Petersburg collection will be. A beginning has been already made; we have before us the first part of this catalogue, comprising the Biblical MSS., by Drs. Harkavy and Strack.² No better choice of editors could have been made for such an important collection.—As to our own country, whose three great libraries, viz. the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the University Library of Cambridge, count above 4000 MSS., we are happy to state that no less

¹ *Jour. Asiatique*, 1866, t. v. p. 539 seqq.; *aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*. Leipzig, 1866.

² *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg, erster und zweiter Theil*, 1875.

activity is displayed here. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy has just brought out the first volume of his most minute catalogue of the MSS. of the University Library of Cambridge, comprising seventy-two numbers, viz. the Biblical MSS., the commentaries on the Holy Scriptures and the super-commentaries.¹ About six years ago he assisted Mr. Aldis Wright in cataloguing the small collection of Hebrew MSS. belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge. The catalogue too of more than 2000 numbers of the Bodleian collection is already printed off, and only about 500 more remain to be printed, and it is to be hoped that the work will be completed by this time next year. Let us also mention the brief but somewhat insufficient description of the small collection of the Hebrew MSS. belonging to Christ Church, Oxford. We trust that a description of the Hebrew MSS. scattered throughout the various colleges of Oxford will be added as an appendix to the Bodleian Catalogue. As to the British Museum, which possesses, we believe, nearly 750 Hebrew MSS., we understand that the Trustees will provide for their being catalogued as soon as Dr. Wright's Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. shall have left the press, which, as far as we know, will be the case at the end of the present year. Finally, Dr. Zuckermann has brought out the first part of the Catalogue of the works belonging to the Library of the Rabbinical School at Breslau, comprising the MSS. and the printed Bibles.² Before leaving the great public libraries, we have to mention minor descriptions of some other libraries. The present writer was sent by the French Government in 1868 to examine the Hebrew MSS. of Spain and Portugal. There are not more than 100 now left in those countries, the seat of Hebrew learning of all branches during a period of five centuries (1040 to 1490). In 1872 and 1873 he was sent to do the same in other public libraries of France, and especially to search in Italian and German libraries for the works of French rabbis. A

¹ *Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. preserved in the University Library, Cambridge.* vol. i. 1876.

² *Jahresbericht*, 1870.

summary account of them was given by the writer to the Minister of Public Instruction in Paris.¹ In their commentaries, both on the Holy Scriptures as well as on the Talmud, these rabbis, in order to explain difficult words, often give a translation of them in the vernacular, viz. in French and Provençal, and this is a matter of the highest importance for the history of those dialects from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The famous R. Salomon Isaaki of Troyes, known better under the name of Rashi, has alone in his commentaries more than 2000 words. This Rabbi having written as early as the eleventh century, a period to which few documents written in the dialect of Champagne belong, his glosses are of the highest importance. Their value is still more enhanced by their being written in Hebrew characters, and very often provided with vowel-points, and we are thus enabled to fix the pronunciation of many old French words in the eleventh century. This branch of study has been taken up by M. A. Darmesteter in Paris, who was also sent out by the French Government to England and to Parma for the purpose of collating those glosses with other MSS. In his report to the Minister of Public Instruction M. Darmesteter had necessarily to give a description of the numerous MSS. he had examined.² We owe also some valuable accounts of MSS. in Italian libraries to Dr. Berliner, who, assisted by the Prussian Government, devoted the year 1872 to the examination of Hebrew MSS. at Rome, Parma, Florence, Milan, and some minor places.³ Finally, the Abbate Perreau, Sub-Librarian of the Library at Parma, has described MSS. of that library, chiefly those added to the rich collection of De-Rossi.⁴ We have to deplore the loss of two eminent Jewish scholars in Italy, viz. the well-known S. D. Luzzatto and Lelio Della Torre, both professors at the Rabbinical school of Padua; both had important libraries, that of the former being especially rich in MSS. Short catalogues of these collections, as well as of another belonging to the well-known

¹ *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 1868 and 1873.

² *Ibidem* 1874 and 1876.

³ See his *Magasin*, 1874 and 1875.

⁴ *Ham-Maskir*, 1870 seqq.

bibliographer M. Ghirondi, have been published. Another has been published of the library of the late D. Cardoso of Amsterdam, which was chiefly remarkable for its Hebraico-Spanish printed and MSS. works; and also of a small collection of MSS. in the possession of the booksellers Benzian at Berlin, and Fischl Hirsch at Halberstadt. Finally, in November last the important library of the late D. Carmoly was in the market, the short catalogue of which is of some value. This, we think, is all of importance relating to libraries.

“TALMUD.—The vast encyclopaedical work comprising the teaching of the schools of Palestine and Babylonia from 150 B.C. to 700 A.D. is called by the name of Talmud, which means in our language ‘the result of teaching.’ In one word, it contains the post-biblical literature of the Rabbis, for nothing is extant in Hebrew between the latest biblical book and the Talmud. The apocryphal writings, a great number of which were composed in the post-biblical Hebrew dialect, not having been admitted into the Canon by the Rabbinical schools, have reached us in the shape of translations only. Although the origin, development, and various divisions of the Talmud have been made known to the English public by the able popular article of the late Mr. Deutsch, we must mention the names of the various works of which it consists before we proceed to enumerate the critical editions of them which have appeared in the course of the last decennium. It consists of the Mishnah, the Tosiftha, the Gemara of Jerusalem and of Babylon, the Siphra, the Siphre, the Mekhiltha, the Pesiqtha, and the various books of the Midrash. The Mishnah, which is the oldest of the Talmudical books, and composed in concise sentences, is written in a Hebrew which is relatively pure, excepting certain technical expressions borrowed from other Semitic dialects, or from Greek and Latin. All parts of it are of a ritual character, except that called *Abhoth*, or sayings of the fathers, which is an ethical treatise. It has been translated into various languages from the *textus receptus*, which unfortunately offers many

doubtful readings. Dr. Cahn has begun a critical edition of it, as it was read by old commentators, of whom the most important is the famous Maimonides, adding to it a German commentary, in which the philological element is most prominent.¹ It is to be regretted that the editor had no opportunity of visiting the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, which possess a great number of old MSS. of the text of Abhoth, and also commentaries in which the readings of very old MSS. are quoted. We hope that the Rev. C. Taylor, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who is preparing an edition of this text, together with a later ethical book called 'Abhoth according to R. Nathan,' will supply this deficiency in Dr. Cahn's edition: Two important works in Hebrew have appeared on the method of the Mishnah, and on the history of the doctors whose sayings on ethics and ritual are mentioned in it: the one by the late Dr. Frankel, Director of the Rabbinical School of Breslau,² and the other by the Rabbi J. Brüll.³ We may add that the literary history of the Jews, from the time of the building of the second Temple to that of the composition of the Mishnah, by J. Weiss,⁴ treats of the same subject, though in a somewhat different method. The last-named author has devoted a special work to the grammar of the Mishnah,⁵ which had been before treated by L. Dukes and Dr. Geiger, and made a critical edition of the Mekhiltha,⁶ a midrashic commentary on Exodus xii. to end, with his own commentary in Hebrew, but without the help of the MSS. of this work existing in Oxford, the British Museum, and the Italian Libraries. The *Tosiftha*, or additions, i.e. the Mishnah with some additions according to the redaction of R. Hiyyâ, has been edited within the last few years after a MS. of Vienna. Another older MS. of it was discovered at Erfurt, and a detailed description

¹ *Pirke Aboth*, erster Pereq. 8vo. Berlin, 1875.

² *Hodegetica in Mishnam*, etc. 8vo. Leipzig, 1867.

³ *Einleitung in die Mischnah*. 8vo. Frankfort-o.-M., 1876.

⁴ *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, 1 Theil. 8vo. Vienna, 1869.

⁵ *Studien über die Sprache der Mishna*. 8vo. Vienna, 1867.

⁶ *Mekhiltha*, etc. 8vo. Vienna, 1865.

of it is given by Dr. Zuckermann.¹ He promises us a newly revised edition of this text. Dr. Dünner, Rabbi at Amsterdam, has published a monograph on the method of this Talmudical book.² The Gemara, a kind of commentary on the Mishnah, was composed in both schools, that of Palestine and that of Babylon. The text of the former, of which we possess only four "orders," is in a very bad state, and what makes the matter still worse, mediaeval Jewish schools, having had more reverence for the Gemara of Babylon, neglected almost entirely the study of that of Jerusalem, and consequently no old commentary on it is in existence. The only means therefore, in the absence of old MSS., for establishing a critical text, is to compare passages of this Gemara with similar ones to be found in that of Babylon and in other Talmudical books. This work was begun by the before-mentioned Dr. Frankel, after he had published an introductory treatise on the method of this Gemara,³ a kind of continuation of his similar work on the Mishnah. To a critical text this lamented writer added a commentary in Hebrew, which is of the highest value;⁴ unhappily for this branch of literature he died after having published only half of the first section of this Gemara, leaving three and a half unfinished. Since his death a MS. of the first part of this Gemara, with the commentary of R. Israel Sirilio, has been found in Palestine, and has passed into the hands of Dr. Lehmann, Rabbi at Mayence. A part of it is now being published by him, with the addition of a commentary of his own.⁵ We are sorry to say that the variations which this MS. offers are not of great assistance for the establishment of a correct text, and Dr. Lehmann's own production is utterly valueless. This Gemara was probably concluded in the fifth century A.D., consequently it is more than 200 years older than that of Babylon. The learned Rabbi J. Wiesner, however, has

¹ See Dr. Berliner's *Magazin*, 1875.

² *Die Theorien über Wesen und Ursprung der Tosephta*. 8vo. Amsterdam, 1874.

³ *Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitanum*. 8vo. Berlin, 1870.

⁴ *Talmud Hierosol. ordo Seraim*, etc. Vol. primum. 4to. Vindobonae, 1874.

⁵ *Talmud Jeruschalmi*, etc. Folio. Moguntiae, 1875.

tried to prove in a monograph¹ that it was not composed before 800 A.D., and consequently 100 years later than that of Babylon. If this fact could be proved, it would introduce a great confusion into theories based upon the supposed dates of both Gemaras, but the question is still open to discussion, although we confess for ourselves that Rabbi Wiesner has done much to shake our confidence in the priority of the Jerusalem Gemara over that of Babylon. The latter has been taken in hand by one of the greatest living Talmudists, R. Nathan Rabinovicz of Munich. He has collated the famous MS. belonging to the Royal Library in this town, and is now publishing the *variae lectiones*² of this MS., together with those of the parts existing in MS. in all other libraries of Europe except the Vatican, as well as the readings to be found in old editions and old commentators. Up to the present time six parts only have appeared, and we are afraid it will take more than a lifetime to finish it on the large scale upon which the editor pursues his work. And when it is done, the same process will have to be gone through with the aid of the Vatican MS., which is older than that of Munich. It is therefore to be feared that the present generation will not see the critical text of this Gemara, for the appearance of which Professor Nöldeke expresses so much anxiety in the preface to his grammar of the Mandaic dialect. Commentaries on various parts of this Gemara by R. Hananel of Kairowan (tenth century), which are now in the course of publication,³ are of great value for settling the text. R. Isaak Lampronti, Rabbi of Ferrara (eighteenth century), composed a kind of concordance to the Talmud, a part of which was published at Venice, but has become out of print. We are glad to mention that the Society for Publication of Hebrew Texts⁴ has begun the reprint of this important work, as well as the publication of the inedited part of it. An attempt to compose a grammar of the Babylonian Gemara, viz. of the part

¹ *Gib'ath Yerushalaim*. 8vo. Wien, 1872. (Extract from the hash-Shahar).

² *Variae lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*. Monachii, 1867 seqq.

³ On the part *Pesahim*. 8vo. Paris, 1868.

⁴ *Pahad Yisra'el*. Lyck, 1868 seqq.

which is not written in pure Hebrew, nor in the Aramaic dialect of Palestine, has been successfully made in Italian by the late Professor Luzzatto;¹ this grammar has now been translated into German by Dr. Krüger,² who has added a few notes to it. Dr. Nöldeke has sufficiently proved that this idiom is almost identical with that of the books of the Mandaites.³ The lexicographical study of this Gemara has been in the last few years much advanced by Dr. Perles,⁴ H. Schorr,⁵ and Dr. Kohut;⁶ by the two latter chiefly by the examination of Persian words and ideas. Buxtorf's Talmudical lexicon has been re-edited by Dr. Fischer:⁷ many additions were supplied by Dr. Fleischer at the beginning of the work; those of the late Dr. Fürst are seldom based on the solid ground of modern philological research. A most valuable contribution to the lexicography of the Talmud will be M. Levy's dictionary,⁸ to which Dr. Fleischer regularly contributes: it has now reached the letter *gimmel*. As to the Midrash, a kind of popular interpretation or homilies on the Holy Scriptures, we have to mention the *Pesiqtha* of R. Kahana, published after MSS., with an able commentary in Hebrew, by M. S. Buber.⁹ We do not, however, agree with his opinion when he takes this Midrash to be the oldest Agadic book. The book *Ve-hazahir*, a kind of Midrash on Exodus and Numbers, the first part of which has been published by Dr. Freimann,¹⁰ after an unique MS. at Munich, was certainly not composed in the eighth or ninth century A.D., as the editor imagines; it is probably a compilation made in France in the twelfth century. Let us conclude with the fifth volume of Dr. Jellinek's col-

¹ *Elementi grammaticali del Caldeo biblico e del dialetto talmudico Babilonense*. 8vo. Padova, 1861.

² 8vo. Breslau, 1873.

³ *Mandaïsche Grammatik*, p. xxv. 8vo. Halle, 1875.

⁴ *Grätz Monatschrift*, 1870, p. 210 seqq.

⁵ *He-Haluz*, vii., viii.

⁶ *Abhandlungen der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, iv. 3.

⁷ *Joannis Buxtorfi P. Lexicon*, etc. 4to. Leipzig, 1869 seqq.

⁸ *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 4to. Leipzig, 1875. 3 fasc.

⁹ *Peikta, redigirt in Palästina*, von R. Kahana. 8vo. Lyck, 1868.

¹⁰ *Wehishir opus continens Midrashim*, etc. 8vo. Lipsiae, 1873.

lection of small Midrashim¹ belonging to various epochs; they fully prove how anxious the Rabbis at all times were to keep up an ethical standard among the Jews by relating to them anecdotes of great men in the form of parables or popular tales. We have no doubt many will ask why have not these books been translated in order to make them accessible to the general public? The answer is that it is impossible for any one man to do so, as these books require a knowledge of various branches of science. And after all a translation of the Gemara, in which everything is highly unmethodical,² would be unintelligible, not to speak of discussions on ritual, which cannot be reproduced in a modern language. In order to prove this assertion we refer the curious reader to the French translation of the two Gemaras on Bera-khoth by M. Schwab, which has lately appeared.³ This is a very bad translation, full of errors and mistakes, for the translator, being almost ignorant of the language of the Talmud, could not even understand the persons, mostly Polish Jews and not very good French scholars, who assisted him; still it will be sufficient to show how irregular the composition of the Talmud is, which, in fact, consists of notes taken by pupils and put together without any method whatever. And this may be even seen in Bera-khoth, though the clearest of all the tractates composing this vast encyclopaedia. All that, in our opinion, can be done for the Talmud is to treat it as an encyclopaedia, to take it to pieces and analyze the statements made on various subjects. This method has been followed in our present time. Dr. Levysohn has given an account of the Zoology of the Talmud,⁴ R. J. Wiesner is preparing a similar book on the Botany,⁵ Dr. Graetz⁶ and M. Derenbourg⁷ have done

¹ *Beit ha-Midraach*, 5ter Theil. 8vo. Wien, 1873.

² e.g. we may find after a question or rite an astronomical rule, followed immediately by a lexicographical explanation of some dialectical expression, next to which may come a legendary history, with a geographical statement after it, etc.

³ *Traité des Berakhoth*, etc. 8vo. Paris, 1871.

⁴ *Die Zoologie des Talmud*. 8vo. Frankfort-o.-M., 1858.

⁵ See Dr. Berliner's *Magazin*, 1875.

⁶ *Geschichte der Juden*, third and fourth volumes.

⁷ *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine*, 1ère partie. 8vo. Paris, 1876.

the same for historical subjects, and the present writer for the geographical part.¹ We have already mentioned treatises on the philology of the Talmud; the subjects of Medicine,² Law,³ and Ethics⁴ have had their investigators more than twenty years ago, but the work was not pursued with strict method. A kind of general encyclopædia of the Talmud is in the course of publication;⁵ the author of it is Dr. Hamburger, who is already known by his former publication on Talmudical subjects entitled, 'The spirit of the Agadah.' Let us conclude with Mr. Hershon's book, 'The Pentateuch according to the Talmud,'⁶ of which only Genesis is out. The compiler having neglected the Gemara of Jerusalem and the Midrash, his book is incomplete; besides, he quotes the Gemara of Babylon from uncritical editions.

"COMMENTARIES ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.—We shall not speak of those composed by Dr. Graetz, the late Professor Luzzatto, and by some other Jews; these belong to the modern school; nor can we enumerate all commentaries of a Rabbinical character by modern authors in Poland or the East, for we have not seen them, and, to speak strictly, they are only *rechauffés* from old Rabbinical writers: the following alone have a right to be mentioned here. Dr. Berliner has published a revised edition of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch;⁷ we regret to say that the editor had not the best MSS. at his disposal. Abraham Ibn Ezra is one of the most acute commentators, and not always easily intelligible, because his style is very concise, and he likes to be enigmatical; the more important therefore is it to have a correct critical text of such an author. Dr. Friedländer, who has brought out for the Hebrew Literature Society in London an English translation of Ibn Ezra's commentary on Isaiah, is about to publish the Hebrew text of it collated with all known MSS. Ibn Ezra usually

¹ *La géographie du Talmud*. 8vo. Paris, 1868.

² By Wunderbar.

³ By the late Dr. Fassel.

⁴ By Dukes, Benamoseg, and others.

⁵ *Realencyclopædie für Bibel und Talmud*. 1st fasc. 8vo. Leipzig, 1869.

⁶ 8vo. London, 1872.

⁷ *Raschii in Pentateuchum commentarius*, etc. 8vo. Berol., 1866.

made two redactions of his commentaries: those on Exodus and Esther appeared a long time ago; the latter has been re-edited from a better MS. Mr. H. J. Mathews,¹ of Exeter College, Oxford, has published the first redaction of the commentary on Canticles, with an English translation, and is preparing that of the shorter redaction on Daniel. A catena of Jewish commentaries in various languages on Isaiah lii. 13 to liv. has been worked up at the request of Dr. Pusey by the present writer, in two volumes; the second of these will contain an English translation.² In this translation Mr. Driver, Fellow of New College, has taken a great part; to him we are indebted also for an edition of the commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel by R. Moses ben Shesheth,³ from an Oxford MS., with an English translation. We understand that Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, of Cambridge, has made great progress with preparing a critical edition of R. David Kimhi's commentary on the Psalms. • Great attention was paid to the Book of Job by the late Dr. Israel Schwarz. He added to his own German translation and Hebrew commentary those of R. Isaiah of Trani, Joseph and David Kimhi, and R. Zerahyah of Barcelona.⁴ A second part, if the author had not been taken away by a premature death, would have contained R. Saadyah Gaon's and Moses Jikatilia's commentaries in Arabic, with a critical introduction by the editor. Mr. Nutt, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, is about to publish a commentary on Isaiah by R. Eliezer of Beaugenci. R. Kirchheim, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, has brought out a commentary on Chronicles⁵ from three MSS., in one of which it is attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra; the editor refers it to the school or the pupils of the

¹ *Commentary on Canticles after the first recension.* 8vo. London, 1874.

² *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to Jewish Interpreters.* 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1876.

³ *R. Moses ben Shesheth's Commentary, etc.* 8vo. London, 1871.

⁴ *Tikvath Enosh, etc.* tom. i. 8vo. Berol., 1868. The commentary on Proverbs by the same R. Zerahyah has been published by the same editor under the title of *Jmrd Noach.* 8vo. Vienna, 1871.

⁵ *Ein Commentar zur Chronik aus dem X^{ten} Jahrhundert.* 8vo. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1874.

before-mentioned R. Saadyah Gaon. According to our own opinion this commentary was composed in France in the twelfth century. In any case the commentary is of great value for interpretation, as well as for many various readings of the biblical text. Finally, the Society of the *Meqize Nirdamim* has published Moses Ibn Tibbon's commentary on Canticles and the beginning of Naphthali Wessely's commentary on the Pentateuch.¹ To this department belongs also the anonymous commentary by a rabbi of Provence († end of thirteenth or beginning of fourteenth century) on the Chaldee translation of the Pentateuch by Onkelos, edited by the Chief Rabbi Dr. N. Adler from an Oxford MS., collated with another at Parma. Commentaries on the Targum are few, and this one is of value for various readings of the text which it contains. To this Dr. Adler has added his own commentary on the Targum, with an elaborate introduction on Onkelos.²

"GRAMMAR AND LEXICOGRAPHY.—Before any attempt was made to compose grammatical works, the various Jewish schools, probably about the fifth century, fixed the text of the Holy Scriptures by oral tradition or *Massorah*. Of course the *Massorah*, as now found in editions of the Bible, is a compilation of a later period, which embodies most former treatises on the subject. A careful edition of it, collated with the best MSS., is desirable. This we are glad to say will be supplied by Herr Frensdorff's *Massorah* in alphabetical order, the first part of which is already out,³ and by the complete edition of the *Massorah*, which is being prepared by Dr. Ginsburg, to whom we are already indebted for his editions of the Masoretical treatises of Jacob ben Hayyim⁴ and Elias Levita.⁵ Norzi's introduction to his Masoretical commentary on the Holy Scriptures, printed at Venice in 1819, has become as rare as a MS., and scholars

¹ Both 8vo. Lyck, 1875.

² *Pathshegen* and *Nethinah laggor*, both published in the Pentateuch edition of Wilna, 1874.

³ *Die Grosse Massorah*. 4to. Leipzig, 1876.

⁴ *Jacob ben Chajim's introduction to the Rabbinical Bible*. 8vo. London, 1866.

⁵ *Sopher Massorah ham-Massoreth*, with critical and explanatory notes. 8vo. London, 1867.

must be thankful to Dr. Jellinek for his edition of this interesting introduction, revised after a MS. in an Italian library.¹ The Targum of Onqelos had also its Massorah, which was known by quotations in Levita's works; we know now of an earlier authority who made use of such a Massorah, viz. the anonymous commentator on Onqelos mentioned above. The late Professor Luzzatto found a fragment of it, which he published in a Hebrew periodical. Dr. Berliner discovered the complete work at Parma, and the first part of it is now lying in print before us.² The first Hebrew grammarians, such as R. Saadyah Gaon and the Karaitic David ben Abraham, adopted in the infancy of their grammatical knowledge uniliteral roots; more advanced grammarians, such as Menahem and Dunash, rejected this notion, and kept to biliteral roots, differing in other respects from each other, and thus causing vehement discussions amongst their pupils. Sal. Stern, of Vienna, has published a collection of them from a MS. at Parma.³ It was only when R. Jehudah Hayyuj became acquainted with the triliteral system of the Arabic grammarians that it was applied by him to Hebrew verbs. His book on the subject was originally written in Arabic, and still exists in MS. in the Bodleian Library. In order to make it accessible to the Jews of all countries, it was translated into Hebrew by Abraham Ibn Ezra and by Moses Jikathia. The former was brought out by L. Dukes from an incomplete MS., and the latter, which has many additions by the translator, by Mr. Nutt, of the Bodleian, accompanied with an English translation.⁴ This book was commented on by the famous R. Jonah Ibn Janah of Cordova; his opuscula, except one which is lost, will appear shortly in Arabic, with a French translation by MM. Derenbourg, father and son.⁵ Somewhat later R. Jonah

¹ *Norzi Jed. Sal., Einleitung, Titelblatt und Schlusswort zu seinem massoretischen Bibelcommentar, nach einer italienischen Hschr.* 8vo. Wien, 1876.

² *Die Massorah zum Targum Onkelos.* 4to. Berlin, 1876.

³ *Liber Responsionum.* 8vo. Vindobonae, 1870.

⁴ *Two Treatises on Verbs containing feeble and double letters, etc.* 8vo. London, 1870.

⁵ *Opusculs et traités d'Abou'l-Walid, etc.* 8vo. Paris, 1876.

composed an elaborate grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew language of his own, both written in Arabic, and afterwards translated into Hebrew by R. Jehudah Ibn Tibbon. The grammar has been published in Hebrew and the dictionary in Arabic.¹ A grammatical treatise composed in Yemen, and more original in its style than in its grammatical knowledge, has been brought out in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris by M. J. Derenbourg.² We may also mention the new edition of Ben Zeéb's grammar, with a commentary by A. Lebenson.³

"POETRY.—The famous poet and philosopher Salomon ben Gabirol still remains the property of Senior Sachs. It will not be an exaggeration to say that nobody can understand this pious and melancholy poet like him. He has lived with him and in him for the last thirty years, and consequently thinks like him. How strange it is that the poet was so much quicker in composing than his friend is in editing and commenting on him! Not more than twenty of his poems have been published by Sachs.⁴ Shall we ever see more? The late Dr. Geiger wrote an able monograph in German on this poet.⁵ Gabirol's successor, Jehudah Hal-Levy, is perhaps better known to the public, having been made popular through Heine. The publication of his poems was undertaken by the late Professor Luzzatto,⁶ but to our very great regret was not continued by him. The Bodleian possesses two copies of his *Diwân*; would that any one could be found to continue what Luzzatto so ably began! Such a publication would do credit to the Hebrew Literature Society in London. Professor Benedetti, of Pisa,⁷ has given an Italian translation of many of Jehudah Hal-Levy's poems, with an able introduction on the poet. This was done also in another way by Dr. Geiger some twenty years ago. About a century after this poet Spain produced

¹ *The Book of Hebrew Roots*. 4to. Oxford, 1875.

² *Manuel du lecteur*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1870, t. xvi., p. 309 seqq.

³ *Talmud lashon 'Ibrith*. 8vo. Wilna, 1874.

⁴ *Shir hash-Shirim*, etc. 8vo. Paris, 1868.

⁵ *Salomo Gabirol und seine Dichtungen*. 8vo. Leipzig, 1867.

⁶ *Diwân*, etc. 8vo. Lyck, 1864.

⁷ *Canzoniere sacro di Giuda Levita*. 4to. Pisa, 1871.

another famous poet, known as R. Jehudah el-Harizi. His first attempt was the translation, rather a free one, of Hariri's *Maqamas*: a part of it, as much as the MS. contains, has been brought out by Professor Chenery,¹ of Oxford, with prefaces of his own, both in Hebrew and in English. Dr. Berliner has brought out a drama composed by R. Moses Zakkuth,² after three MSS. This Rabbi is certainly more kabbalist than poet. We pass over in silence the productions of modern poets, who are rather rhymers than poets.

"PHILOSOPHY.—Not much has been published in this branch since the appearance of Munk's edition of Maimonides' '*Moreh han-Nebhukhim*.'³ Dr. P. Frankl printed a paper in the Transactions of the Academy of Vienna on the *Calām*,⁴ a kind of scholastic theology amongst the early Mahomedans; a method applied to biblical passages by the Karaitic philosophers. This was intended to be a preliminary essay to his edition of the philosophical books of the early Karaites. We find in the same Transactions an able paper on Bahya's theologico-philosophical system by Dr. Kaufmann.⁵ Professor Fausto Lasinio at Florence has given us the Hebrew translation of Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*, by Todros Todrosi,⁶ and Dr. Hercz has published the Hebrew translation of Averroes on the conjunction of the separate intellect with man by Samuel Ibn Tibbon.⁷ Dr. Rosin, professor at the Rabbinical school of Breslau, who brought out in 1865 a very elaborate monograph on a commentary on the 613 precepts attributed to the Provençal Rabbi, Aaron Hal-Levi,⁸ has just published another exhaustive book on the *Ethics* of Maimonides, with an historical sketch of Jewish writings on the same subject before Maimonides.⁹

¹ *Machbereth Ithiel*. 8vo. London, 1872.

² *Yessod Olam*. 8vo. Berlin, 1874.

³ *Guide des Egards*. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1866.

⁴ *Wiener Sitzungsberichte* (Hist. Philos. Abth.), 1872.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 1874.

⁶ *Transactions of the University of Pisa*, 1873.

⁷ *Die Abhandlungen über die Conjunction des separaten Intellekts mit dem Menschen*, etc. 8vo. Berlin, 1869.

⁸ *Ein Compendium der jüdischen Gesetzkunde aus dem zivilen Jahrhundert*.

⁹ *Die Ethik des Maimonides*. 4to. Breslau, 1876.

Hillel of Verona was one of the best known of the Italian Rabbis, and the edition of his 'Recompenses of the Soul,' made by S. H. Halberstam,¹ is an important contribution to Jewish scholastic philosophy. Finally, a few pages of Jehudah Hal-Levy's philosophico-theological book *Khozri* have been brought out in Arabic, with an English translation, in the miscellaneous volume published by the Hebrew Literature Society as a specimen of a future publication of the whole.²

"Of miscellaneous texts we shall only mention one of Abraham Ibn Ezra's astronomical treatises edited by S. H. Halberstam,³ the *dialoghi d'amore* of Jehudah Abarbanel in Hebrew,⁴ the controversial treatises of R. Jehiel of Paris, re-edited by Dr. Grünbaum,⁵ and of Isaak Troki by David Deutsch,⁶ the second volume of R. Jacob Saphir's *Travels in the East*,⁷ and Gottlob's *History of the Kabbalah* in Hebrew;⁸ and finally, two biographical works in Hebrew, *a.* on the Rabbis of Cracow,⁹ and *b.* on those of Jerusalem.¹⁰ Ignorance of the interpretation of the law was considered amongst the Jews of early time as a sin. The study of the law, say the doctors, ranks above everything. In the post-Talmudical time the Jewish schools devoted their attention from time to time to grammar, lexicography, philosophy, and natural science, as we have seen in the course of this report. Dr. Güdemann¹¹ has undertaken the history of the way in which Jewish schools have pursued these various branches in different countries; the first part, which has just appeared, treats of the Spanish-Arabic school.

"After this brief account of Rabbinical productions which have appeared in the short time of ten years, was not Mr. Cheyne right when he stated in his report of last year, 'The industry of the Jewish scholars is beyond

¹ *Tagmulé han-Nephesh*. 8vo. Lyck, 1875.

² We have to mention a second edition of Dr. Cassel's German translation of this work after the Hebrew text. 8vo. Berlin, 1869.

³ *Sepher ha-Ibbur*. 8vo. Lyck, 1874.

⁴ *Ibidem*. 8vo. 1874.

⁵ *Wikkuach*. 8vo. Thorn, 1873.

⁶ *Hissuk Emunah*. 8vo. Berlin, 1873.

⁷ *Eben Sappir*. 8vo. Mayence, 1873.

⁸ 8vo. Wilna, 1869.

⁹ *Ir haz-Zedeq*. 8vo. Cracow, 1869.

¹⁰ *Eben Sh'muel*. Wilna, 1874.

¹¹ *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während der Spanisch-Arabischen Periode*. 8vo. Wien, 1873.

all praise'? We might have added, 'and has always been so:' to prove this we have only to give the following account of the number of MSS. still in existence, besides those which were destroyed in various countries by the Crusaders and the Inquisition. Thus the Bodleian Library possesses 2500 MSS.; the British Museum about 750; the Cambridge University Library more than 400; the various Colleges, together with the Beth ham-Midrash in London, about 200; the National Library in Paris 1312; the Royal Library at Munich 413; the libraries of Vienna and Berlin each above 100 MSS.; Parma about 1400; the Vatican above 500; the convent libraries, together with minor ones in Italy, more than 200; St. Petersburg about 1000, chiefly Karaite MSS; Spain and Portugal together only 100. Of private libraries, the richest seems to be that of the late Firkovitz, which we mentioned above; Baron Günzburg, in Paris, possesses nearly 900 MSS.; and S. H. Halberstam at Bielitz (Austria), more than 300. There are others in the possession of Drs. Zunz and Steinschneider, of O. H. Schorr, of Brody, not to count those which belonged to Luzzatto and Carmoly, and those still hidden in various towns of the East.

"The history of Karaite literature, derived from the latest acquisitions at St. Petersburg, has been given by Dr. Graetz,¹ the late Dr. Fürst,² and by the present writer in German;³ by the late Prof. Pinsker⁴ and B. Gottlob⁵ in Hebrew. Magister Gurland has brought out some small Karaite treatises, and especially some travels to Palestine in the sixteenth century.⁶ No doubt many publications are issued at Eupatoria, the Leipzig of the Jewish Crimea, but they do not reach our country; perhaps we do not lose much by their absence.

"In Samaritan literature Mr. Nutt gave a full account of

¹ *Geschichte der Juden*, tomes v. and vi.

² *Geschichte des Karäerthums*. 3 vols. 8vo. Leipzig, 1869.

³ See above, p. 316, note 1.

⁴ *Liqqutê Qadmoniyyoth*. 8vo. Wien, 1860.

⁵ *Kritische Untersuchung über die Geschichte der Karäer*. 8vo. Vilna, 1866.

⁶ *Reisebeschreibungen*, etc. 8vo. Lyck, 1865.

it, such as it is, in 1874;¹ since then we have only to add a complete edition of the Samaritan Targum in Hebrew characters by Dr. A. Brüll, with an appendix on Mr. Nutt's book, and the first part of Dr. Harkavy's Catalogue of the Samaritan MSS. at St. Petersburg, written in Russian. Finally, Dr. Kohn, who is well known by his articles on the Samaritan Targum, has just published in the Transactions of the German Oriental Society *Contributions to the Language, Literature, and the Dogma of the Samaritans*.² It is to be regretted that the learned author was not acquainted with Mr. Nutt's above-mentioned book before his own had already left the press. He promises, however, to pay full attention to it on a future occasion. J. Reifmann³ compares the translation of the Pentateuch according to the Samaritans, with the Rabbanite Targums and the Midrashic exposition. The part on Genesis is out, in which the author gives some remarkable indications of the extent to which the former borrowed their interpretations from the latter. Had the author possessed a good library, he could have done much more, but he is unfortunately obliged to live in a small and isolated Polish village, where he is not in a position to enjoy this advantage."

REPORT ON ETRUSCAN.

In the Address of 1874, Professor Aufrecht reviewed the progress that had been made in our knowledge of Etruscan. He remarked that this language, like a "will-o'-the-wisp," has led many students astray; and in an unfinished paper read before the Society he showed that no less a scholar than Corssen had utterly failed in his attempts to settle the genealogical relations of Etruscan.

Mr. Sayce, the well-known Assyrian scholar, has reviewed

¹ *Fragments of Samaritan Targum, with an introduction, etc.* 8vo. London, 1874.

² *Zur Sprache, Literatur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner*, 3 Abhandlungen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1876.

³ *Sederh Aram.* 8vo. Berlin, 1875.

Corssen at some length in the *Academy*, and at my request has now kindly come forward to report further progress.

"Since Professor Aufrecht's report on Etruscan in the Address of the President of this Society two years ago, our knowledge of the language has made some distinct advances. Some part of this is due to Professor Aufrecht himself. He demonstrated the failure of Corssen's attempt at decipherment, and proved beyond all possibility of doubt that the key to the Etruscan inscriptions had not yet been found. The second volume of Corssen's work, 'Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker,' appeared in 1875, after the author's untimely death. It contains Indices and an Appendix, but the bulk of the volume consists of little else than the systematization of the results supposed to have been obtained in the first volume. It stands or falls with these, and how thoroughly false they are I believe I have pointed out in the *Academy* of January 29th, 1876. In doing this, however, I have only followed M. Bréal and others. Mr. Isaac Taylor had exposed in the *Athenæum* the nature of Corssen's endeavour to elude the evidence of the Etruscan numerals as found on the dice of Toscanella and elsewhere, and Dr. Deecke subsequently confirmed his arguments. Indeed, Corssen's denial of the numerals is a convincing proof of his unfitness to assume the office of a decipherer. Lorenz had already traced the numerals of the dice in other (mortuary) inscriptions some time ago (see Kuhn's *Beiträge*, vol. v. p. 204, and Pott, *Sprachverschiedenheit in Europa*, pp. 6-9). The chief service rendered by Corssen was to show how Etruscan is *not* to be explained. As Professor Max Müller has said, if Corssen has failed to show that Etruscan is an Italic dialect, the question so far may be considered as settled.

"The work of Dr. Deecke, alluded to above, is a short pamphlet entitled 'Corssen und die Sprache der Etrusker: eine Kritik' (Stuttgart, 1875). This is distinguished by great acumen and cautiousness, and Corssen's theory collapses utterly under its criticism. Dr. Deecke has followed it up by another pamphlet, called 'Etruskische Forschungen,' which is intended to be the first of a series of constructiv

works upon the Etruscan language. It deals with the final *-c*, which, in accordance with a conjecture of Lattes, he conclusively shows to be the affixed conjunction 'and,' as well as with a discussion of the meaning and origin of the matronymic *-al*. At the end of this pamphlet he avows his growing conviction that Etruscan will turn out to be related to the Finnic languages, which have been a special study of his for twenty years. This, it will be remembered, is the view of Mr. Isaac Taylor, who has just brought out a new work in favour of his hypothesis in the shape of a small pamphlet called 'The Etruscan Language.' In this pamphlet he has arranged his arguments clearly and compactly, and a variety of reasons incline me to adopt the values he assigns to the numerals found on the *Toscanella dice*. The 'Turanian' theory of the affinities of Etruscan must, however, be still regarded as unproven; indeed, the existence of genders in Etruscan distinguished by different terminal vowels seems to me to render its connexion with the Ugro-Altaic languages altogether out of the question. Its agglutinative character is nevertheless evident; thus from *Vele* ('Caius') we have the plural *Velar*, and from this again the matronymic *Vel-ar-al*, 'descendant of the Veli' or 'Caii.' Similarly by the side of *zilath* and *zilach* or *zilc*, we find *zilach-nu*, *zilach-nu-ke* and *zilach-n-thas*, where each suffix has a meaning of its own, and can be used separately, *-ach* denoting an individual (as in *Rum-ach* 'a Roman'), *-ke* the 3rd pers. sing. of a verb, and *-nu* and *-thas* some kinds of participle.

"In Italy, Count Conestabile has been continuing his researches at Perugia, and Fabretti has brought out a second supplement to his great *Corpus of Inscriptions*. Signor Zannoni's account of the excavations now being carried on at La Certosa, the great Etruscan Necropolis near Bologna, endeavours to keep pace with the discoveries made there, the principal interest of which consists in the sculptured tombstones found with the buried skeletons of the Etruscan dead. Gamurrini, with the help of a bilingual inscription, has pointed out that *lautni* signifies 'freed man,' and *lautnitha* 'freed woman' (*Bullet. dell' Istituto archeol. Roma*, 1874, pp.

13-17). Conestabile has also written upon the same subject, and has further put forward a theory, based upon a considerable amount of archæological evidence, that there were two races in Etruria, one of them being an earlier race which burned its dead, and the other a later conquering race which buried them. The fact that the Etruscan language died out so quickly without leaving a trace behind it seems to imply that it was spoken, at all events in Southern Tuscany, by a small caste of conquerors; and the inland situation of the great Etruscan cities as well as the more archaic character of the language found in inscriptions north of the Po (as shown by Corssen) lead to the inference that the Rasenna originally descended from the Rhætian Alps. Their native industry was metallurgy, and their alphabet, like their vase-making, was borrowed from Greece.

“Up to the present time we may safely assert that every key which has been applied to the Etruscan problem has failed to solve it, and there is much to be said for the view of those who hold that the language is *sui generis*, a waif and stray of an otherwise extinct family of speech. Until a long bilingual inscription is discovered, it is doubtful whether our knowledge of the Etruscan grammar and vocabulary can be much enlarged. This, however, is greater than is ordinarily supposed; a patient comparison of the 3000 inscriptions that exist, helped by a few bilingual legends, has enabled us to ascertain with certainty a good many grammatical forms and words. By way of conclusion, I may mention an Etruscan title which I have lately succeeded in identifying. This is *purtšvana*, which is shown by bas-reliefs and pictures to have signified a ‘consul’ or ‘chief magistrate.’ Now according to analogy, *purtšvana* would be represented in Latin by Porsena, and we should thus be able to understand how it is that the proper name Porsena has never yet been met with in the inscriptions, much less the famous tomb of the ‘chief magistrate’ of Clusium described by Pliny as existing there. Another title that goes along with *purtšvana* is *macstrna*, the Latin *mastarna*, which seems to mean ‘lieutenant.’ It will be remembered that Mastarna was the follower and companion

of Kaile Vipna or Cæles Vibenna, and was identified by the Roman antiquaries with the Servius Tullius of their own legends."

ON THE NON-ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

The following report on the Non-Aryan Languages of India comes from our esteemed member, Mr. Cust, to whom I am under great obligations, not only for his personal interest in our yearly budgets, but also for his help in securing contributors, and in correcting the proof-sheets of several reports.

"In the Annual Report for 1875 a note is inserted on the Aryan and Southern Dravidian languages of British India and its Political Dependencies, using the latter phrase in its most extended sense without reference to the texts of treaties. The out-turn of grammars and dictionaries recorded in that note represents the work of the last quarter of a century. It is now proposed to indicate the languages spoken by residents of British India (exclusive of British Burmah) other than Aryan and Southern Dravidian. Our researches will extend to tracts of country under native sovereigns more or less dependent, and to the wild tribes which inhabit the mountain fringe of the eastern border, or the imperfectly known uplands of Central India. In this direction emphatically lies the work of the next quarter of a century, for the harvest is ready, and the opportunity is offered, if workmen are forthcoming. For scant vocabularies and grammatical notes must be substituted in all cases good practical grammars, and in some cases scientific grammars, which will in due course be followed by scientific comparative grammars and dictionaries, embracing cognate groups, and thus making substantial contributions to the sum of linguistic knowledge in a most interesting direction—viz. just at the point, where the monosyllabic structure is giving way to the earliest development of the agglutinating method.

"Following the same geographical order as the one adopted in last year's note, we commence at the northern angle of India: at the spot where the three religions of Mahomet, Buddha, and Brahma, with their respective lan-

guages and written characters, converge. This spot is situated in the territory of the Maharaja of Cashmere, one of the great feudatories of the Empire. To the north of Cashmere proper is Little Tibet, or Bultistan, the capital of which is Iskardo, on the river Indus: in the population there is an admixture of Mahomedanism: the language is ostensibly Bhot or Tibetan, but there is occasional use of an Arabic written character; in fact it is debatable ground: but in the adjoining Middle Tibet, the capital of which is Ladakh, the population is Buddhist, and the language Tibetan, written in the character peculiar to that language, though derived from the Nagari. The population of both Little and Middle Tibet is civilized in the Asiatic sense, and resides on the highway of a future commerce betwixt British India and the great plateau of Central Asia, the scene of the future conflict betwixt China, the Mahomedan powers, and Russia.

“Moving south-east, and crossing the Chenab river in the mountains, we enter the Province of Lahoul or Spiti, within the District of Kangra, and a component part of the Province of the Punjaub. There, amidst lofty mountains, in hitherto inaccessible tracts, amidst a sparse and pastoral population of Buddhists, the school-master and missionary have located themselves, and in 1865 and 1866, at Kyelang, the capital of Lahoul, the Rev. H. A. Jaeschke, a Moravian missionary, lithographed a short practical grammar in English of the Tibetan language, with special reference to the spoken dialect and the wants of his mission, and a Tibetan and English Dictionary. He is now employed in Europe in the preparation of a superior work on the same language. This, perhaps, is the only portion of British India proper where the Tibetan language is spoken; but Tibet, with its capital Lhasa, is conterminous with the territories of our ally the Maharaja of Nepaul, and its prolific literature finds its way from native printing-presses of the Chinese type into that kingdom. Poor traffickers and monks annually visit Kathmandu, and sell books of inferior pretensions, as well as religious tracts. It is a language in the stage of transition from the monosyllabic to the agglutinating class, but akin to

Chinese, of which Empire Tibet is an integral portion: the people are Buddhists, and allow of no communication, even by letter, with British India, its Government or people: but from India many centuries ago they borrowed their religion, and the staple of their literature, which consists chiefly of religious works, translations from Sanskrit. The first grammar of this language was compiled by Csoma di Koros, after a long residence on the frontier, and published at Calcutta in 1834, followed by a dictionary: to this succeeded a grammar published in the German language, in Russia, by Schmidt, in 1841; and another in French by Foucaux at Paris in 1858: neither of the two last-mentioned scholars had visited India, and they are but followers of Csoma di Koros. Parts of the New Testament have been translated into Tibetan, but there is an absolute dearth in the whole of Europe of Tibetan scholars, and at a late meeting of the Geographical Society of London, a letter was exhibited from the Lama to a British officer, upwards of one hundred years old, which, whatever may have been the case then, is totally beyond the existing knowledge of the linguistic world in Europe. It is understood that there are several dialects of Tibetan, and, considering the vast extent and mountainous character of the great plateau, there is reason to expect scores of dialects. There are four variations of the alphabet—the first is in *capitals*: the second *small* letters: the third *cursive*: and the fourth an exotic, supposed to be identical with one of the Nepaulese alphabets: all are derived from the Nagari.

“Betwixt Lahoul and the Nepaulese frontier a considerable extent of mountainous country extends, occupied from time immemorial by a population professing Hinduism, but with some suspiciously non-Aryan customs, such as polyandry, speaking a dialect of Hindi, and under the rule of petty Rajas, in absolute dependence on the Government of British India. In one solitary tract north of the river Sutluj, and deep in the Himalaya, is found to exist a population speaking a non-Aryan language; this is Kunawur, a portion of the territory of the Raja of Bussahir, a small tract of mountains of an enormous elevation, occupied by a population of less

than ten thousand, the majority of whom are Buddhists, and speak a language called Koonawuri or Milchan, akin to Tibetan, a vocabulary of which was compiled by Captain Herbert. There are said to be a variety of dialects even in this narrow compass. The people, though simple in habits, are not uncivilized in the Asiatic sense, and in the chief Buddhist temple is an extensive library of Buddhist works.

“Crossing the rivers Jumna and Ganges in the mountains, and traversing the Hindu hill tracts of Kumaon, we reach the upper portion of the river Gogra or Sarju, and find ourselves within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Nepaul, within which, in its long extension of many hundred miles to the frontiers of Sikim, we find a score of non-Aryan languages, spoken by tribes, partly Hindu, partly Buddhist, and partly Pagan, dwelling in the valleys of the Himalaya, where the loftiest range on the face of the globe separates Buddhism from Hinduism, the Mongol from the Aryan, the Tibetan language and its congeners from the great Sanskritic vernaculars. This group may be called the ‘Himalaic’: to call them Bhutiya is incorrect linguistically, as that word in its general sense is synonymous with Tibetan, and in its special sense with the dialect of the Kingdom of Bhutan: to call them sub-Himalaic is geographically incorrect, and some of the tribes inhabit the highest valleys: to call them Gangetic is to mislead, as they are spoken hundreds of miles from the Ganges, although the drainage of the southern watershed finds its way to that river. Here the most eastern wave of Aryan civilization rolls up against as impassable a barrier as the Kelts on the western wing of the Aryan army found in the Atlantic Ocean. Had not the mountains presented a physical obstacle, the elder culture, which Tibet had imported from China, would have given way to the fresher culture established at Canouj and Benares: in spite of the mountain barrier, Tibet received from her Aryan neighbours her religion, her literature, and her written character, but she has conserved to this day her own language, and her own type of civilization, by enforcing with success a system of absolute isolation, which it must be the work of the next quarter of a century to break down.

"All the languages of this group are more or less connected with Tibetan. Analogies with other groups are asserted: the great ethnological question lies before us, whether all these tribes crossed the Himalaya from Tibet at a period antecedent to the introduction of the Buddhist religion, or whether some migrated from Central India, or supplied colonies to Central India, from which they are now separated, and have been for centuries separated, by the great wave of Aryan immigration down the valley of the Ganges. It is maintained that their numerals, pronouns, and postpositions, are frequently identical. The Himalayan range is intersected by four great feeders of the Ganges, the Surju or Gogra, the Gandak, the Kosee, and the Tista: there is also a transverse section of lofty hills, of mountainous region of moderate height, and submontane tracts. In the lofty sites are found the Tibarshad and Hundesi languages. In the submontane tracts are found the Chepang, Vayu Hayu, Kusunda. In the western portion of the middle region we come across the Sumwar and Surpa; in the central portion is the important Newar, the Magar, Bramhu, Darahi, Denwar, Pahri, Kaswar, Pukhya, Thakaya. In the eastern portion are the Limbu, Kiranti, Murmi, and Gurung. In the adjoining kingdom of Sikim is the Lepchuh language, and in the kingdom of Bhutan, or Bhutant (the end of Bhut), is the Bhutiya proper. We have it on the highest authority that none of these languages are intelligible to others than the speakers, and that, with the exception of the Newar and Lepchuh, they are absolutely devoid of literature and of a written character. The Newar has a few translations, but no dictionary or grammar. Mr. Hodgson has supplied a comparative treatise of Newar and Tibetan.¹ The Newar has no less than three alphabets, but all derived from the Nagari.

"The sanitarium of Darjeeling is situated in Sikim, and this has led to the Lepchuh language being utilized by Protestant missionaries. Portions of the Bible have been translated into it, and other books of an elementary character: this lan-

¹ There are Grammars and Vocabularies of Tibarshad in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society; and a Grammar of the Magar, published by Mr. Beames, 1869.

guage is closely allied to Tibetan, but according to Csoma di Koros it had a non-Tibetan alphabet. A dictionary of this language had long been in preparation by Colonel Mainwaring, a resident at Darjeeling, and a manuscript grammar by the same hand is in existence. The Lepchuhs and their neighbours, the Bhutiyas, are both Buddhists; so far they resemble each other, but the latter burn their dead like Hindus, have no form of marriage at all, and practise polyandry; the former bury their dead, and are monogamists. This is a fair instance of the extraordinary diversities of customs, cutting to the root of family life, under the same religious externals. With regard to the Kiranti language, it is asserted, that the complex pronominalization of the verb points to a special connexion with the Mundari, or Kolarian language of Central India: analogies of formation of the same language with the Dravidian are also indicated. The tribe is also Pagan in the midst of Buddhists.

“With the above exceptions we know little or nothing of any of these twenty-two languages or dialects of the same language (for we cannot say which), beyond the vocabularies carefully collected by Mr. Bryan Hodgson, late Resident of Nepaul, a man who has done by patient research, and the devotion of a life, more for the advance of linguistic knowledge than any of his contemporaries. All subsequent vocabularies seem to be but repetitions of his labours: one of the dialects of Bhutiya proper appears to be called Changlo: the people who speak it are in the middle region of altitude, of a dark colour, which is indicated by their name, which means “black.” This language introduces the name of another meritorious labourer in this great and unexplored field. Mr. William Robinson, Inspector of Schools of Assam, in 1849 compiled a short but serviceable grammar, or rather wrote down some practical grammatical notices of this dialect,¹ which give a far better insight into its structure and characteristics than any vocabulary: this excellent service he rendered to several other languages spoken in the neighbourhood of the

¹ The vocabularies and grammatical notices alluded to are to be found in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.

Assam valley, in a manner well calculated to bring out the salient features of each. The alphabet of the Changlo is the same as the Tibetan, to which language it bears a close resemblance. A reprint of Mr. B. H. Hodgson's scattered papers, revised and corrected by that veteran scholar, has long been ready for the press, and one volume has actually appeared: the second volume is anxiously expected, as it will contain a reprint of the author's papers on the Kooch Bodo and Dhimal on the one hand, and of the Váyú and Báhing on the other, and we can state, on the authority of Mr. Hodgson, that there is distinct evidence of the existence of two classes of languages: one of them, represented by the Váyú and Báhing, may be called the pronominalized or complex type: the other, represented by the Newar, Lepchuh, and others, is the non-pronominalized or simple type. By the term is meant the use of the pronouns in the form of affixes and suffixes, the most familiar instance of which is known to us in the Hebrew language. It is clear, therefore, that the present classification of these languages is only provisional.

"The Himalaic group may be said to have no future before them, and they only await the time to be improved off the face of the earth: under ordinary circumstances it might have been expected that to one of the group at least—notably the Newar—might have fallen the chance of becoming the political language of the whole tract, and thus (like the South Saxon, and the patois of the Isle de France) developing itself into a national language. But such can never be, for the intrusive Khaas, or Parbatia variety of the Aryan vernacular of India, under the name of Nepaulese, is already established at Kathmandu, the capital of the Gorkha dynasty. The civilization and religion of the Court and the nobles is Hindu, and as this gradually extends, all that is Tibetan and Trans-Himalaic will be trodden down by its powerful and vigorous rival, which receives its new ideas from India, and not from Tibet. The non-Aryan languages are already affected by their Aryan neighbour, and are charged more or less with loan-words, and in some cases even the numerals have given place, and such a change made, that the classifi-

cation of the living language begins to be ambiguous. As an instance of transition these languages will remain objects of interest, but no more.

“Proceeding onwards in a south-easterly direction we come upon new languages, which, for the sake of sub-dividing a large subject, rather than from any well-defined distinctive type of language, have been grouped under the head of Lohitic, a fanciful and inappropriate name from one of the less familiar names of an affluent of the Burhumpootur or Sampa, which, entering British India at the extreme eastern point of the valley of Assam, for some distance flows westward betwixt two ranges of hills: at a certain point the southern range ceases, and the great river flows round this point, and altering its course discharges itself into the Bay of Bengal: on each side of this river, as it flows through the valley, are tribes speaking distinct languages, with a population calculated at little less than one million. We shall perceive, when we look at them closer, that, except in a geographical sense, or for temporary convenience, this grouping cannot be maintained. It was the original opinion of Mr. Hodgson that all these languages were Tamulian, a general phrase, by which he intended Non-Aryan, or aboriginal. Dr. Caldwell has convincingly shown that, if by Tamulian was meant Dravidian, of which group Tamil is the chief member, the analogies pointed out betwixt Dravidian and these languages are less numerous, and of less essential character, and less distinctive, than the analogies which exist between the Finnish and the Dravidian, of a vague and structural character common to all languages of a Scythian origin. Max Müller maintains, that no trace of Dravidian has as yet been discovered north of the Ganges. In the Dravidian, which is at a much more advanced stage of the agglutinating class, there is an entire absence of intonation; while in the Lohitic languages, as in the Chinese, they are conspicuous: indeed, Mr. Robinson describes four different intonations prevalent in the language bordering the Assam valley; and he maintains, that all these languages were originally monosyllabic, though gradually passing into the earlier stage of agglutination.

"The first in order, as we enter the valley, are the Bodo, called also Borro and Kachari, and Dhimal, of which Mr. B. Hodgson has published a grammar and vocabulary. The same author furnishes particulars and vocabulary of the Kooch language: the inhabitants of Kooch Bahar have abandoned their ancient agglutinating language, and adopted a bad Bengali: they have become partly Mahomedan and partly Hindu: a small section have clung to their ancient faith and language, which is known as Pani Kooch, and an examination of this residuum of an almost extinct unwritten language has led Col. Dalton to found the opinion, that it belongs to the Dravidian family, and has no connexion with the Kooch. The Kachari language, above alluded to, is also known as Mech. Mr. Robinson has supplied a grammar of this language, and Major Lance, Deputy Commissioner in Assam, has another in preparation: there is no written character, and the number of people who speak this language amounts to 60,000.

"Following the range of mountains eastward, we come upon a race of downright savages and Pagans, practising polygamy and polyandry, who receive a black-mail from the Government of British India to compensate for the lost privilege of making raids on the peaceful settlers in the valley: the Aka, whose language is known to us by a vocabulary prepared by the Rev. Mr. Brown, and another in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society: the Abor, of whose language we have a vocabulary prepared by Captain Smith: the Doffla, of which we have a grammar by Robinson: the Miri, of whose language we have a grammar prepared by Mr. Robinson: this tribe appear to have supplied interpreters to communicate with the others: and it is asserted that the word 'Miri' means 'go between,' and is identical with the word 'Meriah' of the Khonda, so famous in connexion with the human victims sacrificed by that tribe: the Mishmi, of whose language we have a vocabulary by the Rev. Mr. Brown. These tribes extend back through unknown tracts to the frontier of Tibet, and are under a very imperfect control on the part of the Government of British India.

“At this point—the head of the Assam valley—we cross the Burhumpootur River, and find traces of new linguistic influence, for we are not far distant from the boundaries of China proper; and the Khamti language, of which we have a grammar by Robinson, is a member of the great Thai or Shan family, of which the Siamese is the political head. This tribe is but the representative of much larger and unknown hordes in Bor Khamti within the Burmese kingdom: they are civilized Buddhists, and have friendly relations with the Anglo-Indian authorities. At one period the Shans conquered the whole valley of the Burhumpootur: the settlers assumed the name of *Khám*, from the Sanskrit *asama*, ‘unequalled’: like the Normans in France, they gradually lost both their language (Shan) and their religion (Buddhist), and still constitute a large portion of the population of the valley, under the name of *Ahóm*, as Assamese-speaking Hindus: only a few priests have preserved the ancient religion. It is worthy of remark that the valley is called Assam, and the people call themselves *Ahāma* from *Asāma* also. There is another Shan language, the Aiton, of which we have a vocabulary in Sir G. Campbell’s *Specimens of Languages*. The Khamti has a strong resemblance to the Siamese: it is purely monosyllabic, and more strongly accented than the other languages on the Assam frontier: it is in some degree connected with the Chinese itself, as the intonations are so finely modulated, that sounds organically the same express a totally different idea: inflections are unknown: the alphabet is derived from the Burmese.

“Adjoining the Khamti is the Singhpo tribe, whose language occupies a transitional position betwixt Tibetan and Burmese: one-fourth of its vocables are allied to Burmese, and one-fourth to Munipori. This tribe is also the representative of a much greater horde lying behind, known as the Kakhyen, who occupy the hilly tract betwixt Burmah and Yunan in China. Mr. Robinson, assisted by Mr. Bronson, has compiled a grammar of the language: it is said to have a Shan alphabet. The Singhpos are civilized, but Pagans. It must be remembered that the point at which the Burhumpootur bursts the mountain rampart into India is lin-

guistically, politically, and ethnologically, one of the highest importance. The last and weakest tidal stream of the great Aryan river of religion, language, and civilization, flowed languidly up the Assam valley. More than once in history it has been met by a Shan counter-current, and may be met again. The incursion of the border-tribes into settled valleys is often an unwilling effort to escape from a superior force propelling them from their own haunts. By this outlet no doubt in times past the population of India has received great additions, though the superiority in number and calibre of the invaders from the North have borne them down; and the Aryan settler under Hindu, Mahomedan, and Christian rule, has held its own.

“The distance on the map from the extreme point of the southern mountains of the valley of Assam to Rajmahal, the extreme point of the Vyndya range, is, as the crow flies, not so great as to forbid the idea that India has been occupied at remote periods by pre-Aryan immigrants from the gorge of the Burhumpootur; but we await a more scientific comparison of languages, and more complete ethnological research, before the theory can be firmly substantiated, that the so-called Nisháda black aborigines were actually immigrants from the East.

“After crossing the Burhumpootur, the mountains return on the south side of that river in a westerly direction, inclosing the valley within a horse-shoe. Next to the Singpho come the atrocious savages and Pagans, the Naga, over part of whose territory the Anglo-Indian Government has thrown a loose control, the nature of which can be best illustrated by the fact that within the last year they have killed their English Superintendent. Behind these lies the Burmese Empire, and beyond the boundary the country is absolutely unknown: there are numerous clans of these turbulent highlanders, with a variety of dialects: of one at least Mr. Robinson, aided by the Rev. Mr. Brown, has prepared a grammar. The vocabularies of several of the Naga tribes are in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. A vocabulary of ten dialects has been published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society.

"Next in order along this range are the Khasiah or Cossiyah, and Jyntea, remarkable for their republican form of government and their monosyllabic language, akin to the Thai family, of which there is an excellent grammar by the Rev. Mr. Pryse, and an Anglo-Khasia dictionary by the Rev. Mr. Roberts: also a grammar by Robinson, and another published at Berlin by W. Schott: there is also an essay by the late Baron H. C. von der Gabelentz, published at Leipzig, 1850: the New Testament has been translated into this language. They are Pagana.

"Proceeding westward we come to the Garo tribe: their language has been thoroughly studied, and translations made into it by the American missionaries for educational purposes. We have a grammar by Robinson and T. J. Keith, and a dictionary by Keith, as well as a vocabulary by Ram Nauth: Keith considers that the language has Aryan affinities, while Robinson compares it to Tibetan, and a connexion of the Garo with the Kachari on the other side of the valley is asserted, and is probable. They are Pagans, and surrounded on three sides by Hindu-settled districts; yet until very lately nothing was known of them.

"Between them and the Assam valley is the tribe of Mikir, with a population of twenty-five thousand; a grammar of their language has been prepared by Robinson. They are a peaceable and settled people, though Pagans.

"Such are the tribes surrounding the valley of Assam, and the exact position which each tribe bears to the Government of British India is not easily defined. Some are entirely subjects, and are good subjects: some are entirely independent, and most uncomfortable neighbours, but they are included in our political system as against the outer world: some pay revenue, some receive black-mail: some are Pagan savages, some civilized religionists of one of the known types. We now return to the Naga Hills, and follow the mountain range, which separates Burmah from British India. Just outside the boundary, but under treaty, is the kingdom of Munipore. We have vocabularies of the Munipori language by Mr. Hodgson and the Rev. Mr. Brown, and an English, Bengali

and Munipori dictionary. There is also a Munipori grammar in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. The New Testament has been translated into Munipori. They are a civilized people, and Hindus.

“Proceeding southward we find in unsurveyed and impenetrable wilds, extending three hundred miles, the Kukis, one clan of which is well known from the late campaign, as the Lushaies, and the more southern clan as Howlong and Sylu. Of their languages we have vocabularies by Captain Lewin and Major M'Culloch. In 1874 Captain Lewin published a valuable treatise: he explains that the people call themselves ‘Dzos,’ that they have twelve tribes and dialects, but that the Lushai is the clan-language of all: that they never had a written character: that the main features of the language are agglutinative, as the root remains unchanged, suffixes being added, and the governed word precedes in the sentence the governing word. They are far from savages, though Pagan; they are civilized in the Asiatic sense, and exercise certain arts.

“On reaching the hill-districts of Chittagong we arrive very near the Bay of Bengal. These mountains are occupied by three classes. 1. The Khyoungthi, who are Buddhists, fairly civilized immigrants from Arracan, speaking a dialect of the Arracan language: their written character is the same as Burmese, which is in fact a branch of the same stock: it has a strong affinity to the Tibetan group. 2. The Chukmas, of uncertain origin, who are Buddhists, merging into Hindus, at the same time that their Arracanese language is yielding to corrupt Bengali. In their language words can be traced which belong to neither. 3. The Tounghtha, of mixed origin, if not the aboriginal inhabitants of the district, and more savage than the above named. Among these are the Tipperahs, or Mrongs, Kumi, Mroos, Khyengs, who are subject to British India: Bungees, and Pankhos, who are partially, and Loshai-Kukis above mentioned, Shendus or Lakheys, who are entirely independent. All are Pagans, and most are savages. There is a vocabulary of the Khyeng language by Major Fryer, and of New

Kuki by Lieut. Stewart, both in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. There is a vocabulary of the Tipperah language, but no written character; the same remark applies to the others. Little is known of the Shendu, but there is a vocabulary by Captain Tickell.

“Proceeding southward we should enter British Burmah, from which for the present we abstain, and crossing the Bay of Bengal to land in Cuttack, we complete the circuit of the province of Bengal by enumerating the non-Aryan languages of Central India.

“They consist of two great linguistic families, and are spoken by a population of not less than four millions, occupying a length of country of about four hundred miles from the District of Cuttack to Rajmuhul, the boundary of Bengal and Buhar. The two families are the Dravidian and Kolarian, and they are somewhat intermixed in their habitat, though perfectly distinct in appearance, customs, and language. Both lie outside of the Hindu and Aryan fold. Both are Pagan, and, if not savage in the sense of the Himalaic savages, yet fall short of the moderate type of Asiatic civilization: the language of both is agglutinating, and devoid of literature or of written character.

“In the note in the report of last year a detail is given of the great Dravidian languages of Southern India, which are described as of Scythic origin, and connected with a pre-Aryan immigration from the West. Four tribes who spoke Dravidian languages are there mentioned as unimportant, two of whom will be noticed here. The Kota, a small Dravidian tribe in the Neilgherries, was incorrectly printed as Kole in last year's report: the two now to be noticed are the Gond, and Kandh, Khond, or Kho: two more are indicated as outlying members of the same family, the Uraon, and the Malers of Rajmuhul. Thus we have four tribes in Central India whose language is Dravidian.

“The Rev. Mr. Hurder has published a vocabulary of Rajmuhali, and Col. Ouseley, one of Oraon. Dr. Caldwell, in his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, has entered scientifically into the features of that family, which

are well recognized. The Rev. Oscar Flex published in 1874 a good practical grammar of the Oraon language, and a considerable number of educational works have been published. A vast number of Aryan words have found their way into these languages, but the structure of the noun and verb has remained intact: when it is asserted, that the syntax has been assimilated to that of Hindi, we must pause, lest the argument should be turned round on the score of the well-known non-Aryan aspect of the Hindi sentence-method. Two of the Gospels have been translated into Gond. The Rev. Mr. Driberg has published, in 1849, a very complete grammar and vocabulary of the Mahadeo dialect of the Gond, and Dr. Mauger published an account of the dialect of the Seoni Gonds. The remarkable feature of the Gond is, that it has a system of verbal modifications and inflexions almost as elaborate as that of the Turkish, while the great Dravidian sister-languages of the south are very meagrely furnished. Dr. Caldwell imagines, that this unexpected development is due to the influence of the highly-inflected Sonthali, its Kolarian neighbour, which will be noticed below. There exists a lucidly arranged grammar of the Khond, published in the Oriya character by Lingam Letchmajee, 1853; and Dr. Mauger and Sir W. Elliot have published observations on these languages in 1847, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. The Uraon and Rajmuhali Maler contain a large admixture of roots and forms belonging to the Kolarian language. Mr. Hodgson considers the Uraon as a connecting link between the Kolarian family and the Rajmuhali; and the Rajmuhali as a connecting link between the Kolarian and Dravidian.

“In the Kolarian family are many tribes under varying names, but which may be reduced to three great branches. 1. The Kols or Hos. 2. The Mundaris, or Mundas, or Bhumij. 3. The Sonthals. It is the generally received opinion, that the origin of this family is from the north-east, either from the farther side of the great linguistic watershed of the Himalaya, or down the funnel of the valley of the Burhumpootur. Col. Dalton thinks that he can trace their progress through Assam into the Shan districts of Siam: the immigration from the

north-west of the mighty Aryan race has severed this Central Indian family from its congeners. There is an asserted linguistic resemblance between the Mundari and the Mon of Pegu in British Burmah—this is stoutly denied by others. Nothing is impossible, but

πολλὰ μεταξὺ

Οὔρεά τε σκίοντα, θάλασσά τε ἤχησσαν.

A much more intimate knowledge of the structure of both languages is required to carry out such a connexion.

"Capt. Haughton published vocabularies of some of the Kole dialects: Capt. Tickell, in 1846, published a memorandum on the Ho language. The Bible has been translated into Kole by the Rev. A. Nothrott. The Rev. J. Whitley, 1873, published a Mundari primer, and he asserts that any person familiar with this dialect will be understood by all Mundari-speaking people, and by the Lurka Kols. Hindi words have largely crept into use, and the struggle to retain this and the other non-Aryan idioms of a poor hilly tract may prove vain.

"Two grammars have been published of the Sonthali language, one by the Rev. J. Philips in 1852, and a superior one by the Rev. L. Skreferud in 1873. Portions of the Bible have been translated into Sonthali. There are vocabularies of other dialects; but the learned missionaries, who have a Christian flock of thousands, assert that the same language is spoken by Sonthals, Munda-Bhumij, and others of the great Kole family, all the way from Orissa to the Rajmuhul Hills. In grammatical structure Sonthali is stated to be as superior to others as Sanskrit to its cognate languages. This bold assertion we are not in a position to test. But the second assertion, that the Sonthali is among the non-Aryan languages not even second to the Turkish in grammatical structure, is borne out by the artificial and complex, yet simple and transparent, symmetry of its verb-system, for it appears to possess voice, mood, tense, gender, number, person, case, forms, and conjugations, including five voices, five moods, and twenty-three tenses, three numbers,

and four cases. And though the language is unwritten, the surprising fact is stated, that the Nagari alphabet of fifty letters represents the sounds, neither more nor less, with the single redundancy of *v*, and there exist common roots for very primitive ideas in Sanskrit and Sonthali.

"It is not presumed that this sketch on a subject so obscure, extending over so vast an area, is exhaustive: no amount of precision can in the present state of our knowledge be obtained: the same tribes are called by different names, and different tribes included in the same nomenclature. It is asserted by some, that such well-known tribes as the Bhils have lost their language: by others that they still preserve it: what is preserved is attributed by some to the Kolarian, by others to the Dravidian family. In Kolhapore, under the Bombay Government, it is stated that certain dialects exist, and vocabularies are given: thus a question of degree is opened up: it may be that a language is wholly Aryan, but laden with non-Aryan vocables, the legacy of its extinct predecessor: when does a language end and a dialect begin? Another still more subtle point remains: it is admitted on all hands, that in the Sanskrit vernaculars there is a large residuum, of non-Aryan words, and possibly we may have here tapped the common fount of the vocables of all the languages of India.

"The work of the next quarter of a century is thus cut out, and consists in reducing to the form of practical grammars the leading and most vivacious dialect of each group, marking the dialectal variations, and then drawing up a comparative grammar of each family. Pliny mentions that there were one hundred and thirty languages spoken in the Colchian market-place; the dialects of India outside the lordly Sanskritic vernaculars can be counted by scores. The savage Nagas are said to have thirty varieties of their own, as every stream or mountain ravine causes a corresponding dialectic fissure.

"Vocabularies are not wanting, but we are getting beyond that stage of the inquiry. Dr. Hunter, in 1868, published one of a large number of non-Aryan languages: Col.

Dalton has done the same in his *Ethnology of Bengal*: within the last year Mr. J. M. Coats has published a vocabulary of the dialects of Chote Nagpore: Sir George Campbell, during the period of his being Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, collected and published specimens of the languages of India, with sentences of sufficient length to indicate structure of words and syntax: local vocabularies have been collected by other public servants, and notably by that illustrious linguist, Bryan Hodgson, the Resident of Nepaul. In England, Latham in his *Elements of Comparative Philology* gives very brief sketches, and Max Müller, in his letter to Chevalier Bunsen, an appendix to *Philosophy of History*, treats the whole subject scientifically, and attempts classification; but his work is a quarter of a century behind date, and the author had no local knowledge. Numerous ethnical and political reports have been made on these tribes, which have been nearly a century in connexion with British India, but the chief feature of the annals of the border have been raids, and villages burnt in retaliation: our non-Aryan administration has been an unbroken failure. Within the last year Sir George Campbell collected and passed under personal review specimens of every tribe, and Col. Dalton has published photographs of nearly all.

"Dr. Hunter, eight years ago, promised a comparative grammar, but the material collected is far from sufficient in quality and quantity for the construction of any sound principle of classification: many of the words entered in the vocabularies clearly are, and many more may prove to be, loan-words: the master mind is also still wanting, like the prince in the fable, to separate and group the confused heap of feathers.

"And behind the linguistic question, which is the sole object of these remarks, lies the much greater one of race and religion, for the two hundred tribes, some of which we have noted, with perhaps six millions of population, are but the ethnical residuum *in situ* of the far larger portion, which has flowed down into the great crucible, and become

fused into the lower strata of Hindu society all over India. There are two great fallacies which have to be dissipated—the first, that conquerors annihilate and destroy the races whom they invade and conquer: the second, that the Hindu religion is, and ever has been, non-proselytizing. The whole history of India shows that the subject non-Aryan races were trodden down, utilized as helots, and admitted as an inferior caste into the Brahminical system: thus the subject races left their mark on the language of their conquerors; they lent words, and helped to modify syntax, but they lost their old language and identity, but preserved many of their customs and religious tenets under the veneer of a semi-Hinduism. Many tribes have retained their savage, or less civilized customs, and still lost their language, like the Bhils. Linguistically and ethnologically we have overlooked the vast residuum of non-Aryan races, and introduced little among them except a sale of fire-arms and spirits. It was a surprise that so large a proportion of the population of Lower Bengal were found in the last census to be Mahomedan: but these were non-Aryan immigrants from the eastern borders, who found Mahomedanism more to their mind, when they settled down to agriculture. Max Müller asserts broadly, that the majority of the speakers of Bengal are non-Aryan by race, and it will be our own fault, if the remainder do not find Christianity their best leader to civilization.”

ON THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Last year I spoke regretfully of the absence in my Address of reports on the North American Indian Languages. It gives me, therefore, very great pleasure to be able to lay before you a brief, but masterly account of American Indian Philology by such a thoroughly competent scholar as Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Connecticut, U.S., the author of several papers on North American Languages, and recently President of the American Philological Association.

At the time of writing this summary, Dr. Trumbull was

severely indisposed, and I am sure we shall all appreciate his generous self-denial in contributing to our information under such trying circumstances.

"When Mr. Albert Gallatin, in 1836, published his 'Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America,' the provisional classification of North American languages seemed to be not very far from completion. The extent and productiveness of the field between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific was imperfectly apprehended. Mr. Gallatin's Synopsis embraced eighty-one tribes, distributed in twenty-eight families. A tabular classification of the aboriginal languages of the Pacific States, attempted last year by Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, comprises, by name—at least, more than six hundred dialects, of which one hundred and seventeen are Californian, and 'there remains the fact,' we are told, 'that in central and southern California, hundreds of dialects have been permitted to die out, without leaving us so much as their name.'

"The publication, in 1846, of Mr. Hale's 'Ethnography and Philology' of the United States Exploring Expedition, opened the way to the study and comparison of the principal languages of North-western America. In 1848 Mr. Gallatin revised his classification, and included in it the languages of which Mr. Hale had obtained vocabularies. In his introduction to these vocabularies, which he arranged and edited for the second volume of the American Ethnological Society's Transactions, he names *thirty-two* distinct families of languages spoken in and north of the United States, observing that, in this enumeration, 'the word *family* must be taken in its most enlarged sense.' The languages of California had not then—nor have they yet—been sufficiently investigated to arrange them according to families,' and south of the United States (which did not yet include New Mexico), Mr. Gallatin 'had scarcely any vocabularies.'

"Marked progress in classification was made by Mr. Hale's assignment of the Ute and Comanche languages to the Shoshoni family, and by his detection of resemblances, 'too great

to be attributed to a mere casual connexion,' between the Shoshoni and the idioms of the Kizh (San Gabriel) and Netela (San Capistrano) Indians of the coast of southern California.

"The relative importance of Gallatin's Athapaskan (or Tinneh) family was increased by Hale's additions to it of two small tribes near the mouth of Columbia River, and a third, still further south, on the head-waters of Umpkwa or Rogue River, in southern Oregon: but a much greater advance was made, in 1852, when Professor W. W. Turner showed that the great Apache nation of New Mexico belongs to the Athapaskan stock,—a discovery which he justly regarded 'as opening a new chapter in American ethnology.' Dr. J. C. E. Buschmann's learned memoir, *Der Athapaskische Sprachstamm dargestellt*, appeared in 1856, comprising comparative vocabularies of all ascertained dialects of this family; and in 1860 he published, as the third part of his work on *Das Apache als eine athapaskische Sprache*, a thoroughly digested *Systematische Worttafel der Athapaskischen Sprache*. This family is more widely distributed than any other of North America. From near the mouth of Mackenzie River and northern Alaska, its dialects range southward, through more than thirty-four degrees of latitude, to Sonora and Chihuahua. Vocabularies of the Tinneh dialects of Alaska were published by Mr. W. H. Dall, of the United States Coast Survey, in his work on 'Alaska and its Resources' (1870). In the progress of the Government Surveys of the Western Territories, many important vocabularies of southern Athapaskan (Apache) dialects have been obtained, which will be published in connexion with the Reports of the Surveys or by the Smithsonian Institution. A specimen of the Mescalero-Apache language, with a few grammatical notes, and paradigms of four or five verbs, by Col. Cremony, Interpreter for the United States Mexican Boundary Commission, are printed in Mr. H. H. Bancroft's 'Native Races of the Pacific States,' vol. iii. pp. 596-602.

"The Smithsonian Institution has a valuable collection of manuscript vocabularies, to which very considerable additions

have been made in the last two years. Provision was made for arranging and printing all these, arranged by families or groups. The first series—comparative vocabularies of thirty Tsihaili-Selish (Flathead) dialects—was in the press, when the progress of the work was interrupted by the death of the editor, Mr. George Gibbs, well known to American scholars by his contributions to the ethnology and philology of the Pacific States. It is anticipated that one or more series of vocabularies will be printed by the Institution this year. Considerable progress has been made in the arrangement of those of the Tinneh family.

“Major J. W. Powell, Geologist-in-Charge of the Second Division of the United States Survey of the Territories, has been requested by the Secretary of the Interior to undertake the ethnological classification of all the Indian tribes of this country. In a brief report of progress, made to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs last November, Major Powell writes :—

‘My own interrupted studies for the past eight years have been among tribes hitherto but little known, and though these studies are far from being complete, I believe they will enable me to relegate the tribes of Colorado, Utah, the greater part of Nevada, South-eastern California, and Northern Arizona, to their several classes. Our knowledge of the tribes of the Sierra Nevada, through Western Oregon, Western Nevada, and Eastern California, is exceeding meagre: but Mr. Stephen A. Powers has been studying these Indians for a number of years, and the manuscript account of his labours is in my hands.’

“During his exploration of the Colorado River and its tributaries, since 1867, Major Powell has studied the languages as well as the manners and customs, myths and traditions of the Indian tribes of that region, and particularly those of the Shoshoni or Nu'ma group (the ‘Paduca’ of Dr. Latham, and the Comanche-Shoshone branch of Buschmann’s Sonora stock). His collections comprise large vocabularies of nearly all ascertained dialects, myths and fables, notes on grammatical structure, and paradigms of verbs. He is now preparing these for publication. They will be specially welcome to philologists, as affording the means of deter-

mining to what extent the Aztec element enters into the languages of this group, in which its presence was detected by Dr. Buschmann. In a letter received a few days ago (March, 1876) from Major Powell, he gives the following as his arrangement of the 'Shoshoni or Núma languages':—

Wa-shak-i, Shoshoni proper.

Dialect: *Ta-saw-wi-hi*, Shoshones of Central Nevada.

Ko-man'tsu, Comanches.

Pan-ai-ti, Bannacks.

Pa-vi-o-tso, Pah-Utes or Pai-Utes of Western Nevada.

Dialect: *Pan'-a-mint*.

Go-si Ute, [Of Nevada and Utah.]

U'-ta-ats, Utes.

Dialects: *Mu-d'-tsu* (Southern Colorado and Northern New Mexico). *Kai-vav-it* (Pai-Utes of Northern Oregon).

Nu-d'-gun-tit (Pai-Utes of Southern Nevada). *Tan'-ta-waits*, or Chemahuevis.

Shi'-nu-mo, In six (of the seven) Pueblos, in Tusayan, or Moqui, Northern Arizona.

'The Shi'numo diverges the most widely from the (Washaki) type, both in vocabulary and structure. Its numerals are vigesimal; the others, decimal. In this language there is one set of words used by the males exclusively, and another exclusively by the females.'

"Dr. F. V. Hayden's valuable 'Contributions to the Ethnology and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley' were published in 1862, and were supplemented by vocabularies of the Pawnee, Winnebago, and Omaha languages, with grammatical notes, in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, in 1868. Other and not less important contributions may be expected in the Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories now in progress under his direction. Among these will be a grammar and dictionary of the Hidatsa or Minitari language, compiled by Dr. Washington Matthews, U.S.A., a limited edition of which was printed in 1873, in Mr. J. G. Shea's new series of 'American Linguistics.' The Hidatsa—the 'Minnetarees' of Lewis and Clarke, and nicknamed 'Gros Ventres' by French traders—now live with Arikaras

and a remnant of the Mandans, near Forts Berthold and Buford, Dakota Territory. Their language is of the Dakota stock, but has diverged widely from the Sioux-Dakota type. The results of *Lautverschiebung* are more remarkable in Dakota dialects than in the Algonkin or perhaps any other well-established American family. It is not easy to recognize the Dakota *wi-kche-mna*, 'ten,' in the Ponka *gthe-ba* or the Winnebago *kh'ra-pun*, before knowing that the three names are, the Dakota prefix excepted, etymologically identical. A comparison of Dr. Matthews's Hidatsa vocabulary with the Dakota of Riggs's dictionary, enables us to estimate the difficulty of establishing affinity between American languages or groups of languages, on the evidence supplied by lists of words, without the guidance of any known 'law of permutation of consonants.'

"The ALGONKIN family may seem to have received more than its due share of attention from philologists. It was naturally the first to attract the regard of scholars whose survey of the field of American language was taken from its eastern border, the Atlantic States. Its dialects are numerous, well-defined, and of remarkable constancy. In some of them the polysynthetic type or plan of structure seems to have attained its highest expression; and yet, that the Algonkin is, in the strictest sense, *inflectional*, no one who has learned to speak or write an Algonkin dialect has doubted. Materials for its study are more abundant, and, on the whole, more trustworthy, than are found for any other North American family. Good grammars and dictionaries of several of its dialects have been printed, and others are accessible in manuscript. The whole Bible has been translated into two Algonkin dialects; the New Testament in a third; in others, one or more of the Gospels, manuals of devotion, and various other books. Mr. Duponceau's investigations of the structure and grammatical forms of American languages began with the Algonkin, in which the good missionary Heckewelder was his teacher; and Mr. Duponceau's writings, particularly his Report made to the American Philosophical Society in 1819, and his Volney-Prize *Mémoire*

sur le Système Grammatical des Langues [Algonquines], in 1835, brought this group prominently to the notice of trans-Atlantic scholars. Unfortunately his studies were first and chiefly directed to a mission-dialect, the so-called 'Delaware' or 'Lenni-Lenape,' of which the structure was imperfectly exhibited in the grammar compiled by Zeisberger. Mistaken notions of the character of Algonkin synthesis have been accepted on Duponceau's authority by eminent philologists. The account he gave, in the preface to his translation of Zeisberger's grammar (and again in his *Mémoire*), of Indian word-making, as 'consisting in putting together portions of different words, so as to awaken at the same time in the mind of the hearer the various ideas which they separately express,' etc., was copied by Pickering and Gallatin, and by W. von Humboldt (*die Kawi-Sprache*, t. i. p. cccxxxii.). It has been often reproduced by writers on the American languages. Yet nothing could be more misleading. It is not merely defective, but it involves radical error. The Indian word is necessarily *self-defining*, and must be so framed that it can be instantly analyzed by the hearer. For this reason, the laws of synthesis must be of uniform operation, admitting of no exceptions. There can be no 'abbreviation' of roots, no arbitrary 'transposition,' no selection, such as Mr. Heckewelder described, 'of parts or parcels of different words, sometimes a single sound or letter, to be compounded together,' at the pleasure of the word-maker, as mnemonic symbols. Mr. Gallatin seems to have discovered this, after the publication of his 'Synopsis'; for in his Introduction to Hale's Vocabularies (1848), he said: 'I do not perceive any essential difference in the mode of forming highly-compounded words between the Indian language and the English.'

"Materials for the comparative study of Algonkin dialects are now tolerably abundant. Mr. Joseph Howse's 'Grammar of the Cree Language, with an Analysis of the Chippeway Dialect,' first printed in 1844 (and in a revised edition, in 1865), is of special value. A grammar and dictionary (*Français-Cris* and *Cris-Français*) representing another dialect of the language,—that of the north-western Crees, of

Saskatchewan,—by the Rev. Albert Lacombe, a Roman Catholic missionary, was printed at Montreal in 1874, making an octavo volume of 875 pages. One feature of the grammar which deserves notice is a '*Tableau général du Verbe Cris*,' exhibiting at one view paradigms of the several conjugations and transition-forms.

"For the Chippeway, the best guides are the Rev. Frederick Baraga's '*Grammar of the Otchipwé Language*,' and his copious '*Otchipwé Dictionary*.' Father Baraga (subsequently appointed Bishop of Amyzonias) was a missionary at L'Anse, on Lake Superior. His grammar was printed at Detroit, Michigan, in 1850; the dictionary at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1853. Both, unfortunately, are now very scarce. The Rev. G. A. Belcourt's '*Principes de la Langue des Sauvages appelés Sautaux*' (Quebec, 1839) gives a good exposition of the grammatical structure of Algonkin languages generally, as well as of the dialectic peculiarities of the Chippeway. Of recent publications, two works eminently deserve notice: *Etudes philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages de l'Amérique*; par N.O. Ancien Missionnaire (Montreal, 1866), and *Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages* (Montreal, 1869), by the same author, M. Cuq, a missionary of twenty years' service at the Indian village of The Lake of the Two Mountains, near Montreal. In this village two languages are spoken: an Algonkin dialect (the Nipissing, closely resembling the Chippeway of Baraga's dictionary) and the Iroquois. The *Etudes philologiques* comprise a comparative view of the grammatical structure of these two dialects, representing two strikingly dissimilar families of speech. In both works, M. Cuq, by exhibiting the structural plan and portions of the marvellous mechanism of American languages and by proofs of their capacity for expressing metaphysical as well as external relations, endeavours to show that M. Renan was in error in assigning them a place far below the languages of semi-civilized nations of the old world and hardly within the field of comparative philology.

"Dr. Friedrich Müller, of Vienna, names Howse's Cree

Grammar and (Cuoq's) *Etudes philologiques* among the authorities on which he relied in his memoir, *Der grammatische Bau der Algonkin-Sprachen* (1867). It is not easy to understand how, in these works or in others he has cited, he found grounds for his conclusion that Algonkin languages possess no true verb-forms, but that the so-called verb is in fact a noun, and the prefixed pronoun merely possessive. In this he follows Steinthal (*Charakteristik des Sprachbaues*, 226), though he concedes, as Steinthal does not, true verbs to the Dakota and Mexican languages, while 'the Algonkin languages have only forms of nouns' (*können die Algonkin-Sprachen nur Nominalformen bilden*). Any extended discussion of the correctness of this view would be inappropriate here. It may be observed, however, that it receives no support from any writer on Algonkin grammar who has had opportunities of acquiring thorough knowledge of an Algonkin dialect. How easily one who has not this knowledge may be misled, may be seen in Dr. Müller's example (p. 146) of what he regards as an Algonkin 'Nomen actionis.' He selects 'Algonkin, *pimose*; Lenni-Lennape, *pommissin*; Cree, *pemootan*, to go (*gehen*);' and he shows how this 'expression in the form of a noun' (*Nominalausdruck*) receives the pronominal prefixes—always *possessive*—in the singular and plural:—

Alg. <i>ni-pimose</i> .	Lenni-L. <i>n-pomsi</i> .	Cree, <i>ne-pemootan</i> .
„ <i>ki-pimose</i> .	„ <i>k-pomsi</i> .	„ <i>kee-pemootan</i> .
„ <i>pimose</i> .	„ <i>pomseu</i> .	„ <i>pemootayoo</i> .

"Alg. *pimose* and Lenni-Lenape *pomseu* are dialectic variations of the same verb—of which Cree *pemootayoo* is *not* the equivalent. Alg. *pimose* does not mean merely 'he goes,' but 'he walks *by*,' or '*passes* on foot.' It is one of several verbs formed by prefixing *pim*, meaning 'passing,' or 'going by,' to a verbal root, denoting action of an animate subject. Cuoq (*Jugement erroné*, p. 72) illustrates the composition of these 'verbes préformés' by numerous examples. In this way are formed *pim-ose* 'he walks, passes on foot,' *pim-ote* 'he passes by creeping,' *pimi-pato* 'he runs past' (with which compare *a-pato* 'he runs toward'), *pimi-se* 'he flies past,' etc.

The 'expression of the verb' (*Verbalausdruck*) is not in the prefix, but in the element to which it is prefixed, not in the adverbial *pim*, but in the verbal root *osé*, which is found in every dialect, though perhaps never as an independent word. It occurs in Alg. *tibik-ose* 'he walks by night' (literally, 'he night-walks'), *akim-ose* 'he walks on snow-shoes,' etc.

"No more important contribution to American philology has been made in the past quarter of a century than Riggs's Dakota Grammar and Dictionary, published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1852. The appearance of this work drew the attention of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic to the Dakota family of language. A brief 'Grammatik der Dakota Sprache,' by H. C. von der Gabelentz, was published at Leipzig in 1852; and 'A Dakota Nyelv,' by Hunfalvy Páltól, was printed in the Bulletin of the Hungarian Academy, and separately (Pesth, 1856). The Sioux-Dakota has already something of a literature. A small monthly paper was printed in that dialect by the missionaries in 1850, and was sustained nearly two years. Its successor, the *Iapi Oaye* (i.e. Word Carrier), a handsome sheet, edited by the Rev. Messrs. Riggs and Williamson, has reached its fifth volume. Much of its original matter is supplied by Dakota contributors. A 'Dakota Bibliography,' compiled in 1870, gives the titles of thirty-eight publications in that language, and the number is now considerably increased. A useful English-Dakota vocabulary, by the Rev. John P. Williamson, for the use of Indian students who desire to learn English, was printed at the Mission Press in Nebraska in 1871. An English and Dakota Service Book, being parts of the Book of Common Prayer, was published last year by the Indian Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A translation of Guyot's Elementary Geography, by the Rev. Dr. Riggs and his son the Rev. A. L. Riggs, is just out of the press.

"The dialect of the Dakota Missions has been, from the first, that of the *Isanti* or Santee-Sioux, who formerly lived in Minnesota, but have been removed to reservations in Nebraska. A primer in the nearly related Titonwan (or

Teton) dialect, and another, of a few pages only, in that of the Yanktons (Ihanktonwan), have been printed. A grammar of the Ponca language is in preparation by the Rev. J. O. Dorsey, formerly a missionary with that tribe. The Hidatsa (Minitari) grammar and dictionary of Dr. Matthews has already been noticed. Mr. Thomas Foster, 'Indian Historiographer' of the Indian Bureau at Washington, in a report made last October to the Commissioner, announces that he has ready for publication 'an elaborate monograph of the Winnebago tribe,' which will comprise 'an idea of their language, including grammatical construction, and a copious vocabulary of about 3000 words, which were personally collected by himself.' Such a work, if well executed, would be a welcome addition to the materials for the comparative study of Dakota dialects.

"A Grammar of the Choctaw Language, edited by Dr. D. G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, from the manuscripts of the late Rev. Cyrus Byington, was printed in 1870 in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (and separately). Mr. Byington, who had lived nearly fifty years among the Choctaws, acquired a thorough mastery of their language. Unfortunately, his grammar was unfinished at his death, and is little more than an outline sketch. Besides the grammar, he left in manuscript a dictionary of the language, containing about 15,000 words. This is now in the possession of the Smithsonian Institution, and probably will be printed.

"The space allotted to this review barely permits the mention of some recent works on the languages of Mexico and Central America. The publication, by the Commission scientifique du Mexique, of the Mexican Grammar of Andre de Olmos (Paris, 1875), meets a hearty welcome. This work, which has remained in manuscript since 1547, is now, under the careful editorship of M. Rémi Siméon, accessible to scholars. For the text, M. Siméon has had the opportunity of collating two manuscript copies, in good preservation, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the other in the Maison-neuve collection.

"M. Alphonse Pinart has made a good beginning of a 'Bibliothèque de Linguistique et d'Ethnographie Américaines,' by printing, from manuscripts in his own collection, an *Arte de la lengua Chiapaneca* by F. Juan de Albornoz, and a *Doctrina Cristiana* in the same language by F. Luis Barrientos (Paris, 1875). The Chiapanecos were Indians of the Mexican State of Chiapas, where a few of them are yet to be found. Their origin and their relations have been much discussed, but are not yet satisfactorily established. Until the publication of this volume, no work in the Chiapaneca language had been printed.

"A highly interesting memoir 'On the Indian Tribes and Languages of Costa Rica,' by Professor William M. Gabb, has been printed in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for August, 1875 (vol. xiv. pp. 483-602). Professor Gabb passed a year and a half in southern Costa Rica, and had superior advantages for the study of a group of languages of which scarcely anything was known to philologists. He divides the dialects of southern Costa Rica into three groups: 1, the Bri-bris, and their neighbours, the Cabecars; 2, the Tiribi and the Terraba; 3, the Brunka, called 'Boruca' by the Spaniards. The Bri-bris, Cabecars, and Tiribis, are known to the Spaniards as 'Blancos.' All these languages 'possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. . . . Many roots run through the entire group unchanged, or with changes so trifling that they are not worthy of notice.' The Brunkas, we are told, are 'evidently the older inhabitants of the soil.' Of the Bri-bri, now the principal dialect, Professor Gabb gives an outline of the grammar, with paradigms of conjugation and a copious vocabulary: which is followed by a comparative vocabulary of the Cabecar, Tiribi, Terraba, and Brunka dialects.

"On comparison of these with vocabularies of the *Darien* group,—the 'Tule' of Dr. Cullen, the 'Cuna' of De Puydt, and Captain Lull's 'Language of the Indians of San Blas and Caledonia Bay' (in Transactions of the American Philo-

logical Association for 1874),—well-marked affinities between the two groups are apparent. There is, as Dr. C. H. Berendt has shown (in a paper read before the American Ethnological Society in 1874), high probability, if not certainty, of the identity of the Darien language with the old Cueva, or Coiba, of Oviedo. The western limit of the Coiba, in the sixteenth century, was reported to be at Chame, on the Bay of Panama. Dr. A. von Frantzius (in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, vol. iv.) questioned whether it did not in fact extend further west, and whether the *Boruca* (Brunka) was not related to it. Dr. Berendt found no evidence of such relationship in the Costa Rican vocabularies he had obtained: but those which are now published by Professor Gabb show many correspondences, in words and roots, with the 'Tule' of Cullen and Lull. The question remains to be answered, whether the Darien element in all these southern Costa Rican dialects is original or intrusive. Oviedo, as Dr. Berendt suggests, says that the Indians of the Island of Chara, in the Gulf of Nicoya, though they had a different language, understood something of the Cueva, but that was, as he believed, 'because they had learned it through their intercourse with the Christians.'

"Dr. Latham, misled perhaps by Seemann's Cholo vocabulary, pronounced the *Cholo* language to be 'the same as Dr. Cullen's Tule, and also the same as the Cunacana and Darien of Balbi and the Mithridates.' This, as has been pointed out by Dr. Berendt and others, is an obvious error. No relationship is yet established between the Darien group and the Cholo, of which dialects are spoken between the Gulf of San Miguel and the Bay of Choco, and further south, on the Pacific coast."

REVUE DES DERNIERS TRAVAUX ÉGYPTOLOGIQUES.

The subject of Ancient Egyptian and its derivative, the lately extinct Coptic, has been strangely overlooked in societies of general philology; but this omission can no longer be tolerated in the presence of the annually increasing

literature, which is being disinterred and presented to the public. Notwithstanding its marvellous antiquity, as the original documents on stone and papyrus date back to 2000 years B.C., yet we find in the Egyptian records nearly every species of literary development. The Society is much indebted to M. Edouard Naville, of Geneva, one of the youngest and most promising Egyptologists, for the *compte rendu* of the present state of Egyptian knowledge. M. Naville has himself lately published "The Litany to the Sun," and is employed in editing a text of the "Book of the Dead," after a comparison of the numerous texts existing in all the museums of Europe and Egypt.

"La tâche que la Société de philologie m'a fait l'honneur de me confier, en me chargeant de lui exposer sommairement les progrès des études égyptologiques, n'est pas aussi facile qu'il semble au premier abord. Depuis quelques années l'égyptologie a pris un très-grand essor; les livres de tout genre abondent; les chaires, où l'on enseigne l'égyptien, se multiplient; il n'y en a pas moins de cinq en Allemagne à l'heure qu'il est; le nombre des travailleurs grandit incessamment, et l'on peut dire en somme, que cette partie des études orientales est maintenant dans un état de prospérité, qu'elle n'avait pas connu jusqu'ici. Il en résulte, qu'un catalogue complet de tout ce, qui s'est publié depuis cinq ou six ans, dépasserait de beaucoup les bornes qui me sont assignées. J'essaierai cependant de rendre compte des faits les plus importants en allant du général au particulier, en commençant par les revues, les journaux, les collections de textes inédits, et passant de là à la grammaire et aux mémoires spéciaux.

"Une circonstance qui prouve d'une manière éclatante le développement qu'ont pris les études égyptologiques, c'est qu'il existe maintenant trois journaux ou revues presque exclusivement consacrés à ces études. C'est d'abord la *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, qui se publie à Berlin sous la savante direction de M. Lepsius, et dans laquelle paraissent des travaux en allemand, en anglais et en français; presque tous les égyptologues de France,

d'Angleterre, d'Allemagne, de Hollande, de Russie y collaborent.

“En France, les *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne* paraissent depuis 1873 à des intervalles inégaux, et en sont aujourd'hui à leur 8^e livraison; ce sont surtout les égyptologues de France, qui écrivent dans cette revue.

“A Châlon-sur-Saône, M. Chabas fait paraître à lui seul un journal intitulé *l'Égyptologie*, dans lequel il traduit, des textes, les interprète, et les commente, suivant la méthode analytique, dont il est l'un des plus savants adeptes.

“En dehors des recueils tels que la Revue archéologique, qui existent d'ancienne date, les égyptologues recourent volontiers à une publication, qui a maintenant trois années d'existence, les *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*. Cette Société a déjà fait paraître d'importants mémoires sur des sujets de toute espèce, et les traductions qui en sont le résultat forment trois volumes des *Records of the Past*.

“La recherche des textes inédits est encore l'une des préoccupations constantes des égyptologues. Malgré le nombre considérable de documents de tout genre, qui ont été mis au jour, nous sommes loin d'avoir atteint les bornes de la littérature égyptienne, et les fouilles qui se font encore, sous la savante direction de Mariette-Bey, nous ménagent probablement bien des surprises. Même sans sortir d'Europe, les grands musées ne sont nullement épuisés. Ils contiennent des trésors, que nous aimerions à voir entrer le plus tôt possible dans la circulation.

“Aux grandes collections de textes faites par Champollion et Rosellini d'abord, puis d'une manière bien plus complète et systématique par M. Lepsius dans ses *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, sont venus s'ajouter des recueils d'une importance capitale. Signalons en premier lieu les monuments du musée de Leyde, qui continuent à être publiés par M. Leemans.¹ Après avoir fait connaître d'abord les monuments civils, le savant éditeur publie maintenant les

¹ Leemans. Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyde, publiés d'après les ordres du gouvernement. Leyde.

monuments funéraires et en même temps les papyrus. Ce sont maintenant les papyrus funéraires, qui sont en cours de publication.

“Nous devons à un autre égyptologue hollandais, Mr. Pleyte, la reproduction en facsimile des papyrus hiératiques du musée de Turin.¹

“En France, M. Maspero vient de terminer la publication des *Notices descriptives de Champollion le jeune*,² qui devaient accompagner le grand ouvrage des Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie, publié aussi après sa mort. Ces notices, fruit de l’activité dévorante du maître pendant son séjour en Égypte, contiennent de nombreux renseignements sur des monuments actuellement détruits par l’incurie du gouvernement ou le vandalisme des voyageurs.

“En Égypte, M. Mariette poursuit avec un succès croissant les fouilles, qu’il a entreprises à plusieurs endroits ; les cinq dernières années ont vu paraître des ouvrages importants dans des genres très-divers.³ Ce sont d’abord des volumes consacrés à certains temples, ainsi *Abydos*, l’une des localités les plus vénérées de l’Ancienne Égypte, car il s’y trouvait l’un des tombeaux d’Osiris. Le temple d’Abydos est peut-être de tous les temples pharaoniques le plus intéressant pour la religion ; c’est le seul, dans lequel les textes religieux sont autre chose que quelques petites phrases écourtées et sans signification, et où l’on trouve un Rituel proprement dit, c’est-à-dire les paroles prononcées par le prêtre dans l’accomplissement d’une cérémonie religieuse. Le temple de *Dendérah* a aussi été l’objet d’une publication volumineuse de M. Mariette. Il y a quelques années, par les volumes intitulés *Tempelinschriften*, M. Dümichen avait

¹ Pleyte et Rossi. Papyrus hiératiques du Musée de Turin.

² Champollion le Jeune. Monuments de l’Égypte et de la Nubie. *Notices descriptives* en conformes aux manuscrits autographes. Paris.

³ Auguste Mariette-Bey. *Abydos*, description des fouilles exécutées sur l’emplacement de cette ville. Tome I^{er}. Ville antique.—*Dendérah*. Description du grand temple de cette ville, Tome I.—IV.—Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie. 1 vol.—Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq, publiés en facsimile Tome I. et II. Paris.—Karnak, étude topographique et archéologique avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak. Leipzig.—Les listes géographiques des pylônes de Karnak. Leipzig.

donné l'idée de la richesse des temples ptolémaïques. Encore aujourd'hui, ils constituent l'une des mines les plus riches pour l'étude de la civilisation égyptienne. Il semble que sous les souverains grecs les prêtres aient eu le sentiment, que la religion était ébranlée, qu'elle allait se transformer ; aussi ont-ils essayé de perpétuer leurs anciennes croyances en les gravant sur les murailles de leurs temples. Usages, cérémonies, prières, calendriers, géographie, mythologie, tout ce qui de près ou de loin touchait à la religion, s'y trouvent dans les plus grands détails. C'est là ce qui fait le prix des inscriptions de cette époque, dont le langage embarrassé et l'écriture surchargée de jeux de mots opposent souvent de sérieux obstacles aux recherches de l'égyptologue.

"Les *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* actuellement en voie de publication, classés par localités, renferment d'abondantes ressources pour les recherches les plus variées, soit sur la langue, soit sur l'histoire du pays.

"Les *papyrus du Musée de Boulaq* sont aussi l'objet de l'attention de M. Mariette ; deux volumes ont déjà paru et contiennent des textes dans les trois genres d'écriture sur des sujets très-variés, un papyrus géographique, un Rituel de l'embaumement, un traité de morale, etc.

"Tout récemment encore, M. Mariette a fait paraître deux volumes sur le temple de *Karnak*, dont l'un renferme l'histoire de ce grand temple et les principales inscriptions qui y sont gravées, et l'autre nous donne plus spécialement les inscriptions géographiques et les noms des peuples étrangers qui ont été conquis par les rois de la XVIII^e dynastie. Ces noms, qui ont conduit M. Mariette à des découvertes importantes, intéressent non seulement le géographe et l'historien, mais aussi le philologue et le linguiste par les indications, que l'on peut tirer des transcriptions en égyptien de noms sémitiques ou africains.

"D'ici à peu de jours *trois* des papyrus du British Museum paraîtront par les soins de Mr. le Dr. Birch ; l'un d'eux est un papyrus géométrique qui soulève d'intéressantes questions sur les mathématiques égyptiennes, l'autre est le grand *papyrus Harris*, le document le plus étendu qui nous

soit resté de la littérature égyptienne. Ce texte considérable dont le Musée a fait l'acquisition il y a deux ans, est un catalogue fait par le roi Ramsès III. des présents et des dotations, dont il a enrichi les temples principaux de l'Égypte. Il est regrettable que de longues listes d'offrandes composent la majeure partie de ce magnifique papyrus, et que la partie historique n'y tienne qu'une place très-restreinte. Tel qu'il est, ce document apportera une augmentation considérable au vocabulaire de la langue égyptienne. Le troisième papyrus est un Rituel hiéroglyphique d'un scribe nommé Nebsemi de la XVIII^e dynastie, et a été photographée par le proces autotype carbon. Il paraîtra incessamment.

"Après ces collections de textes inédits ou ces publications officielles, se place tout naturellement un ouvrage qui de l'avis de tous les égyptologues a été un événement; il s'agit du *papyrus Ebers*.¹ On connaissait de longue date l'existence à Thèbes d'un grand papyrus médical, lorsqu'en 1873 M. le prof. Ebers eut la bonne fortune d'en trouver le propriétaire et de l'acheter pour le musée de Leipsack. Voici comment M. Chabas s'exprime au sujet de ce manuscrit, dont il vient, après M. Ebers, de présenter une traduction sommaire: 'Ce merveilleux livre vient d'être mis à la disposition des savants en deux magnifiques in-folios, contenant le fac-simile merveilleusement exécuté du texte hiératique, avec l'historique de l'acquisition et d'importantes notices sur le style de l'écriture, la date probable et le contenu de ce livre. M. Ebers y donne la traduction de l'introduction, une table générale des titres de tous les chapitres et des notes très-utiles sur les notations chiffrées. Au commencement du deuxième volume, M. Ludwig Stern, égyptologue, déjà connu par des travaux sérieux, a inséré un vocabulaire index de tous les mots égyptiens, avec références aux pages et aux lignes où ils sont cités, et traduction en latin de ceux, dont il a pu reconnaître la valeur. Cette publication fournit un sujet d'études presque inépuisable, à

¹ Georg Ebers. *Papyrus Ebers, das Hermetische Buch über die Arzneimittel der alten Aegypter in hieratischer Schrift, mit Inhaltsangabe und Einleitung versehen von G. Ebers, mit hieroglyphisch-lateinischem Glossar von Ludwig Stern.* 2 vol. in-fol. Leipzig.

raison du grand nombre de termes techniques, dont il faudra retrouver la véritable acception ; les noms d'animaux de toute espèce, de végétaux, de minéraux, de préparations, de maladies, de soins médicaux, viennent enrichir notre glossaire, tandis que le texte se fait remarquer par sa correction grammaticale presque irréprochable.'

"Si les dernières années ont été fructueuses en nouveautés égyptologiques, elles ne l'ont pas moins été en travaux spéciaux ; un grand nombre d'égyptologues font maintenant avancer la science dans les directions les plus diverses. En revanche la science a à déplorer la perte de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé, le maître incontesté des études égyptiennes en France, et qui le premier en ralluma le flambeau éteint depuis la mort de Champollion. Presque tous les égyptologues de France sont ses disciples, et se sont initiés à sa méthode dans les leçons qu'il donnait au Collège de France. La plupart des grands travaux de M. de Rougé sont antérieurs à l'année 1870, d'autres ont été interrompus par sa mort ; quelques-uns, et des plus précieux, ont été publiés récemment par les soins de son fils, M. Jacques de Rougé.

"En 1859, M. de Rougé lisait à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres un mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'*Alphabet phénicien* ; ce travail qui contenait des résultats d'une importance capitale sur cette difficile question, fut égaré pendant plusieurs années ; et ce ne fut qu'après la mort de l'auteur qu'il fut retrouvé et publié par M. Jacques de Rougé.¹ Quoiqu'il ait 12 ans de date, ce travail est tout-à fait à la hauteur des découvertes récentes. Il se distingue comme tout ce qu'enseignait ou écrivait M. de Rougé par une grande prudence dans la méthode, et une sûreté remarquable dans les déductions. Réfutant les essais imparfaits qui avaient été tentés sur le même sujet par Salvolini, Ch. Lenormant, et l'abbé van Drival, M. de Rougé cherche lui-même dans les types les plus anciens des deux écritures les rapports qui peuvent indiquer une origine commune ; et il prend pour base : d'un côté l'inscription d'Eschmunezer, de l'autre le plus ancien

¹ Vicomte E. de Rougé. Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien. Paris.

papyrus que nous possédions, le papyrus Prisse. A-propos de chaque lettre, les transcriptions d'une langue à l'autre sont discutées avec une grande richesse d'exemples. Le résultat de ces recherches qui est clairement indiqué par des tableaux publiés à la fin de l'ouvrage, est formulé ainsi par M. de Rougé : ' Si je ne m'abuse pas sur la portée des ressemblances qui m'apparaissent, quinze lettres sur vingt-deux auraient été assez peu altérées pour que l'hypothèse de leur origine égyptienne devienne probable au premier coup-d'œil. Cinq lettres, à savoir א ב ג ד ו auraient subi des changements un peu plus considérables ; une sixième le ז aurait été réduite à sa partie supérieure ; enfin le י serait une lettre d'invention purement sémitique, et qui manquait absolument à l'alphabet égyptien.'

" Peu de temps avant sa mort, Champollion mettait en ordre les feuilles de sa *grammaire égyptienne*. ' Serrez-la soigneusement, disait-il, j'espère que ce sera ma carte de visite à la postérité.' La reconstitution de la *grammaire égyptienne*, cette tâche ardue à laquelle le maître attachait tant de prix, et qu'à sa suite Dr. Birch a tentée pour la première fois, se poursuit maintenant avec activité. Nous avons vu paraître récemment trois *grammaires* dues à M. de Rougé, à M. Brugsch, et à M. Le Page Renouf.¹

" Quiconque ouvre ces *grammaires* sera frappé à première vue de l'immense différence qui existe entre les trois auteurs dans les principes qui sont à la base de leur analyse. Quoique le sens que les trois grammairiens donnent à une même phrase soit absolument identique, la manière dont ils rendent compte de l'emploi des mots et dont ils expliquent les formes grammaticales ne se ressemble nullement. Celle de M. Brugsch est la plus systématique. Pleine d'aperçus ingénieux et d'idées fines, elle essaie en vain de ramener la langue égyptienne aux cadres grammaticaux d'une langue sémitique

¹ Brugsch, *Grammaire hiéroglyphique contenant les principes généraux de la langue et de l'écriture sacrées des anciens Egyptiens, composée à l'usage des étudiants*. Leipzig, 1872.

E. de Rougé. *Chrestomathie égyptienne*. Abrégé grammatical, 1^{er} 2^e et 3^e fascicules. Paris 1867 à 1875.

Le Page Renouf. *An Elementary Grammar of the Ancient Egyptian Language*. London.

ou indogermanique. M. de Rougé cherche moins à donner des lois qu'à établir par des analyses serrées et complètes les divers emplois des mots ou des formes. M. Le Page Renouf renonce d'emblée à chercher le plan auquel il pourra adapter son système grammatical.

“Un exemple tiré de la théorie du verbe fera parfaitement comprendre ces trois tendances.

“M. Brugsch, traitant de la conjugaison, nous dit: ‘Le verbe égyptien, dans sa conjugaison, offre une forme active et une forme passive; de plus les modes de l’indicatif, du subjonctif, de l’optatif, de l’impératif, du participe, de l’infinitif. Quant aux temps, il faut reconnaître comme temps fondamentaux le présent, le passé et le futur. Mais il est impossible, dans l’état actuel de la science, de distinguer parmi les différentes formes du verbe égyptien les modifications spéciales du temps à choisir. Ce n’est que le sens général d’un texte étudié avec soin qui précise le choix du temps à traduire.’ Quand même la seconde partie de la phrase ébranle beaucoup la première, M. Brugsch n’hésite pas à nous donner un catalogue de 32 temps ou modes différents auxquels le verbe égyptien est soumis. M. de Rougé est beaucoup moins affirmatif. Il avoue dès le début que les formes des temps et des modes ne sont nullement essentielles au verbe. ‘La forme simple du radical, dit-il, dépourvue de toute addition, et représentant pour ainsi dire l’idée abstraite, est employée dans les discours pour des cas assez divers, et que nous sommes accoutumés à distinguer soigneusement dans nos grammaires. Soit par exemple le verbe *hu*, pousser, frapper; cette forme toute isolée pourra être rencontrée dans des phrases où l’on devra nécessairement traduire soit à l’indicatif: il frappe, il frappait, il a frappé, il avait frappé, il frappera, soit à l’impératif: frappe, soit à l’infinitif: frapper, ou au participe: frappant, quelquefois même au passif sans modification apparente. . . . Lorsque le radical s’adjoint les affixes pronominaux, cette union produit une conjugaison suffisamment déterminée quant à l’attribution personnelle de l’action, mais où la distinction des temps reste encore confuse.’ Voici maintenant M. Le Page Renouf qui

n'hésite pas à s'exprimer ainsi : 'The Egyptian verb expresses being or action, without any reference to time or to the conception of the speaker. It has no tenses, moods, voices, or conjugations. Even the personal endings, so indispensable to the Indo-European, and even to the Semitic verbs, are foreign to it. The pronominal suffixes, indeed, when appended to the verb, have the appearance of personal endings. They differ from these, however, in some essential respects.' Ici M. Le Page Renouf nous paraît être dans le vrai. Dans l'analyse de la langue égyptienne, nous devons dès l'abord rejeter la nomenclature grammaticale des langues sémitiques ou indogermaniques ; il s'agit de trouver quelque chose de nouveau. A l'heure qu'il est, le principe sur lequel devrait reposer une grammaire véritable de l'ancien égyptien est encore inconnu. On peut même se demander, si nous arriverons jamais à autre chose qu'à un catalogue de faits, dont nous ne pourrions pas plus déterminer les lois que celle de l'orthographe. N'oublions pas qu'il en est de la langue comme de la civilisation. Parvenue à un certain point de développement, elle s'est pour ainsi dire arrêtée ; et les modifications qu'elle a subies pendant plus de quatre mille ans qu'elle a duré, sont hors de proportion avec sa longue existence. Or ce degré de développement, auquel nous la connaissons et qu'elle n'a pas dépassé, est celui d'une langue, dans laquelle il existe encore de grandes imperfections ; ainsi le système de mots qui dans nos langues sert à exprimer les rapports des idées et des mots et que nous appelons conjonctions ou prépositions, tout cela n'existe pour ainsi dire pas, et doit être remplacé par des expressions verbales composées ; aussi voyons-nous que le copte a emprunté telles quelles la plupart des prépositions et des conjonctions de la langue grecque.

"Les travaux spéciaux sur certains points de grammaire n'ont pas manqué ; de nombreux articles ont été publiés par MM. Le Page Renouf, Maspero, Naville, Goodwin, Erman, dans les divers journaux mentionnés plus haut. M. Maspero,¹ en particulier, a étudié dans un travail étendu et

¹ Maspero. Des formes de la conjugaison en Egyptien antique, en démotique et en copte. Paris, 1871.

complet les différentes formes du verbe égyptien depuis la langue de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'au copte.

“La lexicographie égyptienne compte aussi quelques ouvrages nouveaux. Rien cependant n'égale encore le grand dictionnaire de M. Brugsch, dont l'achèvement remonte à huit années. Dans ce moment, M. Pierret,¹ conservateur du Louvre, publie un *Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique* qui, sous une forme plus abrégée que le précédent, doit réunir tous les mots de la langue égyptienne. Ce qui dans l'état actuel de la science est encore d'un grand secours, ce sont les glossaires mis à la fin d'un travail et qui donnent la liste de tous les passages où un mot se trouve. Sous ce rapport, l'index, que M. Stern a composé pour le grand papyrus Ebers, sera d'une utilité considérable. Il en est de même d'un travail tout récent que nous devons à un égyptologue norwégien M. Lieblein,² et qui nous fournit le relevé complet de tous les mots du Livre des Morts. Le même auteur nous avait donné précédemment un copieux dictionnaire des noms propres que l'on rencontre sur les monuments. Enfin, les personnes, qui ne sont pas à même de lire les hiéroglyphes trouveront un nombre considérable de renseignements puisés à bonne source dans le *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne* de M. Pierret.³

“Ce qui tient encore aujourd'hui la plus large place parmi les travaux des égyptologues, ce sont les traductions accompagnées d'un commentaire plus ou moins étendu. Il n'est guère d'égyptologue, qui n'en ait fourni quelques-uns.

“En Angleterre, MM. Birch, Goodwin, et Le Page Renouf sont des collaborateurs assidus de la *Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, des *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* et des *Records of the Past*. On trouvera dans ces recueils de nombreux fruits de l'activité infatigable de ces trois savants. Dr. Birch nous a donné des traductions de stèles de la XII^e dynastie, des grands textes historiques relatifs au roi Thothmès III., d'une inscription

¹ Pierret. *Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique*. Paris, 1875 et 1876.

² Lieblein. *Index alphabétique de tous les mots contenus dans le Livre des Morts*. Paris, 1875.—*Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques*. Christiania et Leipzig, 1871.

³ Pierret. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*. Paris.

dédicatoire d'un autel du temps du roi Horemheb, de l'inscription historique du roi Menephtah racontant l'invasion de l'Égypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée, de fragments du grand papyrus Harris, et d'autres encore que nous ne pouvons toutes énumérer.

"M. Goodwin nous a fait connaître d'intéressants textes tirés des nouvelles acquisitions du British Museum ; ainsi des *hymnes à Ammon-Ra*, le conte qu'il a nommé *the Tale of the doomed Prince*, quatre chants provenant d'un papyrus de la collection Harris. Il nous a donné aussi des traductions de textes déjà connus, tels que le traité de paix entre Ramsès II. et les Chétas.

"C'est à M. Le Page Renouf que nous devons une nouvelle traduction de l'intéressant roman *des deux frères*, et celle des *observations sidérales* tirées du tombeau de Ramsès X.

"En Angleterre aussi, le Rév. Canon Cook¹ s'est signalé par une remarquable traduction de l'importante inscription du roi Piankhi, et le Professeur Lushington par celle du fameux papyrus *Sallier II.* connu sous le nom de *poème de Pentaour*.

"En France, la science égyptologique qui a recruté dernièrement de jeunes et zélés disciples a vu paraître aussi de nombreux travaux. Le doyen actuel des égyptologues de France est M. Chabas, dont les travaux variés et étendus se sont attaqués à toutes les questions. Personne, sauf peut-être son collaborateur, M. Goodwin, n'a fait avancer autant l'étude des papyrus hiératiques. Les *Mélanges égyptologiques*,² arrivés maintenant à la 3^e série (1862 à 1873), sont un trésor de faits et de renseignements de toute espèce, tirés de l'étude des textes. Les travaux de M. Chabas resteront toujours des modèles de la méthode analytique et comparative, qui est le seul moyen d'arriver à l'intelligence véritable des textes. Dans son journal l'*Égyptologie*, M. Chabas interprète actuellement avec un commentaire très-détaillé, un papyrus du musée de Boulaq, les *Maximes du Scribe Ani*. Nous aurons

¹ Rev. Canon Cook. The Inscription of Pianchi Mer-Amon, King of Egypt. London, 1872.

² Chabas. Mélanges égyptologiques. Série 1 à 3.—L'Égyptologie. Série I. Les Maximes du Scribe Ani. Paris et Châlon-sur-Saône.

à revenir sur les travaux historiques de ce savant. Malgré les efforts considérables que lui imposent ses propres publications, M. Chabas n'a pas cessé d'envoyer de nombreuses contributions à la *Zeitschrift* de Berlin, et à la Société d'Archéologie biblique de Londres.

"Le successeur de M. de Rougé au Collège de France, M. Maspero,¹ est l'un des représentants les plus actifs de la jeune école. L'une de ses tentatives les plus hardies a été la traduction de la plupart des papyrus épistolaires publiés jusqu'ici. Nous ne pouvons qu'admirer la manière dont M. Maspero a réussi dans cette difficile entreprise. L'ouvrage qui en a été le résultat donne, même à ceux qui sont étrangers aux études égyptiennes, une idée très-vraie de la littérature familière de l'ancienne Egypte. Nous avons déjà mentionné d'autres publications de M. Maspero. La plus récente fait connaître certains papyrus du Louvre, en particulier un fragment du *Rituel de l'embaumement*. Dernièrement aussi, M. Maspero a abordé un sujet jusqu'ici trop négligé; il a traduit dans les *Records of the Past* plusieurs inscriptions de l'Ethiopie.

"M. Pierret² nous a fourni de bonnes traductions dans deux volumes d'*Etudes égyptologiques*, qui renferment surtout des documents inédits de la collection du Louvre.

"Tout en appréciant à leur juste valeur la sagacité et l'érudition qui se trouvent dans les *Etudes mythologiques* de M. Lefébure³ sur le mythe d'Osiris, il faut reconnaître, qu'il y a un certain danger à composer un système d'après des fragments de texte de provenance et de dates très-différentes. Une phrase détachée du contexte, et rapprochée de lambeaux d'une toute autre origine, risque de prendre un sens qui est très-loin de celui que lui donnaient les auteurs de l'inscription.

"M. Grébaut⁴ a fait paraître l'année passée le premier

¹ Maspero. Du genre épistolaire chez les Egyptiens de l'époque pharaonique (Biblioth. des Hautes-Etudes, 12^e fascicule).—Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre.

² Pierret. *Etudes égyptologiques*. Livr. 1 et 2.

³ Lefébure. Le mythe Osirien. Première partie: Les yeux d'Horus. Deuxième partie: Osiris (*Etudes égyptologiques*. Livr. 3 et 4).

⁴ Grébaut. Hymne à Ammon-Ra, traduit et commenté par Eug. Grébaut (Biblioth. des Hautes-Etudes, 21^e fasc.).

volume d'un ouvrage important sur un *hymne à Ammon-Ra*, dont l'original est déposé au musée de Boulaq; ce travail est destiné à nous donner à la fois un commentaire grammatical et mythologique sur le contenu de cet hymne. C'est, nous semble-t-il, la véritable méthode pour arriver à une connaissance exacte de la mythologie égyptienne, ce sujet si obscur et si compliqué. Le sens des mots une fois bien établi, les idées philosophiques peuvent en être déduites.

"C'est là aussi ce qu'a cherché l'auteur de cette revue dans son ouvrage de la *Litanie du Soleil*,¹ qui interprète et commente des inscriptions tirées des tombeaux des Rois.

"L'activité des égyptologues allemands ne s'est nullement relâchée. Une savante dissertation de M. Lepsius² a déterminé les noms des métaux dans l'ancien égyptien. M. Brugsch continue à enrichir la *Zeitschrift* de nombreux travaux, à lui communiquer des textes inédits, ou à traiter quelque point spécial de philologie, de géographie, ou d'autres encore. M. Dümichen, à qui la science doit des publications considérables qui remontent déjà à dix années, voyage en ce moment en Egypte, d'où il rapportera sans doute de nouvelles richesses. M. Eisenlohr, qui le premier a attiré l'attention sur certains passages historiques du grand papyrus Harris, l'a traduit d'un bout à l'autre dans la *Zeitschrift*.

"Nous devons à M. Ebers et à son collaborateur, M. Stern, la publication du grand papyrus, dont il a été parlé plus-haut.

"A Munich, M. Lauth, outre un certain nombre de mémoires sur une inscription de Cambyse, sur l'inscription du roi Piankhi, etc., a publié la traduction avec commentaire du *papyrus Prisse*.³ Ce texte, désigné quelquefois sous le nom du *plus ancien livre du monde*, présente de grandes difficultés. C'est l'un des plus anciens documents sur papyrus que nous possédions; nous y retrouvons la langue de l'Ancien-Empire. L'intérêt du sujet lui-même égale celui du langage. C'est un traité de morale. Il est évident que

¹ Naville, Ed. *La Litanie du Soleil*, inscriptions recueillies dans les tombeaux des rois à Thèbes, traduites et commentées par Ed. Naville. Leipzig, 1876.

² Lepsius. *Die Metalle in den ägyptischen Inschriften*.

³ Lauth. *Papyrus Prisse* (Extrait des Mém. de l'Acad. de Munich). Munich.

quand nous connaissons mieux les mots égyptiens désignant des idées abstraites, nous verrons bien des passages de cet important document s'éclairer d'un nouveau jour. La traduction de M. Lauth sera certainement d'un grand secours à ceux qui entreprendront de nouveau cette tâche difficile.

"Un égyptologue autrichien, M. Reinisch,¹ publie en ce moment une *chrestomathie* égyptienne qui devra être suivie d'une grammaire. Nous pouvons en attendre des résultats importants, M. Reinisch possédant une connaissance approfondie des langues africaines, dont la comparaison avec la langue égyptienne fournira sans doute des résultats curieux.

"Divers mémoires sont dus à la plume de M. Lieblein,² savant norwégien, qui vient de nous faire connaître et d'interpréter les principaux monuments des collections de la Russie et des pays Scandinaves.

"En Italie les études égyptologiques ont trouvé un représentant, M. F. Rossi, auteur de plusieurs dissertations sur les monuments du musée de Turin.

"La section chamitique du Congrès des Orientalistes réuni à Londres en 1874 s'est occupée de divers projets qui dès lors ont été mis à exécution.

"Elle a en premier lieu adopté un système de transcription, auquel presque tous les égyptologues se sont ralliés. On peut, il est vrai, faire à ce système certaines critiques; il eût mieux valu, peut-être, ne pas emprunter des caractères à l'alphabet grec; mais tel qu'il est, c'est de beaucoup le plus simple, et celui qui répond le mieux à la valeur phonétique des lettres égyptiennes. Il sera toujours fort difficile de trouver un système de transcription complet pour une langue, où il n'y a pas d'orthographe, et où le même mot peut être écrit de différentes manières.

"A cette occasion, M. Stern a été chargé de faire la collection complète de tous les signes hiéroglyphiques, qui se trouvent sur les monuments. Ce travail qui n'a encore jamais été entrepris, sera la base de la paléographie égypt-

¹ Reinisch. *Aegyptische Chrestomathie*. 1^{re} et 2^e livr. Vienne.

² Lieblein. *Die aegyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsinki, Upsala, und Copenhagen*.—Christiania.

tienne; il serait désirable que l'auteur y joignît les correspondants hiératiques de chaque hiéroglyphe aux diverses époques.

“Enfin il a été décidé qu'on entreprendrait la publication complète du *Livre des Morts*, cette partie si importante de la littérature égyptienne. Jusqu'ici ce livre était connu et cité d'après un papyrus de Turin, publié par M. Lepsius en 1842. Plus récemment, le même auteur avait fait paraître des fragments de ce livre peints sur des sarcophages de la 12^e dynastie, et la comparaison des deux textes avait montré quelle importance il y aurait à remonter aux versions anciennes de ce livre, et à faire connaître, en particulier, les papyrus de l'époque thébaine, dont un seul jusqu'à présent, appartenant au musée du Louvre, a été publié par M. Pierret.¹ Le travail voté par le Congrès a été commencé l'année suivante. Chargé spécialement des travaux préliminaires de cette grande édition, j'ai déjà rassemblé les documents qui se trouvent à Berlin, à Leyde et à Londres. Le comité de quatre personnes, qui dirige cette publication, a demandé par une circulaire qui a paru dans divers journaux, qu'on voulût bien lui indiquer les documents dont l'existence n'est pas connue et qui pourraient être utiles à cette publication.

“Nous ne pouvons pas clore cette revue sans mentionner plusieurs travaux historiques. Aussi bien tout est si intimément lié, qu'on ne peut pas faire de catégories absolues. Il y a tel mémoire sur une inscription historique, dont le commentaire et l'interprétation fournissent les renseignements les plus importants au point de vue grammatical. Citons en premier lieu les *Études sur l'antiquité historique*,² et les *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la xix^e dynastie*, de M. Chabas. Ces ouvrages également remarquables sortent du cercle étroit des égyptologues; ils contiennent cependant une foule de renseignements lin-

¹ Le papyrus de Neb Qed, reproduit, décrit et précédé d'une introduction mythologique par T. Devéria avec la traduction du texte par M. Pierret.

² Chabas. *Études sur l'antiquité historique*. Châlon-sur-Saône, 1872.—*Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la xix^e dynastie*. Châlon-sur-Saône, 1873.

guistiques dans les traductions, qu'ils renferment, et les discussions critiques ou grammaticales dont ils abondent.

"L'histoire égyptienne pure a été abordée par trois auteurs, par M. Brugsch d'abord, qui a publié à nouveau la première partie de son *Histoire d'Égypte*,¹ par Dr. Birch,² qui dans un manuel commode et à la hauteur des dernières découvertes, résume les longues annales des Pharaons, et par M. Maspero,³ dont le *Manuel d'histoire ancienne* ne s'arrête pas à l'Égypte, mais passant tour à tour de l'une des nations à l'autre, est destiné à nous montrer la marche simultanée de la civilisation dans les divers royaumes de l'Ancien Orient.

"À côté de l'histoire, la géographie de l'Égypte a trouvé un savant représentant en M. Jacques de Rougé, qui publie dans la *Revue archéologique* les *textes géographiques* du temple d'Edfou. Le même auteur, reprenant les travaux de Zoega et de Tochon, s'est occupé de la numismatique égyptienne,⁴ sujet que M. Huber de Vienne⁵ a également abordé.

"Les études démotiques ont toujours été un peu négligées par les égyptologues, en grande partie à cause du peu d'intérêt des textes démotiques, qui pour la plupart sont des contrats de vente ou des ouvrages de magie. Cependant dernièrement M. Mariette a publié un texte considérable d'un caractère très-différent: le roman de Setnau, qui, traduit d'abord en français par M. Brugsch, l'a été de nouveau en anglais par M. Le Page Renouf dans les *Records of the Past*. Nous devons aussi à la plume de M. Eisenlohr⁶ une nouvelle analyse du texte démotique de l'inscription de Rosette.

"La dernière transformation de l'égyptien, le copte, est l'objet d'études très-approfondies dues à M. Révillout,⁷ conservateur-adjoint du musée du Louvre. M. Révillout

¹ Brugsch. *Histoire d'Égypte* dès les premiers temps de son existence.

² Birch. *Egypt from the Earliest Times to a.c. 300*. London, 1875.

³ Maspero. *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*. Paris, 1875.

⁴ J. de Rougé. *Monnaies des Nomes de l'Égypte*. Paris, 1873.

⁵ Huber. *Zur alten Numismatik Aegyptens*.

⁶ Eisenlohr. *Analytische Erklärung des demotischen Theiles der Rosettana*.

⁷ Révillout. *Vie et sentences de Secundus*, d'après divers manuscrits orientaux. Paris, 1873.—*Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes coptes*. Paris, 1873.—*Mémoire sur les Blemmyes, à-propos d'une inscription copte trouvée à Dendour*. Paris, 1874.

a déjà publié un mémoire sur les *Blemmyes*, des actes du concile de Nicée, une dissertation sur le philosophe Secundus ; et il nous annonce des textes coptes inédits fort importants, qu'il a recueillis dans divers musées d'Europe. Un jeune Egyptien, M. Kabis, publie maintenant dans la *Zeitschrift* un supplément au *dictionnaire copte* de Peyron.

"Tels sont, autant qu'il est possible de les résumer en quelques pages, les principales publications qui ont signalé les cinq ou six dernières années. A voir le grand développement qu'ont acquis les études égyptiennes, l'accroissement dans le nombre des travailleurs, nous pouvons compter sur un avenir prospère. Que mes savants confrères me pardonnent, si embarrassé par tant de richesses, j'ai omis quelque travail, qu'ils se seraient attendus à voir figurer dans cette revue."

TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

When my friend Dr. Kölbing, of Breslau, was in London a month or two ago, I seized the opportunity of securing him as a contributor to this Address, and he most readily consented to review for us the latest and most important advances in Teutonic philology ; and I need hardly say how pleased I am to have the assistance of such a competent scholar as the author of "*Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Englischen und Nordischen Literatur.*"

"As it would not be according to the nature of these reports to give a complete catalogue of all the publications in the department of German philology during 1874 and 1875, it will be quite sufficient to refer the reader to the most accurate lists which Prof. Bartsch furnishes every year in his *Germania* ; here I only intend to mention the most important works in the different branches.

"To begin with our periodicals, it must be observed that schools or philological sects nowhere render themselves so conspicuous as in German philology. To the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, founded by Moriz Haupt, edited

now by Prof. Steinmeyer at Strassburg, was added last year an *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Literatur*, the reviews which it contains being almost without exception composed by Prof. W. Scherer, Steinmeyer, and their comparatively speaking very young disciples. This leads me to speak of another series of essays, bearing the title *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, the publication of which is superintended by W. Scherer and B. ten Brink. The contents of this collection, which is still in progress, are given below,¹ and show that it comprises many interesting papers, not only composed by their adherents, but also containing contributions from other learned men. Still, this school, to which a great many Germanists belong, is far from being supreme in Germany; the newly-founded journal, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, published by H. Paul and W. Braune, of which two volumes have made their appearance, contains several essays of importance, directed against the principles and opinions of Lachmann, Müllenhoff, Scherer, and their followers. Frommann's journal, *Die deutschen Mundarten*,² given up long since, has happily begun to reappear, and our two other periodicals, *Germania*, founded by the late Franz Pfeiffer, now edited by K. Bartsch, and the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, are still getting on very well; while a third

¹ I. Geistliche Poeten der deutschen Kaiserzeit. Studien. I. Heft. Zu Genesis u. Exodus. Von W. Scherer.—II. Briefe von und an Joh. Georg Jacobi. Hrsg. von E. Martin.—III. Ueber die sanctgallischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Tode Karls des Grossen, von Rud. Henning.—IV. Reinmar von Hagenau und Heinr. von Rugge. Eine literarhist. Untersuchung von Erich Schmidt.—V. Die Vorreden Friedrich des Grossen zur *Histoire de mon temps*. Von Wilh. Wiesgand.—VI. Strassburgs Blüthe und die volkwirthschaftliche Revolution im XIII. Jahrh. Von Gustav Schmoller.—VII. Geistliche Poeten der deutschen Kaiserzeit. Studien von W. Scherer. 2 Heft. Drei Sammlungen geistlicher Gedichte.—VIII. *Ecbasis captivi*, das älteste Thiëpos des M.A. Hrsg. von Ernst Voigt.—IX. Ueber Ulrich von Lichtenstein. Hist. und litterar. Untersuchungen von Karl Knorr.—X. Ueber den Stil der altgerm. Poesie. Von Rich. Heinzel.—XI. Strassburg zur Zeit der Zunftkämpfe und die Reform seiner Verfassung und Verwaltung im 15. Jahrh. Von G. Schmoller.—XII. Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung im 11. und 12. Jahrh. Von W. Scherer.—XIII. Die Nominal-suffixe *s* und *4* in den germ. Sprachen. Von Heinr. Zimmer.

² *Die deutschen Mundarten*, *Zeitschrift für Dichtung, Forschung und Kritik*, herausgegeben von Dr. G. Karl Frommann. VII. Bd. Neuer Folge Erster Band. Heft I. Halle, 1876.

promising new journal, *Archiv für die Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Dichtung*, published by J. M. Wagner at Vienna, unfortunately did not outlast the second volume.

"As regards grammatical works, E. Förstemann, the well-known author of the '*Namenbuch*,' is engaged on an important *Geschichte des deutschen Sprachstammes* (Nordhausen, 1874 ff.), the first two volumes of which are finished. Of A. Holtzmann's *Old-German Grammar*, the second half of the first volume has been edited by A. Holder after the author's death.¹ A posthumous work of H. Rückert is his *Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache*, the second volume of which appeared a few months ago. R. Heinzel has written a *Geschichte der niederfränkischen Geschäftssprache* (Paderborn, 1874), to which some grammatical articles of general interest have been added. I may mention amongst them a treatise on the West-German vowels, and another on the so-called '*Lautverschiebung*.' E. Sievers has presented to students of Old-German tongues a useful collection of German paradigms, containing only forms really to be found in the authors.²

"As for articles treating of some one or other grammatical question, it may be noticed in general that now-a-days an inclination is to be observed to contradict some of the fundamental principles of comparative grammar laid down by Bopp and Grimm. I will chiefly mention two treatises of W. Begemann, *Das schwache Praeteritum der germanischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1873), and *Zur Bedeutung des schwachen Praeteritums der germanischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1874), which, though sagaciously written, are far from being generally approved in Germany. The same is to be said with reference to a paper as to the origin of the German *a*-vowels,³ composed by a lately deceased scholar, Prof. Amelung, of Freiburg. A. Bezzen-

¹ *Altdeutsche Grammatik, umfassend die gothische, altnordische, altsächsische, angelsächsische und althochdeutsche Sprache*. I. Bd. 2 Abth. *Vergleichung der deutschen Laute unter einander*. Leipzig, 1876.

² *Paradigmen zur deutschen Grammatik Gotisch, Altnordisch, Angelsächsisch, Altsächsisch, Althochdeutsch, Mittelhochdeutsch*. Zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen zusammengestellt. Halle, 1874.

³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, vol. xviii. pp. 161-220.

berger¹ has furnished new arguments for the undoubtedly true assertion, known by the name of 'Müllenhoff's Regel,' though first put forth by Jessen,² that the Old-High-German *e* and *o*, as far as they are derived from original *a*, represent an earlier formation of this vowel than the *Mæso-Gothic* *i* and *u*. A closely related subject has been treated by a young Swedish philologist, L. F. Leffler, in his *Bidrag till läran om i-omljudet med särskild hänsyn till tiden för den germaniska språkenheten*.³ A very valuable contribution to O.H.G. syntax has been given by O. Erdmann's *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, although we do not agree with his opinion concerning the formation of the German relative periods.⁴

"Passing now to the dictionaries, the first notice is due to the famous German dictionary, begun by the two Grimms, which is in a slow course of publication, though three excellent philologists, R. Hildebrand, M. Heyne, and K. Weigand, are engaged on the work. Still, considering what an enormous task there is to be fulfilled, we must be quite content to get this valuable book by and by. German scholars are very much interested in the department of lexicography. L. Diefenbach and E. Wülcker have commenced a supplement to Grimm's great work,⁵ the materials being taken especially from unprinted archives in the different museums. A. Lübben is hard at work on the Middle-Low-German dictionary, which he is to complete alone, his fellow-labourer, K. Schiller, having died. The great want of a handy Middle-High-German dictionary is now being supplied by Prof. Lexer's accurate work,⁶ of which the second and concluding part is about to be finished.

¹ Ueber die *A*-Reihe der gotischen Sprache. Göttingen, 1874.

² *Tidskr. for phil. og. pæd.* vol. i. 1860, p. 217 f.

³ *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi og Pæd.* Ny Række. vol. ii. pp. 1-19 and 146-180.

⁴ See my article, *Zur Entstehung der Relativsätze in den germ. Sprachen*, in *Germania*, vol. xxi. pp. 28-40.

⁵ *Hoch- und niederdeutsches Wörterbuch der mittleren und neueren Zeit. Zur Ergänzung der vorhandenen Wörterbücher, insbesondere des der Brüder Grimm.* Frankfurt-a.-Main, 1874 ff.

⁶ *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch. Zugleich als Supplement und alphabetischer Index zum m.h.d. Wörterbuche von Benecke-Müller-Zarncke.* Leipzig, 1874.

Lastly, we must not forget to add, that of Schade's very useful Old-German dictionary a second edition is in the press.

"We come now to productions in the department of the history of literature. In the first place I refer to the aforementioned books of W. Scherer, *Geistliche Poeten*, etc., and *Gesch. d. deutschen Dichtung*, etc., which, though not offering indisputable results throughout, abound in acute observations and useful hints, to be more completely elaborated by others. More widely known, of course, are the same author's *Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Oesterreich und Deutschland* (Berlin, 1874). E. Schönbach has by his monograph, *Ueber die Marienklagen* (Graz, 1874), furnished a valuable contribution to the history of the clerical drama. Prof. Zarncke has made inquiries as to the origin of the legend concerning the presbyter John,¹ and G. Koerting has been successful—at least in my opinion—in showing² that there was once a more complete recension of Dares Phrygius' *De excidio Trojæ historia* than we now possess, used by some of those poets in the middle ages who treated the same subject, and this observation has been strengthened by J. Jäckel's inaugural dissertation, *Dares Phrygius und Benoit de Sainte-More* (Breslau, 1875). Before concluding this part of my report, I will mention a Norwegian scholar's book, G. Storm's *Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrik af Bern hos de nordiske Folk* (Kristiania, 1874), on which the writer of these remarks has contributed a long and, as was proper, favourable review to the 20th volume of Bartsch's *Germania*.

"As to metrical questions, K. Hildebrand has given an exhaustive account³ of the division of the lines in the so-called Edda-poems; this article being important, not only for this collection, of which he prepared a new edition for

¹ *Commentatio de patriarcha Johanne quasi præcursore presbyteri Johannis. —Commentatio de epistola, quæ sub nomine presbyteri Johannis fertur. —Commentatio de epistola Alexandri pape III. ad presbyterum Johannem. Lipsiæ, 1875.*

² *Dictys und Dares. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Trojasage in ihrem Uebergange aus der antiken in die romantische Form. Halle, 1874.*

³ *Ztschr. f. deutsche Phil. Ergänzungsband. pp. 74–139. Halle, 1875.*

the press, but for the principles of alliterative poetry in general, as has been recently acknowledged by M. Rieger in his excellent paper, *Die alt- und angelsächsische Verskunst*.¹

"We now turn to the literature of the various Old-German dialects. To Ernst Bernhardt we are indebted for a new edition of *Vulfila*, together with a Greek text in a form as similar as possible to that which was probably used by the translator.² W. Braune, well known in this same department by his dissertation, *Ueber die Quantität des althochdeutschen Endsilben*,³ has brought out a very serviceable manual for scholars in Old-High-German, containing numerous specimens of the different dialects.⁴ E. Sievers has republished the O.H.G. translation of Latin hymns, preserved in a MS. of the Bodleian Library.⁵ K. Weinhold has enlarged *Schöningh's Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler* by a new edition of the German fragments of the tractate of Isidorus de fide Catholica contra Judaeos, accompanied by a very accurate grammar and glossary. In a review of this handy edition, I have communicated⁶ the results of my collation of the MS. in the National Library at Paris. A precious fragment of the O.H.G. translation of the evangile of Matthew has been published by E. Friedländer and J. Zacher, together with a handsome facsimile.⁷ Zarncke has edited some Latin versions of the legend of Saint George in the *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, in order to find the original of the O.H.G. 'Georgsleich,' the metrical construction of which he considers to be much earlier. Henning's essay, *Ueber die Sanctgallischen Sprachdenkmäler*, has already been mentioned.

"The last work of the late Prof. H. Rückert is an edition of the *Heliand* for Pfeiffer's [now Bartsch's] collection,

¹ *Ztschr. f. deutsche Philologie*, Bd. vii. pp. 1-64.

² *Vulfila oder die gotische Bibel*, herausgegeben und erklärt. Halle, 1875.

³ *Paul und Braune's Beiträge* vol. ii. pp. 125-167.

⁴ *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch mit erklärenden Anmerkungen und Glossar*. Halle, 1874.

⁵ *Murbacher Hymnen*. Nach der Handschrift herausgegeben von E. Sievers. Mit zwei lithographischen Facsimiles. Halle, 1874.

⁶ *Germania*, vol. xx. pp. 378-81.

⁷ *Ztschr. f. deutsche Phil.* vol. v. pp. 381 ff.

which is just now making its appearance; of this edition the explanations will certainly form the most valuable part, whilst another new edition, prepared by E. Sievers, will be an important one in reference to critical points; a part of his prolegomena to it is printed in *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterth.* vol. xix. pp. 1-76.

"Passing over to Middle-High-German literature, I will first mention K. Weinhold's *Mittelhochdeutsches Lesebuch, mit einer Grammatik des Mittelhochdeutschen und einem glossar*, the third edition of which (Wien, 1875) is a witness to its usefulness.

"The inquiries about the 'Nibelungenlied' are already forming a whole literature in itself; it is the merit of a young scholar, H. Fischer, to have given, in a clear and sound manner, a summary of them in a separate volume;¹ his own opinions agree closely with those of Bartsch, explained in his *Untersuchungen über das Nibelungenlied* (Wien, 1865). At the same time there has appeared another essay by Vollmöller,² who tries to make out that the 'Kürenberger' cannot be the author of the *Nibelungenlied*. For further discussions connected with these two books I add some references below.³ The 'Nibelungenklage' has recently been edited twice, by K. Bartsch and by E. Edzardi, the last being the completest as regards its critical apparatus. The 'Rolandslied' has been published by K. Bartsch as a part of his series. With respect to the later literature, J. Strobl has brought out an edition of *Heinr. von Neustadt's Apollonius*, and E. Sievers has published the *Mitteldeutsche Schachbuch des Pfarrers zum Hechte*. The life of Hartmann of Aue has been reconsidered by H. Schreyer,⁴ L. Schmid,⁵ and H. Paul;⁶ the same genial

¹ *Die Forschungen über das Nibelungenlied seit Karl Lachmann.* Leipzig, 1874.

² *Kürenberg und die Nibelungen.* Nebst einem Anhang: *Der von Kürnberg.* Herausgegeben von K. Simrock. Stuttgart, 1874.

³ See *Germania*, vol. xix. p. 352 ff., xx, 111 ff. *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Alterth.* xvii., 561-81, xviii., 150 ff. *Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn.* xxv., 5.

⁴ *Untersuchungen über das Leben und die Dichtungen Hartmanns von Aue.* Naumburg, 1874.

⁵ *Des Minnesängers Hartmann von Aue Stand, Heimat und Geschlecht.* Eine kritisch historische Untersuchung. Mit einem Wappenbilde. Tübingen, 1875.

⁶ *Beiträge*, vol. i. p. 535 ff.

author has very carefully examined the MSS. of Hartmann's Iwein, and added a detailed review of Lachmann's famous edition of this work;¹ at the same time we are indebted to him for many suggestive remarks concerning Wolfram's Parzival and the Minnesinger.² Of Benecke's valuable dictionary to Hartmann's Iwein, we have now a second edition, revised by E. Wilken.

"As for Dutch, Prof. Martin, of Prag, has presented us with a very good edition of Willems poem, *Van den vos Reinaerde*.³

"That German philologists have been latterly busying themselves very much about Middle-Low-German language and literature is evident, both by the dictionary already noticed, and also by the foundation of a society for Low-German philology.

"Passing over to English philology, as far as it is a subject of research in Germany, it must be confessed that the studies of historical English grammar and of the earlier English literature have not yet gained everywhere the same place which a good many years ago was assigned to French. Shakespeare certainly is carefully studied; but at very few of our universities have lectures upon Chaucer been delivered until lately. Still we are getting on gradually in this department; special professorships for English or for North-German languages have been instituted in Vienna, Halle, Berlin, Leipzig, partly connected with English seminaries, where the students have opportunities of treating critically the old authors, and, at the same time, of acquiring practice in speaking English. The two Old English readers published in Germany were mentioned in the report of last year (p. 168); Zupitza's *Altenglisches Uebungsbuch* is a valuable collection for university lectures; while R. Wülcker's *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, only the first half of which has been brought out up to the present time, is more adapted for private studies, for which purpose the copious notes and the glossary are useful additions.⁴

¹ *Beiträge*, vol. i. pp. 288-401.

² *Beiträge*, vol. ii.

³ *Willems Gedicht van den vos Reinaerde und die Umarbeitung und Fortsetzung, Reinaerts Historie*. Paderborn, 1874.

⁴ See my review of both books, *Germania*, vol. xx. pp. 360-72.

"The second edition of Mätzner's famous English Grammar is now complete; but of his glossary, forming the second part of his 'Sprachproben,' only four thin volumes are published. C. Horstmann is very zealous in printing Old English legends, which he has selected for his special department; besides some printed in periodicals, he has edited a separate volume under the title *Altenglische Legenden*. *Kindheit Jesu*. *Geburt Jesu*. *Barlaam und Josaphat*. *St. Patrik's Fegefeuer* (Paderborn, 1875), to which is added a useful, although not quite complete, description of the different manuscripts. His editions are very accurately done; but it is to be regretted that he never gives himself the trouble of examining the connexion of these poems with other versions of the same legends both in English and in foreign literatures.

"I have hardly any need to mention a work, almost as highly appreciated in England as in Germany, Alex. Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, which was finished a short time ago. Our 'Shakespeare-Jahrbuch' is still in progress. Amongst the publications dealing with single dramas I may mention Messmer's¹ translation of *Macbeth*, not so much in reference to the way in which the original is dealt with, though the style is very uninviting, as to the notes, which contain many new explanations.

"Lastly I call the English reader's attention to some essays inserted in our periodicals. Prof. Schipper has communicated the results of his very accurate collation of the so-called Exeter-book, in Germ. vol. xix. pp. 32ff. K. Regel has given a full account of the remains of alliteration to be found in Layamon,² and F. Lindner has treated the same subject for Chaucer's works.³ K. Bøddeker has published English songs and ballads of the sixteenth century, from a MS. in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum.⁴ R. Wülcker has given a summary of the so-called New Anglo-

¹ Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, übersetzt und kritisch beleuchtet. München, 1875.

² Bartsch's *Germanistische Studien*, vol. i.

³ *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Literatur*, vol. xiv.

⁴ *Jahrbuch für rom. und englische Lit.* vol. xiv. and xv.

Saxon literature; the same author has written Ueber die neu-angelsächsischen Sprüche des Königs Aelfred, and Ueber die Sprache der Ancren Riwe und die der Homilie Hali Maidenhad.¹ As for this last-named paper, I am quite sure that Wülcker is right in supposing the Ancren Riwe and Hali Maidenhad were written by different authors, from the differences in the style; but I do not believe that we may be allowed, with Wülcker, to conclude that, if two works are by accident preserved in different dialects, they cannot be written by the same author. Of Prof. Zupitza's edition of the Middle English versions of Guy of Warwick, the first volume, containing the greater part of one, but not of the oldest version, has now appeared. The same learned writer published some years ago an interesting essay, Zur Literaturgeschichte des Guy of Warwick (Wien, 1873), wherein he tried to prove that the different versions are so many different translations. I am not absolutely convinced that he is right. In reference to Mr. H. Sweet's History of English Sounds, Prof. ten Brink has contributed some remarks, Zum englischen Vokalismus, to the Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. xix. pp. 211-28, and Zupitza has written a review of the latest publications of the Early English Text Society in the above-mentioned Anzeiger, vol. i. p. 116 ff. Lastly I may mention that the results of my inquiries as to the English versions of the legend of Theophilus and Pope Gregory, as well as of Partonopeus de Blois, are printed in my Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters (Breslau, 1876).

"To conclude with Old-Northern, we must first of all mention the inestimable 'Icelandic-English Dictionary, based on the MS. Collections of the late Richard Cleasby, enlarged and completed by Guðbrand Vigfússon.' For this excellent work we are indebted as much to the indefatigable zeal of G. Vigfússon as to the Clarendon Press, which has published this voluminous book.

¹ Beiträge von P. u. Br. vol. i.

"Germans are still much interested in the so-called Sæmunds-Edda. Prof. Bergmann, at Strassburg, the oldest Edda-scholar in the southern part of Europe, continues publishing commentaries for single Edda-poems.¹ His explanations are both sagacious and ingenious, but his method of treating the text is not always a philological one, and he does not sufficiently consider the literature connected with his subjects.

"Although a second revised edition of Grundtvig's Sæmundar-Edda has appeared (Kopenhagen, 1874), a good one was much needed for German scholars. Therefore, as K. Hildebrand, whose early death is much to be lamented, a scholar of Prof. Zarncke, was prevented from finishing his, Prof. Möbius has published the first part of this valuable work, containing only the text and critical notes; explanatory notes and glossary are still wanting. Another work, Prof. Holtzmann's Lectures on the Edda, published by A. Holder,² unfortunately does not make any addition to our knowledge of the subject. Besides these books, mention should be made of Ettmüller's Beiträge zur Kritik der Eddalieder, which appeared in Bartsch's Germania since 1869. Though these contributions contain some perfectly acceptable corrections, their value in general is not very high, because the author takes no notice of the Edda-literature since 1859.

"Two splendid publications by Prof. Möbius must not be left unmentioned: Islendingadrápa Hauks Valdisarsonar,³ a Scaldic poem of the thirteenth century, composed in honour of the Icelandic heroes of the olden time; and Málsháttakvæði,⁴ a very interesting poem of the beginning of the same century, consisting of Icelandic proverbs, and short allusions to heroes and facts well known to every Icclander.

¹ Vielgewandts Sprüche und Groa's Zaubersang. (Fiðlavinnsnial-Gróugald), zwei norränische Gedichte der Sæmunds-Edda. Kritisch hergestellt, übersetzt und erklärt von F. W. Bergmann. Strassburg, 1874. (See my review in Germ. vol. xix. pp. 363-69.) Weggewohnt's Lied (Vegtams Kvæða). Der Odins Raben Orakelsang (Hrafna galdur Odins) und Der Seherin Voraussicht (Völuspá). Drei eschatologische Gedichte der Sæmunds-Edda. Kritisch hergestellt, übersetzt und erklärt von F. W. Bergmann. Strassburg, 1875.

² Die ältere Edda übersetzt und erklärt. Vorlesungen von Adolf Holtzmann. Hrag. von Alfred Holder. Leipzig, 1875.

³ Kiel, 1874.

⁴ Ztschr. f. deutsche Phil. Ergänzungsbd., 3-72.

"I conclude this report by mentioning an account given by myself of the Old-Icelandic rimur-poetry in my *Beiträge*, etc., pp. 137-241, where I have tried to prove that these poems, composed after earlier prose-works, often help us to amend corrupt passages in the originals, or serve as substitutes for them if, as often happens, the earlier versions are no longer in existence."

The several reports we have just had the pleasure of listening to are eminently satisfactory, proving as they do the incessant activity of the comparatively small band of students who are devoting themselves to linguistic pursuits as the great work of their lives, and showing also the vast extent of the subjects embraced by their investigations. It is pleasing to think of the thoroughness that characterizes all recent philological research, one of the results of that division of labour in philology which is so very necessary to a comprehensive and scientific treatment of linguistic phenomena.

We must not imagine that even the greatest philologist can exhaust the subject or subjects with which he is dealing. There will always be something left to glean even after the richest harvests of others; but we must not be afraid of the drudgery and toil that such work necessarily entails. Work well done is never useless or worthless, whether it be restricted to collecting and arranging linguistic facts, or to tracing the history of a word or explaining the use of a particle. It is one advantage of a Society like our own that it helps to train philologists by the encouragement it gives to students disposed to take up work that has been either imperfectly done or altogether untouched; and there is plenty of both kinds awaiting those who have the taste and leisure for such useful labour. It must not be forgotten that it is the patient and painstaking worker who comes upon the discovery of some great law or principle in science which constitutes the reward of his industry and perseverance, but is seldom or never the mere result of his looking out for it.

We want to know, of course, what others as well as our-

selves are doing in linguistic research ; and since chronicling the doings of others is by no means an easy task, we cannot but feel grateful to those who have undertaken to furnish us with what hereafter will be looked upon as material towards a history of philological science. To the distinguished scholars and friends who have so willingly and so generously aided me by their contributions to this year's Address, I offer my most cordial thanks for their valuable support on this occasion. I am quite sure, too, that I shall be justified in conveying to each of them the appreciation of all our members for their disinterested labours, and in expressing, from this Chair, the very great obligations under which they have placed the Society by their valuable and interesting memoirs, which will become part and parcel of our Transactions, and will add no little value to our own humble efforts.

I must not, however, forget to thank one, who, you will agree with me, has the best interests of this Society at heart. I need hardly say that I mean my kind and valued friend Mr. Furnivall, our worthy Hon. Sec., who has clung to the Society through long years of good and bad report, and who is always ready with his advice and his assistance.

To the Council and Members of the Society my best thanks are due, no less for their confidence and support than for their indulgence and forbearance with my various shortcomings and deficiencies. Unfortunately, I have not filled this Chair so often at our meetings as I could have wished, owing to numerous duties that fall to my lot to perform and to the little leisure at my disposal ; and I feel assured that you might have chosen as your representative some other member of our Society who would have supported this honourable office with greater dignity and ability than I could possibly do. I take comfort, however, from the fact that I have done my best to merit your approbation, and however unworthy may be the object of your choice, I am consoled by the reflections of the old Indian moralist, whose words seem to furnish a very appropriate explanation of my present position and relation towards you. Has not Vishnu-

Samson said—and who shall dare gainsay him?—that “Glass, from the contiguity of gold, acquires an emerald lustre; so by the proximity of the excellent a fool attains to cleverness. . . . Even an insect, by connexion with a flower, ascends the head of excellent persons. Even a stone attains divinity when consecrated by the great.”

VIII.—ENGLISH METRE. By PROFESSOR J. B. MAYOR.

HAVING in my former paper examined the two metrical systems which seemed to be most fully elaborated and put forward with most authority, and also to stand highest in general estimation at the present time, I proceed now to give the outlines of what I hold to be a simpler and more natural system. I do not give it as anything new. What I should claim for it is that it is the ordinary common-sense system, cleared from the pedantry which has sometimes accompanied it. As I go along I shall hope to consider any objections to which it is liable.

The first two questions which a writer on metre should answer are, What is the distinction between verse and prose? and How are the different kinds of verse to be classified?

As regards the first, I suppose all would agree in saying that, in English, verse differed from prose in regularity of accentuation. Where the accent recurs in obedience to a definite law, there we have verse. And the kinds of verse are classified according to the intervals which separate the accents, and according as the rhythm is ascending, *i.e.* passing from an unaccented to an accented syllable, or descending, *i.e.* passing from an accented to an unaccented syllable. We thus get the four simplest kinds of metres, ascending disyllabic, descending disyllabic, ascending trisyllabic, and descending trisyllabic: the metres commonly known as iambic, trochaic, anapaestic, dactylic.

Here I am aware that I enter on debated ground. Mr. Ellis, in the course of his great work on English pronunciation, proposes to consider what light is thrown upon the pronunciation of Shakspeare's time by an examination of the

rhymes, the accents, and the number of syllables admitted in his verse. While acknowledging the value of Dr. Abbott's investigations, he is on the whole opposed both to his general conclusions, and to some of his special applications. Thus he asserts that "the whole subject of English metres requires re-investigation on the basis of accent." "The old names of measures borrowed from Latin prosodists are entirely misleading, and the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practised by poets."

There are three points here for discussion: Are the classical names to be given up? Is the routine scansion unknown to poets? Is it, in any case, of use in the interests of education and science? I cannot myself see that the use of the terms 'iambic,' etc., is misleading. No one imagines that they imply that English metre rests on a quantitative basis. The notion of quantity altogether seems to me rather a puzzle to English people; they know what a long vowel is, but I doubt whether they would recognize a long syllable such as 'strength' where the vowel was short; while accent, on the other hand, is perfectly clear to them. Again, it cannot be denied that there is to the ear a strong resemblance between the rhythm of the English accentual and the Greek quantitative iambics and trochaics, and it is certainly more convenient to speak of iambic than of ascending disyllabic. The only other way in which I could imagine the term misleading, would be if any one were to suppose that the rules of the Greek metre were applicable in the English; but this is so easily corrected that it hardly seems worth notice.

As to the second point, whether the routine scansion has ever been known to poets, *i.e.* whether poets have ever kept strictly to the metre in their practice, my own knowledge of the past history of English rhythm is not sufficient to enable me to speak positively; but I gathered from what was said in the discussion which followed on my last paper, that Chaucer's verse was considered to be of this character, and certainly the verse of the eighteenth century is not far

removed from it. Be this as it may, I think it is impossible for the routine scansion to die out as long as there are children and common people, and poetry which commends itself to them. And I would also venture to say that it *ought* not to die out as long as there are scientific men who will endeavour to bring clearness and precision into our notions about poetry as about other things. Routine scansion is the natural form of poetry to a child, as natural to it as the love of sweet things or bright colours: it is only through the routine scansion that its ear can be educated to appreciate in time a more varied and complex rhythm. No one who knows children can doubt this. I speak feelingly, as I have vainly endeavoured to counteract this propensity to routine scansion in a little boy of my own, who is very fond of poetry, but in spite of all my efforts to make him observe the true verbal accents and the stops, and attend to the meaning and logic of the line, he insists on singing it to a chant of his own, disregarding everything but the metrical accent, and is made quite unhappy if I compel him to say or read it like prose. At last I have given in, and am inclined to think that he has got the right sense of the *μήνιν ἄειδε*, and “*arma cano*,” that the earliest recitation of poetry was really what we should consider a childish sing-song. This becomes still more probable when we remember that music and dancing were frequent accompaniments of the earliest kinds of poetry, the effect of which would undoubtedly be to emphasize and regulate the beats or accents of the line; just as in church-singing now the verbal accent is ignored if it is opposed to the general rhythmical character of the verse.

But even independently of the natural instinct of children to scan, it seems to me that we need the division of the line into metrical feet as the simple basis of all description and comparison of metres. The foot is the unit which by repetition constitutes the line; the syllable is a mere fraction, and no index to the metre. On the other hand, to assume a larger unit, such as Dr. Guest’s *section*, or the double foot, the *μέτρον*, implied by the terms trimeter and tetrameter, is contrary to the feeling of English verse, and the latter is

altogether unsuitable for the description of our heroic metre, which in its simplest form has five equal beats, and in no way suggests two wholes and a half. As regards the name 'foot,' for which Mr. Ellis would substitute 'measure,' it seems to me a matter of little importance; 'measure' no doubt expresses its meaning more clearly than the metaphorical 'foot,' but the latter is in possession, while the former is generally understood in a wider and more abstract sense.

I am in favour then of the scanning by feet, on the ground that it is both natural and necessary, and also that it is scientific. I should further urge it in the interests of practical education. One good effect of the old plan of making all boys write Latin verses was to give men some idea of versification and rhythm, which women seldom have, unless gifted with specially good ears. It is probable that in time to come Latin verse writing will be less and less required, and it is at all events desirable that a purely English education should enable people to enter into and appreciate the beauties of English verse. For this purpose, boys and girls should be practised in observing how the mechanical pendulum swing of scansion is developed into the magnificent harmonies of Milton; they should be taught to notice and explain the difference in rhythm of Dryden and Pope and Cowper and Wordsworth and Shelley and Tennyson. I have heard it objected to this, that the essence of poetry, the spirit and the feeling, will be lost, while the attention is thus directed to the externals; but just the same objection might be made to the teaching of botany or of sketching: these too begin with what might be called mechanical details, but when mastered, they not only quicken the eye for the external features of a landscape, but vastly increase the imaginative and emotional enjoyment of the beauties of nature.

Connected with the preceding objection is the dislike sometimes felt by persons of fine ear to the mechanical process of scanning. Partly they despair of explaining by rule, or representing by a scheme, the rich undulation of

sound of which the ear is cognizant. This is an objection to which all science is liable. As Bacon says, "*subtilitas naturae subtilitatem argumentandi multis partibus superat.*" And partly there is an aristocratic confidence in their own poetic instinct, and a suspicion and contempt for knowledge slowly gained by training and effort. Yet we all know science, the tortoise, quickly outstrips the hare, intuition. Refined aesthetic sense, or tact, judges instinctively of the quality of this or that verse as melodious or the opposite, but this tact passes away with the individual who possessed it: science translates quality into a quantitative scale, rudely, it is true, at first; but each step gained is a gain for mankind at large, and forms an ever new vantage ground for the investigations of each succeeding generation.

Having thus stated how far I disagree with what I believe to be Mr. Ellis's meaning, I will state where I should go along with him. I altogether object to putting a poet into the bed of Procrustes. If the foundation of Milton's verse is, as I believe, the regular five-foot iambic, yet it seems to me absurd to say that we must therefore expect to find five regular iambs in every line. As I mentioned in my last paper, Dr. Abbott's metrical accent seems to me a pure fiction; I recognize only what he calls the emphatic accent. Again, I can sympathize with Mr. Ellis in his objection to the classicists who would force upon us such terms as chor-iambic and proceleusmatic to explain the rhythm of Milton. I do not deny that the effect of his rhythm might sometimes be represented by such terms; but if we seriously adopt them to explain his metre, we are attempting an impossibility, to express in technical language the infinite variety of measured sound which a genius like Milton could draw out of the little five-stringed instrument on which he chose to play.

Mr. Ellis has not made any positive suggestions as to the metrical system which he would himself prefer, except in reference to one or two points which I shall deal with shortly. In some respects what he says would seem to

shadow forth such a system as that of Dr. Guest's, which I have already discussed; but it is possible that he might agree more with the views put forward by Mr. J. A. Symonds in an article on the *Blank Verse of Milton* contained in the *Fortnightly* for Dec. 1874. And as this is not a bad example of what may be called the intuitivist school of metricists as opposed to the mechanical school to which Dr. Abbott belongs, I shall say a few words about it here. I shall give his system in his own words slightly condensed. "English blank verse consists of periods of lines, each one of which is made up normally of ten syllables, so disposed that five beats occur at regular intervals, giving the effect of an iambic rhythm. Johnson was wrong in condemning deviation from this ideal structure as inharmonious. It is precisely such deviation that constitutes the beauty of blank verse. A verse may often have more than ten syllables, and more or less than five accents, but it must carry so much sound as shall be a satisfactory equivalent for ten syllables, and must have its accents arranged so as to content an ear prepared for five."

So far we may say all metricists would be agreed: the question is how we are to interpret the vague phrase "satisfactory equivalent," but we shall seek in vain for anything more definite in the course of Mr. Symonds' article. We have a good deal of eloquent declamation about the "balance and proportion of syllables," "the massing of sounds so as to produce a whole harmonious to the ear, but beyond the reach of analysis by feet." We are told that in order to understand the rhythm of the line—

'Tis true, I am that spirit unfortunate—

"it was necessary to have heard and seen the fiend as Milton heard and saw him. Johnson, with eyes fixed on the ground, searching for iambs, had not gazed on the fallen archangel's face, nor heard the low slow accents of the first two syllables, the proud emphasis upon the fourth, the stately and melancholy music-roll which closed the line." [With equal justice Mr. Symonds might protest against the profanation of at-

tempting to give a grammatical or rhetorical analysis of a speech of Demosthenes.] Again, "spasms of intense emotion have to be imagined in order to give its metrical value to the verse,—

Me, me only, just object of his ire,"

and so on.

In this there seems to me to be that confusion between the aesthetic and the scientific view of metre of which I spoke in my former paper. Each is good in its place, but they should be kept distinct, and the scientific examination should come first. Otherwise metrical analysis shares in all the difficulties of aesthetic analysis, and becomes a matter of individual feeling and intuition. This is in fact distinctly asserted in the words "the one sound rule for readers is—Attend strictly to the sense and the pauses: the lines will then be perfectly melodious; but if you attempt to scan the lines on any preconceived metrical system, you will violate the sense and vitiate the music." But if nothing more were wanted, what security should we have against misprints and false readings being treated as rhythmical, as in the instances quoted from Dr. Guest's book in my former paper? What is there to prevent the line

Universal reproach far worse to bear

from being read as a four-foot iambic commencing with two anapaests? Or why should Mr. Symonds take the trouble to argue that certain lines containing twelve syllables ought not to be regarded as Alexandrines, if the line will be perfectly melodious when read according to the sense and the pauses without any preconceived metrical system? The same confusion between the scientific and aesthetic view appears in the assumption that those who maintain the value of metrical analysis, *i.e.* of scansion, would also maintain that the reading of the line should be determined merely by its scansion, and not by its meaning. And apparently the writer thinks that this was the case with classical versification. He allows that "such terms as trochee and amphibrach may be usefully employed between students employed in

metrical analysis," that "our daily speech is larded with trochees and cretics and so forth:" on the other hand, "since quantity forms no part of our prosody, and since the licenses of quantity in blank verse can never have been determined, it is plainly not much to the purpose to talk about choriambes in Milton—though they are undoubtedly to be found there—but these names of classic feet do not explain the secret of the varied melody of Milton;" "they do not solve the problem of blank verse."

It is difficult to deal with the mass of inconsistencies in these lines: first it is stated that trochees, etc., exist in English, and that the terms may be usefully employed by students for the purpose of analyzing English metre, and then again we are told that since quantity does not enter into our prosody, therefore it is useless to talk of choriambes in Milton, though he has them. Not to dwell upon this, the writer is evidently contrasting quantitative and accentual metre, and deprecates the use of classical terms as not explaining the secret of the varied melody of the latter. But who ever asserted or supposed that Virgil's melody was *explained* by the mere naming of the feet or the scanning of the lines? Even a schoolboy in saying his lines is corrected if he scans them instead of reciting them with the proper accent and emphasis; even a schoolboy in writing his Latin verses knows that it is only a small portion of his task to produce lines that will construe and scan. Lines may construe and scan, and yet be utterly inadmissible, and even when he has learnt to produce a decent line, he is told that he is to notice how Virgil varies his rhythm by the position of the caesura, by the prevalence of spondees or dactyls, by the length of the clauses and periods. Mr. Symonds seems to think it an objection to the scanning of English verse, that the metrical feet will not always coincide with the natural pauses in the sense, but so far from being an objection in Latin poetry, it is the actual rule that they should not in general coincide. No doubt the scanning of Virgil is an easy thing, and the scanning of Shakspeare and Milton is a hard thing, but I see no reason for saying

that scanning is more necessary or useful in the case of the one than of the other, unless we are prepared to maintain that there is absolutely no rule at all observed in the English heroic. The scanning of Plautus is just as hard as that of Virgil is easy, and hard for the same reason as the scanning of English verse is hard, because syllables may be slurred in rapid pronunciation, because the metrical value of many of the syllables is not fixed as it was in later Latin, and because the alternative feet are so numerous. Thus the place of an iamb may be taken by a trochee, a tribrach, a spondee, an anapaest, a dactyl, and even a proceleusmatic (see *Wagner's Introduction to the Aulularia*). But no one on this account thinks scanning superfluous in Plautus. On the contrary, whilst the scanning of Virgil is left to those who are commencing their studies in Latin verse, the scansion of Plautus has occupied the attention of the ablest scholars from Bentley to Ritschl; and the result is that a metre, of which even Cicero confessed that he could make nothing, is now intelligible to any ordinary reader. This is a case in which the scientific metrical analysis preceded and rendered possible the aesthetic analysis, and so I believe it has been and will be in other cases.

We found an inconsistency just now between the statement that the classical terminology might be usefully employed in reference to English metre by students accustomed to metrical analysis, and the subsequent statement that, since quantity formed no part of our prosody, these classical names were only misleading. Further on we are told that, in English blank verse, "scansion by time takes the place of scansion by metrical feet; the bars of the musical composer, where different values from the breve to the demi-semi-quaver find their place, suggest a truer basis of measurement than the longs and shorts of classic feet." If this is to be taken literally, while every foot should occupy the same time to pronounce, it may consist of any number of syllables from one to thirty-two. Getting rid of hyperbole, let us say, from one to four, and consider what degree of truth there is in the statement. It is difficult to

see what connexion there can be between such a metre as this and those with which Milton's verse is historically connected, the later metre of Dryden, and the earlier metre of Surrey, Sackville, Greene, and Peele, who are said to have shown "great hesitation as to any departure from iambic regularity." It is difficult also to see how such terms as "trochee and amphibrach can be usefully employed by students engaged in the analysis" of such a metre. But leaving this, is it true that each foot occupies the same time; *e.g.* in what Mr. Symonds calls the ponderous

Showers, hails, snows, frosts, and two-edged winds that prime
and in what he calls the light and rapid

Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts

is it not palpable that the spondee 'showers, hails,' takes longer to pronounce than the trochee 'Athens'? Again, is it true that we ever find a foot corresponding to a breve in which the whole time is occupied with one syllable? I should say that in cases where one syllable stands for the foot, it corresponds rather to the semibreve with a pause. The syllable by itself only supplies half the foot. Is it true that there may be more than three syllables in a foot? This too I should deny. If there is any apparent case of such a thing, I should say that one or more syllables have suffered elision or slurring, the *apoggiatura* of music. And lastly is it, as seems to be implied, a matter of indifference on which syllable in the bar or foot the accent falls? If there are three syllables, is it the same thing whether the accent falls on the first, second, or third of these? I cannot think we shall gain much from 'this scansion by time.'

There still remain two points for consideration, the one the inconsistent results obtained by the old metricists, the other the challenge offered to explain certain lines of Milton by the ordinary scanning. To show the inconsistencies of the old metricists we are told that in the line

Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground

the last four syllables were made a choriambic by Todd and a dactyl with a demifoot by Brydges. I am not concerned

to defend either, and in fact both have gone beyond the limits of scientific metrical analysis, through a wish to suggest the general rhythmical effect. The first business of the metrist is to give the bare fact that we have in this line an accented seventh followed by an unaccented eighth syllable, making what is commonly called a trochee, and again an unaccented ninth followed by an accented tenth, commonly called an iamb. Todd is not wrong in saying that the two together constitute a choriamb, only that, to be consistent, he should very much enlarge his terminology and have a name ready for any possible collocation of two feet. Brydges, on the other hand, is altogether on the wrong tack, and opens the door to any sort of license.

We come now to the lines which are said to be beyond the reach of analysis by feet. I give what I consider the true scanning of each.

Ruining| along| the illim|itab|le inane|

First dactyl, second iamb, third slurred iamb, or anapaest, according to the pleasure of the reader, fourth iamb, fifth same as the third.

The one wind|ing the oth|er straight| and left| between|
First slurred spondee, second slurred iamb, the rest iambs.

See where| Christ's blood| streams in| the fir|mament|
First trochee, second spondee, third trochee, fourth and fifth iambs. The third foot is said to be "illegitimate according to iambic scansion," but this is so only according to narrow a priori systems such as Johnson's. The limit of trochaic variation will be discussed further on.

'Tis true| I am| that spirit| unfor|tunate|

First, second, fourth, fifth iambs, third slurred iamb, or if the reader pleases to pronounce both syllables of 'spirit' distinctly, the last syllable would make the fourth foot an anapaest.

Me me| only| just object of| his ire|

First spondee, second trochee, third iamb, fourth pyrrhic, fifth iamb. Of this line it is said, "It is obvious here that

scansion by feet will be of little use, but the line is understood as soon as we allow the time of two whole syllables to the first emphatic 'me,' and bring over the next words 'me only' in the time of another two syllables." If it is meant that scansion by feet will not tell us how to read the line, of course, I agree; but if it is implied that whenever the second syllable of the line is joined closely in sense with what follows it is to be reckoned as forming part of the second foot, then I say that we destroy the foundation of metre. Nor do I recognize any given time for two syllables. I do not see why a reader should not give as much time to the first 'me' as to the four last syllables of the line.

Mr. Symonds continues, "The truth of this method is still more evident when we take for analysis a line at first singularly inharmonious.

Submiss| he reared| me and whom| thou soughtest| I am|

Try to scan this line, and it seems a confusion of uncertain feet." The feet are all iambs but the third, which may be read either as slurred iamb or as anapaest.

Since the above was written I have seen Mr. Masson's *Essay on Versification*, contained in his edition of *Milton*, vol. i. pp. cvii—cxxxii. His view of the matter seems to me on the whole more satisfactory than any which I have met with elsewhere, though it will be seen that on some points I disagree with him.

Accepting the classical terminology, he says, "I perpetually find in Milton a foot for which 'spondee' is the best name." "English blank verse admits a trochee, spondee, or tribrach in almost any place in the line." "There are four spondees in the line

Say Muse, their names then known, who first, who last."

"The number of accents in a line varies from three to eight." In seventy lines he finds eighteen anapaests, occurring in any place; six dactyls, occurring in the first, second, and fourth feet; six tribrachs in the first, second, and third; three antibacchius, occurring in the second and third; two

cretics in the first and fourth; thirty-five amphibrachs, occurring in any foot but the last: in some lines there are two trisyllabic feet. He refuses to get rid of syllables by the process of elision or slurring. As the line has frequently more than ten syllables, so it has occasionally less.

Mr. Masson quotes largely in proof of his theory, but it seems to me that in many cases the line is wrongly scanned. Thus to show that a line may have no more than nine syllables he quotes (from *Comus*, 596)

Self-fed and self-consum'd: if this fail.

But though the *e* of 'consumed' is omitted in the standard editions, we are not bound to consider that this represents the pronunciation, any more than that 'rott'ness' in the next line is a disyllable. If we read 'consumed' as a trisyllable, the line is perfectly regular. Another instance of a nine-syllable line has still less to say for itself. In Pickering's edition it reads thus (P. L. iii. 216)—

Dwells in all heaven charity so deare,

which is of course perfectly regular.

The question of elision and slurring will be considered further on. If, as I believe, Milton practised both, this would very much weaken, if not entirely destroy, the evidence in favour of such feet as the antibacchius, cretic and amphibrach. As examples of the first we find

If true| here only| and of| deli|cious taste|
Not this| rock only| his om|nipres|ence fills|
Thy pun|ishment| then justly| is at| his will|

In these lines I believe that the *y* of *only* and *justly* is slurred before the following vowel (compare pp. 627, 635 of my former paper). For cretics we have the lines

Each to oth|er like| more than| on earth| is thought|
I must| not suf|fer this| yet 'tis but| the lees|

In the former I should be disposed to slur *to*, making the first foot a spondee; in the latter I believe, on other than metrical grounds, that *yet* has been foisted into the text by mistake. "'Tis but the lees" really gives the reason for

"I must not suffer this." If however *yet* is genuine, I should put it in the preceding foot, and divide as follows :

I must| not suffer| this yet| 'tis but| the lees|

An amphibrach in the second foot is certainly more possible than a cretic in the third. As regards the examples of amphibrach, many disappear if we allow of slurring and elision, as

Whom reason| hath e|qualled force| hath made| supreme|
which becomes regular if we read *reas'n* ;

Of rainbows| and star|ry eyes| the wa|ters thus|
which should be divided as follows, slurring *y* before *eyes* :

Of rain|bows and| starry^eyes| the wa|ters thus|

In most other cases the line may be read with an anapaest instead of an amphibrach

Fled and| pursued| transverse| the reso|nant fugue|
where the last two feet may be divided |the res|onant fugue|.

Others may be treated as examples of superfluous syllable, the feminine rhythm in the half-line, for which compare p. 629 of my former paper. On the whole I am not satisfied that there is one case of indubitable amphibrach.

Returning now to our simplest genera, the disyllabic and trisyllabic ascending and descending metres, how are we to classify the varieties of these? First we have the unmixed species of each differing in the number of feet alone; and of these we have two subspecies, one in which the normal line consists of so many feet and nothing more, the other where the law of the metre requires one or more extra syllables, as for instance, what is called the 'anacrusis' in the old Latin Saturnian or its English equivalent the six-foot trochaic,

The| Queen was| in her| parlour| eating| bread and| honey|.

Then we have the mixed species in which the law of the verse requires (not merely permits) the mixture of the ascending and descending or the disyllabic and trisyllabic

metres. It would be a useful exercise to arrange all the varieties of English verse yet attempted under these heads, but I shall confine myself here to consider the means by which one particular kind of iambic verse, the heroic, is varied.

The normal rhythm is most clearly seen where the end of each foot coincides with the end of a word, and the end of the line coincides with a pause in the sense, especially if the lines rhyme, and if there is no clashing between long syllables and accented syllables, *i.e.* if there are no long vowels or syllables in the unaccented places, such a line as (the octosyllabic)

The stag| at eve| had drunk| his fill.

Of course a series of such lines would be intolerably monotonous to all who have passed out of the stage in which sugar is the most exquisite of tastes, and the most beautiful of faces that which presents the sharpest contrast of red and white. It was to avoid such monotony that the rule of the caesura was introduced in Greek and Latin verse; that we find great masters of rhythm such as Virgil and Milton so careful to vary the position of their stops; that the accents are multiplied, diminished, or inverted, and the number of syllables lessened or increased.

I have examined at some length the manner in which Shakspeare has applied these last principles to produce variety in his play of Macbeth. Before entering on this, I will say a word as to the possible limit of such variation. Mr. Ellis, in his remarks on my former paper, said, if he is rightly reported, that in the heroic metre disyllabic and trisyllabic feet might be used indiscriminately, and that as regards accent the only requisite was that the accent should fall on the last syllable of the second foot, or in default of that, on the last syllable of the second and fourth. Now as to trisyllabic feet I think, if we set no limit, that the character of the metre is changed, and that if we were to meet, say, such a line as the following in a heroic passage descriptive of the sphinx,

Terrible| her approach| with a hid|eous yel|ling and scream|

The line is still rhythmical, but I think it would be felt to be discordant in an iambic passage; the preponderating rhythm is still trochaic. Try then Mr. Ellis's alternative of a second and fourth iambic.

Hark there| is heard| sound as| of man| groaning|.

I cannot say that this rhythm is at all satisfactory to my ear, and I should doubt very much whether a parallel could be found for it from any iambic passage by a recognized poet. It seems to me that a better rhythm is produced by the iambic in the second and the fifth place; *e.g.*

Sound the| alarm| sound the| trumpet| of war|.

In fact, the final iambic is almost as characteristic in English as in Greek; in *Macbeth* it suffers inversion more rarely than any other foot. If it is inverted, the rest of the line must be strongly iambic, not to lose its proper rhythmical character. I should be inclined to say that the limit of trochaic, as of trisyllabic, substitution was three out of five, provided that the final foot remained iambic, otherwise two out of five. We have tried a line with trochaics in all but the second and fifth, we will now give specimens of iambics in the other feet.

First and fifth— The din| thickens| sound the| trumpet| of war|.

Third and fifth— Hark the| chorus| is heard| sweetly| they sing|.

Perhaps one should except also the line which has the two iambics close together (fourth and fifth), as

Hark how| loud the| chorus| of joy| they sing|.

With regard to the other accentual irregularities, excess of accent, *i.e.* the spondee, is allowable in any position, and I am inclined to think that the limit of this substitution is wider than those which we have been considering, that in fact there might be four spondees in the line, supposing that the fourth or fifth foot remains iambic; that we might have, for instance,

Rocks caves, lakes fens, bogs dens,	shades dire of death
	death's re gion all
	where dark death reigns .

Defect of accent, the pyrrhic, may also be found in any

position, but it is rare for two pyrrhics to come together, and perhaps impossible without a secondary accent falling on one of the syllables, *e.g.* on the last syllable of *mansionry*.

By hīs| loved mā|sionrȳ| thāt thē| heavē's brēath|.

Perhaps the line would be better scanned with a trisyllabic fourth foot, but we might replace 'heaven's' breath' by 'sweet south,' without destroying the rhythm. If not more than two pyrrhics can come together, it follows that the limit to this substitution will be three out of five, and as a rule the other feet would be spondees rather than iambs.

I proceed now with the examination of *Macbeth*, limiting myself to the two kinds of variation here mentioned, *viz.* variation through the number of syllables, variation through the number or position of accents. Variation in the number of syllables may be either by way of defect (*A.*), or of excess (*B.*).

A.—A line which is defective may be plainly fragmentary, wanting either the beginning or the end (*I.*), or it may be a skeleton line wanting some of its internal syllables (*II.*). The latter I shall call specially 'defective,' the former 'fragmentary.'

I. 1.—Of fragmentary lines, which are still rhythmical, the majority are brief sentences occurring in rapid dialogue. These frequently combine to make up regular lines, as

Len. Good-morrow, noble sir. *Mac.* Good-morrow both.

But they are also irregularly combined, the metre being obscured by the division of parts, and in this way they give rise to Alexandrines which are otherwise rare in *Shakspeare* (*a.*), and to what *Dr. Abbott* has called 'amphibious sections'—a more business-like name might be 'common sections'—where an intermediate sentence does double work, supplying the close of a preceding fragmentary line, and also the commencement of a following fragmentary line (*b.*), *e.g.*

IV. 3, 219. Macd. At one| fell swoop|. *Malc.* Dispute| it like| a man|. [*Dispute| it like| a man|.*] *Macd.* I shall| do so|.

Sometimes the common section gives a superfluous syllable in the former line, and the exact number in the latter, as V. 3, 18:

Serv. The Eng|lish force| so please| you. *Macb.* Take| thy face| hence.
[Take thy| face hence.] *Seyton*! I'm sick at heart|.

There are many examples in *Macbeth* both of the common section, and of Alexandrines formed by the union of two fragmentary lines. Examples of the latter will be given further on.

I. 2.—Fragmentary lines are also found at the beginning, middle, and end of longer speeches.

(a.) Those at the beginning are frequently short introductory phrases, as V. 5, 30, Gracious my lord; III. 2, 26, Come on; II. 3, 86, What's the business (which becomes rhythmical if we either read 'what is' for 'what's,' or pronounce 'business' as a trisyllabic, of which Walker gives examples). Most commonly such a broken line is the second half of a preceding broken line; as Lady Macbeth's What beast| was't then| follows on Macbeth's Who dares| do more| is none|. So III. 4, 99, What| man dare| I dare|, seems to take up the fragmentary line which ends Macbeth's previous speech "which thou| dost glare| with," no notice being taken of Lady Macbeth's intermediate address to the guests. Sometimes it becomes metrical by treating a portion of a preceding regular line as a common section, e.g.

II. 4, 33. *Macd.* To be| invest|ed. *Ross.* Where| is Dun|can's bo|dy?
[Where's Dun|can's bo|dy] *Macd.* Car|ried to Colme|kill.
III. 2, 12. *L. Mac.* Should be| without| regard|; what's done| is done|. [What's done| is done.] *Macb.* We've scotched| the snake| not killed| it.
V. 8, 23. And break| it to| our hope|! I'll not| fight with| thee
[I will| not fight| with thee.] *Macd.* Then yield| thee, cow|ard.
V. 3, 34. *Macb.* Give me| my ar|mour. *Sey.* 'Tis| not need|ed yet|. [It is| not need|ed yet.] *Macb.* I'll put| it on|.

It will be noticed that in three of these examples the common section is of greater rhythmical importance in one of the two lines, owing either to feminine rhythm or to contraction, *I'll* for *I will*, *'tis* for *it is*. Some may perhaps

doubt the applicability of the principle in these cases, or even deny its use altogether; but whoever will go through any play, noting every fragmentary line, as I have done in *Macbeth*, will, I think, be surprised to find the very small residuum of lines which remain unmetrical if treated on this method. Whether Shakspeare consciously intended it is another matter. I believe he simply wanted harmonious lines, and the common section contributed to this result without his thinking about it.

(b.) Speeches are often closed by a fragmentary line. This is sometimes a short final phrase, as I. 5, 74, Leave all the rest to me; I. 6, 31, By your leave, hostess; IV. 1, 156, Come, bring me where they are; III. 3, 56, So, prithee, go with me. It seems to be especially used in the absence of the rhyming couplet as the natural close of the scene or of an important speech, e.g. I. 4, 53, It is a peerless kinsman; V. 4, 21, Towards which advance the war; III. 4, 144, We are yet but young indeed; II. 3, 95, And say it is not so; III. 2, 26, Can touch him further; V. 2, 31, Make we our march towards Birnam; V. 7, 23, And more I beg not. Sometimes there is a special impressiveness in the words thus isolated, e.g. I. 4, 14, An absolute trust; V. 5, 28, Signifying nothing; II. 2, 63, Making the green one red. Where the broken final line does not conclude the scene, it is usually taken up and completed by a broken initial line, e.g.

I. 5, 55. To cry| hold, hold !|| Great Gla|mis, wor|thy Caw|dor.

or by a portion of a complete initial line used as a common section, as III. 4, 68,

Lady Mac. You look| but on| a stool|. *Macb.* [Prithee| see there|]
Prithee| see there| Behold| Look, Lo| I pray| you.

(c.) Far less common are fragmentary lines in the middle of speeches, and those which occur may often be resolved into cases of either (a.) or (b.); what is printed as a single speech consisting really of several speeches uttered continuously by the same person, e.g. I. 5, 62, *Lady Macbeth* ends one topic with the broken line "Shall sun that morrow

see," and goes on, possibly after a pause, to appeal more directly to her husband, "your face, my thane," which, it is to be observed, itself forms a common section. So I. 1, 41, "I cannot tell" ends the sergeant's description of the battle, and in the following line he asks for help for his own wounds. III. 4, 4, "And play the humble host" may be the end of an address to one guest, Macbeth turning to another in the next line. III. 4, 99, "What man dare I dare" is addressed to Lady Macbeth, and followed by "Approach thou like," etc. addressed to the Ghost. II. 1, 41, "As this which now I draw" is followed by a pause for drawing the sword, and watching the imaginary dagger. III. 2, 51, "Makes wing to the rooky wood" may suggest a pause for watching the coming on of night, while the following lines give the general reflection, "good things of day," etc.

Short phrases or titles are sometimes given in broken lines in the middle of speeches, e.g. III. 1, 40, "Farewell," and a few lines below we should read with Abbott

Sirrah,

A word with you : attend those men our pleasure ?

So in III. 2, 15, it seems better to print

But let

The frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer,

expressive of a pause before the imprecation, rather than as an Alexandrine. Similarly, in I. 1, 37, we should read (with the Cambridge edition, not the Clarendon) "so they" as fragmentary, and not join it to either line. The pause gives more force to the following line "doubly redoubled strokes upon the foe." Some of the broken lines in Macbeth may be the result of corruption of the text, e.g. III. 2, 32, "Unsafe the while that we," which is also suspicious from the harsh construction ; and I. 2, 20, "Till he faced the slave." In other places wrong printing has given the appearance of broken lines, e.g. II. 3, 120 (reading 'let us away' for 'let's away')

Let us| away| our tears| are not| yet brewed|

and IV. 3, 28, which should be read

Without| leave tak|ing? I| pray you| let not|
My jea|lousies| be your| disho|nours, but|
Mine own| safeties|. You may| be right|ly just|.

(For the double trochee in the last line see former paper, p. 640). Perhaps too I. 3, 126,

In deepest consequence|. Cousins| a word| I pray| you.

taking "consequence" as a disyllable (cf. V. 3, 5, where "consequences" seems disyllabic), the second syllable of which forms a feminine ending to the second foot (see below, p. 422). If this is so, then "Cousins, a word I pray you," will be a common section.

II.—We go on to the consideration of lines which are not fragmentary, mere heads or tails, but defective in their internal structure. Such defectiveness is sometimes only apparent, arising from difference of pronunciation (1), or it may be real, but supplied by a pause (2), or by a compensative lengthening of some long syllable (3).

(1).—The most common case of what we pronounce as a monosyllable being treated as a disyllable, is where the letter *r* occurs either following a long *vowel* (*a.*), as in I. 2, 45,

Who comes| hère|? The wor|thy thane| of Ross|

unless (which I should prefer) we adopt Pope's reading and prefix a 'but' to the beginning of the line. 'But' is wanted, and *who* and *here* would then get their right emphasis. Moreover, the phrase 'but who comes here' is common in Shakspeare. Abbott quotes four examples of it in p. 414.

I. 6, 6. Smells woo|ingly| hère|: no jut|ty freeze|.

II. 3, 128. What should| be spo|ken he|re, where| our fate|.

I. 6, 30. And shall| conti|nue o|ûr gra|ces towards| him.

II. 1, 20. I dreamt| last night| of the| three we|ird sis|ters.

IV. 3, 111. Died ev|ery day| she lived| Fâre| thee well|.

[so better than by dividing liv|ed].

Also where *r* follows a *consonant* (*b.*), as ent|e|rance I. 5, 40, rememb|e|rance III. 2, 30, monst|e|rous III. 6, 8,

child|e|ren IV. 3, 172; and even where it precedes a consonant, as in III. 1, 102,

Not in| the wor|(e)st rank| of man|hood say| it.

Examples will be found in Walker's *Versification*, p. 32, and in Abbott. So Burns (quoted by Guest, vol. i. p. 57) has—

“Ye'll try| the wâ|rld soon| my lad|.

“On ev|ry blade| the peâ|rls hung|.”

Other examples of words pronounced with more syllables than we should now give to them are *sergèant* I. 1, 3, *cap|s|tains* I. 1, 34, *prayers* III. 6, 49. Mr. Wagner, in his edition, goes too far, when he tells us, on I. 2, 5,

Gainst my| captiv|ity. Hail| brave friend|

“brave zu sprechen wie bra-ave.” And Dr. Abbott is almost as daring in making ‘hail’ a disyllable (*S.G.* § 484). Similarly he reads as disyllables ‘sleep’ in II. 1, 51, ‘sight’ in IV. 1, 122, ‘wrought’ in II. 1, 19.

(2) and (3).—It will be best to consider together all the cases of really defective lines, as they are usually capable of being explained either on the principle of the pause or of the lengthened syllable. The former explanation is the one which commends itself the most to myself. In many cases indeed I should treat the defective line as consisting of a final and initial fragmentary line. Thus in I. 2, 5, “’gainst my captivity” is the end of the speech to the king; “hail, brave friend,” is the commencement of the speech to the sergeant; and the pause between the two takes the place of the omitted syllable. In I. 4, 14, “an absolute trust” ends Duncan’s address to Malcolm; “O worthiest cousin” begins the address to Macbeth, the pause, occasioned by the entrance of the latter, occupying the place of two syllables. In I. 5, 41, “under my battlements” closes Lady Macbeth’s reflections on the hoarse messenger, and then, after a pause, begins the invocation of the powers of evil, “come, you spirits.” In II. 3, 83, “the great doom’s image. Malcolm! Banquo!” we have a final fragmentary line followed by a pause and an extra-metrical exclamation. The pause will

also sufficiently explain I. 4, 35, "In drops of sorrow. Sons, kinsmen, thanes;" II. 1, 19, "which else should free have wrought. *Bang.* All's well" (this line, which consists properly of two fragments, is reduced to regularity by Dr. Abbott, who reads 'all is,' and disyllabizes 'wrought'); II. 4, 29, "Thine own life's means! Then 'tis most like" (here too Dr. Abbott obtains a regular line by reading 'it is' and disyllabizing 'means'); I. 2, 7, "As thou didst leave it. Doubtful it stood" (but I should prefer here to read 'doubtfully'); IV. 3, 218, "did you say all? O hell-kite! all?" (though, if it were desired, the cry expressed by the conventional symbol *O* might fill the space of three syllables), and V. 7, 22, "seems bruited. Let me find him fortune," though I confess I should prefer to read with Steevens, 'let me but find him fortune,' not only as more rhythmical, but as more expressive. In the famous line—

I. 7, 28. And falls| on the o|ther. |How now| what news|?

the loss of a syllable is quite accounted for by the pause, but I should prefer to insert 'side.' It seems to me more probable that we have here a piece of carelessness on the part of the printer, of which there is such abundant evidence throughout, rather than that Shakspeare was guilty of what I should be disposed to call the affectation of expressing surprise by the cutting short of one little word. Other passages in which the pause is perhaps a less satisfactory expedient are the following: II. 1, 51, "The curtained sleep: witchcraft celebrates," where the pause after 'sleep' is scarcely sufficient to justify the omission of a syllable. Dr. Abbott would make 'sleep' a disyllable, supporting this by Richard III., V. 3, 130, which he divides thus—

Doth com|fort thee in| thy sle|ep: live| and flou|rish.

[The true scanning has been given in my former paper.] In the line before us I should prefer to read 'sleeper' as more suited to the definite article. In IV. 1, 122, "Horrible sight! Now I see 'tis true," there is a decided pause, but the rhythm is so harsh that I am inclined to think that an excla-

mation must have dropped out of the text. Such a cry would be very natural on catching sight of Banquo's spirit. Dr. Abbott disyllabizes 'sight.' In IV. 3, 44, "Of goodly thousands: but, for all this," there is a pause both before and after 'but'; not enough, however, to account for the rhythm. Dr. Abbott disyllabizes 'but.' I should be rather disposed, if the line is correct, to give a disyllabic weight to 'all' with its long vowel and final liquid.

B.—Where there is excess in the number of syllables, the extra syllables may be either outside the feet, producing what is called the feminine rhythm (*I.*), or they may be included in the feet (*II.*).

I.—The first kind of superfluous syllable is frequently found at the end of the line, and its presence or absence has been used as a test for determining the genuineness or the age of the Shakspearian Plays, the prevalent taste in the end of Elizabeth's reign inclining more and more to a broken rhythm, just as we find in Euripides a growing tendency to the use of trisyllabic feet. Sometimes we find two such unaccented syllables, which generally admit of being slurred, as in 'conference.' Examples will be given further on under the head of apparent Alexandrines. As I am not now treating of specialties of rhythm, but merely illustrating the general manner of its variation, I shall say nothing more of this (*a.*), but go on to the rarer use of the superfluous syllable at the close of the second or third foot (*b.*). This is acknowledged by Guest and Abbott, but, if I am not mistaken, Mr. Ellis would treat all such cases under the head of trisyllabic feet. I observe in the passage from M. Gaston Paris, printed in the *Transactions* for 1874, Pt. IV. p. 646, that two of the four types of the old French decasyllabic metre are what he calls feminine at the hemistich. I make twenty-five lines in *Macbeth* with the superfluous syllable after the second foot, and thirty-two with it after the third foot. In almost all there is a full stop after the superfluous syllable, which makes it more difficult to join it with what follows, so as to form a trisyllabic foot. In several instances, however, it would be possible to get rid of the superfluous syllable on

the principle of slurring, of which I shall shortly speak. Thus several end in *r* and *s*, which have a tendency to obscure the sound of a preceding vowel, e.g.

I. 7. 26. Of his| own chamb'r| and used| their ve|ry dag|gers.

II. 3. 138. Of trea|s'nous mal'ce|. And so| do I|. So all|.

Sometimes we find the double feminine ending, both after the second and after the last foot, e.g.

I. 3. 43. That man| may ques|tion| You seem| to un|derstand| me.

I. 7. 10. To plague| the inven|tor| This ev|en-hand|ed just|ice.

Superfluous after second foot :

I. 3. 72. But how| of Caw|dor| ? The thane| of Caw|dor lives|.

I. 3. 150. With things| forgot|ten|. Kind gen|tlemen| your pains|.

I. 4. 42. On all| deserv|ers|. From hence| to In|verness|.

II. 2. 53. Give me| the dag|gers|: the sleep|ing and| the dead|.

II. 2. 66. At the| south en|try|: retire| we to| our cham|ber.

[Though here we might divide {at the south| entry|, and there is a further explanation in the repeated *re*.]

II. 3. 109. Upon| their pil|lows|: they stared| and were| dis|trac|ted.

II. 3. 147. The near|er blood|y|. This mur|d'rous shaft| that's shot|.

III. 1. 26. 'Twixt this| and sup|per|. Go not| my horse| the bet|ter.

III. 1. 35. Craving| us joint|ly|. Hie you| to horse|, adieu|.

III. 1. 80. In our| last con|ference|, passed in| proba|tion with| you ?

III. 1. 84. Say thus| did Ban|quo|. You made| it known| to us|.

III. 1. 128. Your spirite| shine through| you|. Within| this hour| at most|.

IV. 2. 17. The fits| of the sea|son|, I dare| not speak| much fur|ther.

IV. 2. 35. Why should| I, mo|ther|. Poor birds| they are| not set| for.

III. 2. 19. That shake| us night|ly|. Better| be with| the dead|.

IV. 3. 220. Convert| to an|ger|. Blunt not| the heart| enrage| it.

III. 2. 22. In rest|less ees|t'sy|. Duncan| is in| his grave|.

III. 4. 36. 'Tis given| with wel|come|. To feed| were best| at home|.

III. 4, 87. To those| that know| me|. Come love| and health|
to all|.

III. 4, 103. Shall ne|ver trem|ble|: or be| alive| again|.

V. 6, 4. Lead our| first bat|tle|. Worthy| Macduff| and we|.

Superfluous after third foot:

V. 3, 7. Shall e'er| have power| upon| thee|. Then fly| false
thanes|.

V. 3, 4. Was he| not born| of wom|an|? The sprites| that know|.

V. 4, 3. What wood| is this| before| us|? The wood| of Bir|nam.

V. 2, 11. Protest| their first| of man|hood|. What does| the
ty|rant?

V. 1, 65. Do breed| unnat|ural troub|les|. Infect|ed minds|.

IV. 3, 223. That were| most pre|cious to| me|. Did heaven| look on|

IV. 3, 156. The heal|ing ben|edict|ion|. With this| strange vir|tue.

IV. 3, 177. Each mi|nute teems| a new| one|. How does| my wife|?

IV. 3, 117. To thy| good truth| and hon|our|. Devilish| Macbeth|.

IV. 3, 33. For good|ness dare| not check| thee|. Wear thou| thy
wrong|s|.

IV. 2, 77. Account|ed dang|'rous fol|ly|: why then| alas|.

IV. 2, 14. So runs| against| all rea|son|. My dear|est coz|.

III. 6, 43. That clogs| me with| this ans|wer|. And that| well
might|.

III. 6, 44. Advise| him to| a cau|tion|, to hold| what dis|tance.

III. 4, 110. With most| admired| disor|der|. Can such| things be|.

III. 4, 112. Without| our spe|cial won|der|? You make| me
strange|.

III. 4, 84. Your no|ble friends| do lack| you|. I do| forget|.

III. 4, 60. That might| appal| the de|vil|. O pro|per stuff|.

III. 1, 126. For sun|dry weight|y rea|sons|. We shall| my lord|.

III. 1, 107. Which in| his death| were per|fect|. I'm one| my liege|

III. 1, 57. Mark An|tony was| by Cae|sar|. He chid| the sis|ters.

I. 3, 113. With hid|den help| and van|tage|, or that| with both|.

I. 4, 56. It is| a ban|quet to| me|. Let's af|ter him|.

I. 6, 3. Unto| our gen|tle sens|es|. This guest| of sum|mer.

II. 1, 26. It shall| make hon|our for| you|. So I| lose none|.

II. 2, 52. Look on't| again| I dare| not|. Infirm| of pur|pose.

II. 2, 54. That fears| a pain|ted dev|il|. If he| do bleed|.

II. 2, 74. Wake Dun|can with| thy knock|ing|. I would| thou
couldst|.

III. 6, 2. Which can| inter|pret fur|ther|. Only| I say|.

II. 2, 23. That they| did wake| each o|ther|. I stood| and heard| them.

V. 8, 6. With blood| of thine| alrea|dy|. I have| no words|.

V. 8, 27. Here may| you see| the ty|rant|. I will| not yield|.

II.—Extra syllables within the feet may either disappear through elision (*a.*) or slurring (*b.*), or they may be distinctly perceptible and form trisyllabic feet (*c.*), or finally they may form an extra foot, giving rise to an Alexandrine (*d.*).

(*a.*) As regards the mark of elision, there seems to have been no principle in the First Folio, and not much in later editions. I have by me a complete collation of the elisions in the Folio and in the Clarendon edition, and in several cases syllables essential to the metre are cut out, e.g. 'let's away' in

II. 3, 129. Let us| away| our tears| are not| yet brewed|.

In others, syllables are unelided, the absence of which would certainly improve the rhythm, e.g. I should prefer '*gan* and '*would*, to '*began*' and '*I would*' in the following

I. 2, 53. The thane| of Caw|dor '*gan*| a dis|mal con|flict.

II. 2, 73. Wake Dun|can with| thy knoe|king. '*Would*| thou couldst|.

So I should prefer *thou'rt* and *I'm* to *thou art* and *I am* in

I. 4, 16. Was heav|y on| me. Thou'rt| so far| before|.

III. 1, 168. Which in| his death| were perf|ect|. I'm one| my liege|.

Perhaps the sign of elision should only be used where there is a complete disappearance of the syllable. There are three degrees of evanescence, (1) where the syllable is distinctly pronounced, but is metrically superfluous (as in a trisyllabic foot), (2) where it is slurred, blending more or less with a preceding or succeeding sound, (3) where it is entirely inaudible. It will depend very much on the taste of the individual reader what view he will take of any particular syllable, and I doubt whether it is possible to arrive at any certainty with regard to the usage in Shakspeare's time. Perhaps as *the* is constantly printed as *th* in the Elizabethan writers, even in prose and before consonants, we may assume

that its vowel was entirely lost before vowels, where we should make a glide or slur it.

The commonest elisions in the First Folio are 'd for *ed* in the preterite and past participle, even where the present ends with *e*, as *fac'd*, *carv'd*: *th'* for *the*, as 'to *th'* chops,' 'o' *th'* milk,' 'th' utterance.' Not unfrequently this elision is wrongly given where the syllable is required for the metre: e.g. III. 4, 101,

The armed| rhino|ceros or| the Hyr|can tig|er.

is better than 'th' Hyrcan' of the Folio. And there can be no doubt that 'th' expedition' and 'th' Tiger' are wrong in

II. 3, 92. The ex|pedi|tion of| my vi|olent love|.

I. 3, 7. Her hus|band's to| Alep|po gone| master o'| the Ti|ger.

Equally common with these is the elision of 's for *is*. 'When the battle's lost and won.'

's also stands for *us*, 'betray's' in I. 8, 125 (unnecessarily, though the Clarendon adopts it).

Win us| with hon|est trif|les to| betray| us.

So in 'let's' (several times), 'upon's' (unnecessarily, though adopted by Clarendon) in

III. 1, 36. Ay, my| good lord|: our time| does call| upon| us.

And V. 6, 5.

's for *his*. II. 2, 22, 'in's sleep.' II. 3, 99, 'make's love known.'

Another very common elision is *st* for *est*, e.g. *cam'st*, *anticipat'st*, *got'st*, *kind'st*, *stern'st*, *near'st*, *secret'st*, *dear'st*.

'll for *will*. *I'll* (always *ile* in the Folio), *we'll*, *you'll*.

'ld for *would*; *thou'ldst*, *we'ld*, *I'ld*, *you'ld*.

't for *will*, *thou'tt*.

'dst for *hadst* 'thou'dst rather hear it.'

'rt for *art*, 'thou'rt mad.'

't for *it*, prefixed, 'twas, 'twere, 'tis 'twould.

suffixed, *is't*, *was't*, *were't*, *may't*, *please't*, *done't*,
be't, *bear't*, *goes't*, *take't*, *pull't*, *deny't*,
on't, *in't*, *for't*, *to't*, *before't*, *under't*, *if't*,
an't. This is adopted by Clarendon.

t' for *to*, *t'hold* III. 6, 44, *t'appease* IV. 3, 18. Not adopted by Clarendon.

o'er for *over*, *o'erleap*, *o'erbear*, *o'erfraught*.

ne'er for *never*.

o' for *of*, *o' th'*, *o' that*, adopted by Clarendon.

i' for *in*, *i' faith* once, *i' th'* many times, adopted by Clarendon.

'em for *them* several times, adopted by Clarendon.

Surd vowel omitted in *murth'ring* I. 5, 47, *temp'rate* II. 3, 90, *mock'ry* III. 4, 106, *vap'rous* III. 5, 24, *med'cine* IV. 3, 210, and V. 2, *whisp'rings* V. 1, not adopted by Clarendon; of course, if employed at all, it ought to be used in very many more instances.

Loss of initial short syllable: *'gainst* for *against*, *'bove* for *above*, *'twixt* for *betwixt*, *'gin* for *begin*, adopted by Clarendon, which also reads *'scape*, *'cause*, for *escape*, *because*, where the Folio gave the abbreviation without mark of elision.

The Clarendon edition also gives the apostrophe after *highness'*, used for the genitive, where there is none in the Folio.

Two special words, *god'ild*, *sev'night*, complete the list of elisions contained in the Folio.

It has already been seen that some of these are incorrect. The other errors which I have noticed are as follows: I. 3, 18, "I'll drain him dry as hay," corrected in C. II. 3, 102, Fol. and C.

What is| amiss|? You are| and do| not know 't|.

the elision of *it* is quite unnecessary.

III. 1, 102. Not in| the wor|st rank| of man|hood say| it.

F. and C. read *say't*, *t'*, and F. gives *th'*.

III. 4, 89. I drink| to the gen|eral joy| of the| whole ta|ble.

F. elides both *the's* and *of*; C. only the latter.

IV. 3, 180. Be not| a nig|gard of| your speech|: how goes it|?

F. and C. unnecessarily elide *it*.

I will lastly give a list of passages in which a necessary elision is unmarked.

It is singular that with the exception of *thou'dst* for *thou*

hadst, F. never contracts *have*. Otherwise *I've, we've, they've, I'd, he's*, would be naturally written in the following lines, among others, where F. and C. both give the words at full length :

- I. 4, 20. Might have| been mine|: only| I've left| to say|.
 I. 4, 18. To o|vertake| thee: would| thou'dst less| deserved|.
 IV. 2, 73. We've wil|ling dames| enough|, there can|not be|.
 II. 1, 21. To you| they've showed| some truth|. I think|
 not of| them.
 II. 2, 6. Do mock| their charge| with snores|. I've drugged|
 their pos|sets.
 III. 4, 20. Then comes| my fit| again| I'd else| been per|fect.

So in the following lines we should read instead of *I am, thou art, he would*,

- III. 1, 108. Which in| his death| were per|fect|. I'm one|
 my liege|.
 I. 3, 133. Commenc|ing in| a truth|. I'm thane| of Caw|dor.
 I. 4, 16. Was hea|vy on| me, thou 'rt| so far| before|.
 II. 1, 23. We'd spend| it in| some words| upon| that bus|iness.
 II. 4, 17. Contend|ing 'gainst| obe|dience as| they 'ld make|.
 I. 5, 21. The ill|ness should| attend| it, what| thou'dst high|ly.

So '*to his home*,' '*what is*' '*Macduff is*,' are better contracted in

- I. 6, 24. To's home| before| us. Fair| and no|ble hos|tess.
 II. 3, 77. Is left| this vault| to brag| of. What's| amiss|.
 III. 6, 29. Takes from| his high| respect|. Thither Mac|duff's gone|.

(b.) The commonest case of slurring is where the roll of an *r* obscures a neighbouring vowel. This is seen as regards the following vowel in

- III. 4, 107. The ba|by of| a girl| hence hor|rible shad|ow.

V. 3, 44. Cleanse the| stuffed bo|som of| that per'|lous stuff|
 and so with *ceremony, warranted, nourisher, tyranny, verity*.

Examples of the *preceding* vowel slurred are

V. 1, 78. Foul whisp'|rings are| abroad| unnat'|ral deeds.
 and so *corporal, discovery, temperance, perseverance, general, momentary, conference, every, murderous*, and perhaps *power, chamber, supper, disorder, Caesar, wonder, answer*; though it is

of course possible to take these as forming trisyllabic feet. The spellings *sprite* for *spirit*, and *parlous* for *perilous* seem to show that in certain cases at any rate the vowel was lost.

We also find the short vowel slurred with other liquids, as in *devil*, *devilish*, *heaven*, probably *villain* in

V. 3, 13. There is| ten thou|sand—geese|, vill'n—sol|diers Sir|. and with *s*, as *min'ster*, *maj'sty*, *ecst'sy*. Compare III. 4, 2:

And last| the hear|ty wel|come. Thanks| to^your maj|'sty.

[Also I. 6, 18, II. 3, 75, III. 4, 121.]

III. 2, 22. In rest|less ecst|'sy|. Duncan| is in| his grave|.

I. 5, 49. And take| my milk| for gall| you murd|'ring min|'sters
In V. 3, 5,

All mor|tal cons|equences have| pronounced| me thus|

there seems a double slurring due to the sibilant. In this and other cases the alternative lies not between slurring and trisyllabic feet, but between slurring and the Alexandrine, which to my ear would have a weak dragging effect in such a passage. Dr. Abbott gives several examples (§ 471) of the dropping of the final *s* in the plural of words ending with a sibilant.

More rarely we find slurring of vowels following other consonants, as *surf'ted*, *fantast'cal*. One vowel preceding another is sometimes slurred, as *furious*, *unusuâl*. Sometimes more than one letter seems to be omitted in pronunciation, as *instruments* is disyllabic according to Abbott, § 468. See examples in note.¹

¹ Perhaps it will be best to give the complete list of such doubtful lines for the reader to form his own judgment upon them.

I. 7, 80. Each corporal agent to this terrible feat.
III. 2, 18. In the affliction of these terrible dreams.
III. 4, 78. Too terrible for the ear the time has been.
III. 4, 36. From thence, the sauce to meat is ceremony.
IV. 3, 138. Be like our warranted quarrel. Why're you silent?
II. 2, 40. Chief nourisher in life's feast. What do you mean?
V. 4, 6. The numbers of our host, and make discovery.
IV. 3, 67. In nature is a tyranny: it hath been.
IV. 3, 92. As justice, verity, temperance, stableness,
Bounty, persev'rance.

(c.) It is difficult to find examples of undoubted trisyllabic feet; what would at first sight be taken for such being so often capable of other explanation, either on the principle of feminine rhythm or of slurring. The following seem to me the most probable :

- I. 7, 22. Striding| the blast| or heav|en's che|rubim horsed|.
 II. 3, 121. Unman|nerly breeched| with gore| who could| refrain|.
 I. 5, 17. What thou| art pro|mised. Yet| do I fear| thy na|ture.
 I. 2, 45. Whatahaste| looks through| his eyes|! So should| he look|.

(d.) Alexandrines are most commonly found in lines divided between different speakers, e.g.

- III. 1, 139. I'll come| to you| anon|.—We are| resolved| my lord|.

Note to p. 428 continued.

- III. 4, 89. I drink to the general joy o' the whole table.
 III. 4, 55. The fit is momentary; upon a thought.
 III. 1, 79. In our last conference; passed in probation with you.
 IV. 3, 59. Sudden, voluptuous, smacking of every sin.
 II. 3, 123. The near|er blood|y|. This mur|derous shaft| that's shot|.
 1. 7, 76. Of his own chamber, and used their very daggers.
 III. 1, 87. Your patience so predominant in your nature.
 III. 1, 105. Whose execution takes your enemy off.
 III. 2, 31. Present him eminence both with eye and tongue.
 III. 6, 40. He did, and with an absolute 'Sir, not I.'
 [cf. I. 4, 14. An ab|solute trust|. . . |O worth|iest cou|sin.]
 III. 1, 117. To thy| good truth| and hon|our|. Devilish| Macbeth|.
 V. 7, 8. The devil himself could not pronounce a title.
 [cf. III. 4, 60, II. 2, 54.]
 IV. 3, 182. Which I have heavily borne, there ran a rumour.
 IV. 3, 57. In evils to top Macbeth. I grant him bloody.
 V. 3, 40. Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased.
 [cf. V. 3, 46, I. 5, 49.]
 III. 4, 86. I have a strange infirmity which is nothing.
 III. 2, 45. Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck.
 [cf. I. 5, 63, II. 2, 36.]
 IV. 3, 64. All continent impediments would o'erbear.
 V. 4, 19. Thoughts speculative their unsure hopes relate.
 IV. 2, 17. The fits| o' the sea|son|. I dare| not speak| much fur|ther.
 IV. 1, 152. His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls.
 III. 4, 36. 'Tis given| with wel|come|: to feed| were best| at home|.
 III. 1, 68. Given to the common enemy of man.
 [here given may be a trochee, making the next foot an anapaest.]
 IV. 3, 223. That were| most pre|cious to| me|. Did heaven| look on|.
 II. 2, 62. The multitudinous seas incarnadine.
 III. 1, 57. Mark An|tony's was| by Cae|sar|. He chid| the sis|ters.
 V. 4, 8. We learn no other but the confident tyrant.

- I. 2, 58. The vict|ory fell| on us|—Great hap|piness|—That
now|.
- II. 1, 3. And she| goes down| at twelve|—I tak't,| 'tis la|ter,
Sir|.
- III. 3, 11. Alread|y are in| the court|—His hor|ses go| about|.
- IV. 2, 30. I take| my leave| at once|—Sirrah| your fa|ther's
dead|.
- III. 4, 121. Attend| his maj|esty|—A kind| good-night| to all|.
- [though this may be read as an ordinary line by disyllabizing
'majesty.']
- The following have the feminine rhythm at the end.
- I. 6, 10. The air| is del|icate|—See, see| our hon|oured hos|tes.
- II. 3, 79. The sleep|ers of| the house|—Speak, speak|—O gent|le
la|dy.
- V. 5, 17. The queen| my lord| is dead|—She should| have died|
hereaf|ter.

Notes to p. 428 continued.

- V. 2, 5. Excite the mortified man. Near Birnam wood.
- III. 2, 47. Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.
- II. 2, 5. The doors are open and the surfeited grooms.
- I. 3, 140. My thought| whose mur|der yet| is but| fantas|tical.
- II. 4, 14. And Duncan's horses, a thing most strange and certain.
['horses' probably one syllable, as Abbott, § 471.]
- III. 2, 48. And with thy bloody and invisible hand.
- V. 8, 41. The which no sooner had his prowess confirmed.
- II. 3, 114. Who can| be wise|, amazed|, temperate|, and fur|ious.
['temperate' and 'furious' both disyllabic.]
- II. 1, 12. He hath| been in| unu|sual plea|sure and|.
- II. 1, 17. In mea|sureless| content|. Being un|prepared|.
- II. 3, 62. And pro|phesying| with ac|cents ter|rible|.
- V. 5, 28. Signi|fying no|thing|. Thou comest| to use| thy tongue|.
- II. 3, 121. Unmannerly breeched with gore; who could refrain.
- I. 4, 45. I'll be myself the harbinger and make joyful.
[Abbott (§ 468) considers *messenger* and *passenger* to be disyllabic, and so I
should be disposed to take *harbinger* here.]
- I. 3, 129. Of the imperial theme. I thank you, gentlemen.
[See Abbott (§ 461) for the pronunciation of *gentlemen*.]
- IV. 3, 239. Put on their instruments. Receive what cheer you may.
- III. 1, 81. How you were borne in hand, how crossed, the instruments.
[We escape an Alexandrine by making *instruments* disyllabic. See Abbott,
§ 468.]
- I. 3, 111. Which he deserves to lose. Whether he was combined.
- V. 7, 18. Are hired to bear their staves: either thou Macbeth.
- III. 6, 29. Takes from his high respect: thither Macduff's gone.
[On the shortening of *whether*, *either*, *thither*, in pronunciation, see Abbott,
§ 466.]

- IV. 1, 89. And top| of sov'|reinty|—Listen| but speak| not to| it.
 III. 6, 49. Under| a hand| accursed|—I'll send| my pray|ers with|
 him.

[As the emphasis is on *with* rather than *him*, it seems best to divide it thus.]

- III. 4, 73. Shall be| the maws| of kites|—What quite| unmanned|
 in fol|ly.

Sometimes the division in the middle of the line is not observed.

- III. 2, 4. For a| few words|—Madam| I will|—Nought's had|
 all's spent|.
 III. 3, 15. Stand to't|—It will| be rain to-night|—Let it| come
 down|.
 III. 6, 39. Prepare| for some| attempt| of war|—Sent he| to
 Mac|duff.
 V. 3, 37. How does| your pa|tient, doc|tor?—Not| so sick| my
 lord|.
 III. 4, 38. Meeting| were bare| without| it—Sweet| remem|brancer|
 IV. 2, 72. I dare| abide| no lon|ger—Whit|her should| I fly|.
 V. 7, 11. I'll prove| the lie| thou speak|est—Thou| wast born|
 of wom|an.

[If we read *speak'st* as in the Clarendon, we should compress *thou'st*, making a regular line.]

- III. 4, 2. And last| the hear|ty wel|come—Thanks| to your
 ma|jesty|.

[or the line may be divided into five feet if we disyllabize *majesty*; it will then have a double feminine rhythm.] The following Alexandrines have the feminine rhythm in the hemistich:

- II. 2, 30. When they| did say| God bless| us|—Consid|er it not|
 so deep|ly.
 II. 3, 58. For 'tis| my lim|ited ser|vice|—Goes the| king hence|
 to-day|.
 V. 3, 8. Like syl|lable| of dol|our|—What I| believe| I'll wail|.
 I. 3, 85. That takes| the reas|on pris|oner|—Your chil|dren
 shall| be kings|.

Where the lines are not thus divided between two speakers, it is often possible to explain away apparent Alexandrines, either on the principle of slurring, as—

III. 1, 80. In our| last con|fer[^]ence|; passed in| probat|ion with| you.

I. 3, 140. My thought| whose mur|der yet| is but| fantast|'cal.

I. 3, 129. Of the| imper|ial theme|, I thank| you gent'|men.

III. 1, 81. How you| were borne| in hand|, how crossed| the inst'|ments.

IV. 3, 239. Put on| their inst'|ments|, receive| what cheer| you may|.

III. 2, 22. In rest|less ec|st'sy|| Duncan| is in| his grave|.

I. 3, 111. Which he| deserves| to lose| whether he was| combined|.

IV. 3, 97. Acting| it ma|ny ways|. Nay 'd I power| I should|.

Sometimes the Alexandrine is due to wrong arrangement of lines, e.g.

III. 6, 30. Is gone| to pray| the ho|ly king| upon| his aid|.

becomes regular if 'is gone' is joined to the preceding line,

Takes from| his high| respect| thither Mac|duff's gone|.

III. 2, 15. But let| the frame| of things| disjoint| both the| worlds trem|ble.

I have already mentioned that it seemed better to treat the first two words as a broken line.

The only remaining Alexandrines in Macbeth are, I believe, the following, some of which seem to me corrupt:

I. 4, 26. Which do| but what| they should| by do|ing ev|ery-thing|.

This line, which is followed by the obscure 'safe toward your love and honour,' is so feeble in rhythm that it can hardly be genuine. Is it possible to contract 'every' into a monosyllable?

IV. 3, 20. In an| imper|ial charge|. But I| shall crave| your par|don.

Here there is a decided pause, and I should take the line as made up of two fragments, and therefore to be classed

with what Dr. Abbott calls the trimeter couplet, of which we spoke before.

III. 2, 11. With them|they think|on? Things|without|all rem|edy|. Should be without regard, what's done is done.

In the former line, I think *all* is an interpolation; it injures the antithesis 'without remedy'—'without regard,' and gives a feeble dragging rhythm. In the same way, in I. 2, 66,

Our bos|om inte|rest. Go| pronounce| his pre|sent death|,
And with| his for|mer ti|tle greet| Macbeth|

'present' seems to me interpolated, like 'all,' with the view of giving more force.

IV. 1, 153. That trace| him in| his line|. No boast|ing like| a fool.
This deed| I'll do| before| this pur|pose cool.

Here too I should wish to reduce the former line to the same length as that with which it rhymes, by omitting 'him in.'

I. 3, 102. Only| to her|ald thee| into| his sight|, not pay| thee.

Here I should prefer to read 'to' for 'into.'

It remains for me now to say a word or two on the variation produced by means of accentuation. This may arise either from defect of accent (the pyrrhic), from excess of accent (the spondee), or from inversion of accent (the trochee). They are all extremely common, and it will not be worth while to do more than give an example of each, though I have with me a complete list of all the spondees which occur in *Macbeth*.

II. 2, 1. What hath| quenched them| hath given| me fire|
hark! peace|.

Spondee in second, fourth, and fifth.

Thy let|ters have| transpor|ted me| beyond.

Pyrrhic in second and fourth.

With regard to trochees, I have only looked for such as would be excluded by Dr. Abbott's rule, that the trochee is

inadmissible except in the first foot or after a stop. Of these I have found about twenty-five.

II. 4, 7. And yet| dark night| strangles| the trav|elling lamp|. Trochee in third place.

III. 6, 41. The clou|dy mes|senger| turns me| his back|. Trochee in fourth place.

I. 4, 52. The eye| wink at| the hand| yet let| that be|. Trochee in second place.

It is rare to find a trochee in the last place. I have only two examples.

IV. 2, 4. Our fears| do make| us trai|tors you| know not. and

V. 5, 32. But know| not how| to do| it. Well| say, Sir|.

As the object of my paper is to illustrate the laws of metre generally, I feel that some apology is due for confining my illustrations to a single play of Shakspeare. The reason is that my attention was first called to the unsatisfactory nature of our present treatises on the subject by having to lecture upon this play to a class of ladies, who were complete strangers to metrical conceptions, unless an exception should be made in favour of one who had picked up somewhere the terms 'arsis' and 'thesis,' which she used at random to the admiration of the rest. At first I recommended Dr. Abbott's book to them, but finally found it expedient to adopt the freer system which I have here endeavoured to explain, and which was carefully tested as we went through the play. Of course what I have done (even supposing it to be right as far as it goes) is a very small instalment indeed of a complete treatise on rhythm. The thing wanted is for some one who has leisure to do so, (1) to go through the chief works of all the greatest English poets written in this metre, examining how each had employed the different modes of variation, (2) to do the same for all other metres, (3) to treat the subject from the historical

side, starting with the oldest Anglo-Saxon (if one may use the phrase without fear of Mr. Freeman), comparing the development of metre in other connected languages, and if possible determining precisely the influence of foreign metre on our own, (4) to treat the subject from the aesthetic side, and notice what kinds of rhythm or of recurrent sound were in themselves most grateful to the ear, and which were best suited to particular classes of subject or kinds of feeling; (5) lastly, it would be interesting to have a less elaborate account of foreign and alien systems of rhythm or metre, as the quantitative systems of the ancients, and the parallelisms of the Hebrews.

MR. ALEXANDER J. ELLIS'S REMARKS ON PROFESSOR MAYOR'S
TWO PAPERS ON RHYTHM.

Whether I saw the few lines in the *Philological Transactions* for 1873-4, p. 644, which give an abstract of my opinions on the heroic line, I cannot remember; but at any rate they are far too brief and unqualified to be made the foundation of criticism. No exceptions are pointed out and no reasons assigned. When I am made to say, "The unit of measure is indiscriminately either dissyllabic or trissyllabic" (allow me to spell both words with *ss*; the second word has quite as much right to *ss* as the first, and neither has any right to more than one *s* etymologically), I certainly did not mean to imply that every measure might be trissyllabic at once in the same line (though a poet might so indulge as a variety without blame from me), but only that poetic usage allowed *any one* of the measures to be trissyllabic, and no doubt two or even three measures in the same line might be so. Again, when I said that "the only essential was that the stress should fall either on the final syllable of the third measure, or on the final syllables of the second and fourth measures," I was clearly regarding exceptional cases in which these laws preserved the feeling of the rhythm, and not cases in which the feeling of another rhythm prevailed, for ex-

ample, not a case in which the initial syllables of all but the third measure, or all but the second and fourth measures, had the stress, not such a line as

Hark ! the chorus is heard sweetly singing,

which, however, a poet might use *for a purpose*. I emphasise these words, because poets do not write isolated lines, but passages, and the rhythm of each line is intended to fit in with the rhythm of its neighbours, and to be appropriate to the whole sentiment, so that isolated lines fail to convey the poet's intention in using such a rhythm. But such general rules as that just quoted from me are quite inadequate to convey the laws of rhythm, and I find rhythmical lines can be written which do not observe them, although their observance creates rhythmical lines. Also the word "indiscriminately," as applied to the use of stress in unusual places as well as trissyllabic feet, must only be received as implying an infringement of old rules based on modern feeling, and not the haphazardism of nonsense verses.

Mr. Symonds's article on Milton's Blank Verse I know only by the account here given, and, so far as I understand him, I do not think that I quite agree with him. My own notions are positive enough, but other investigations have not left me the requisite time (probably a twelvemonth) to work them out, even in the many years since I first published them, in my phonetic spelling, in my *Essentials of Phonetics*, 1848, pp. 75-77. As the book has long been out of print, I will quote the passage at length, transliterating the phonetic spelling of the original:—

"An English heroic verse is usually stated to consist of ten syllables. It is better divided into five groups, each of which theoretically consists of two syllables, of which the second only is accented. The theoretical English verse is therefore 01, 01, 01, 01, 01 [0=absence, 1=presence of stress]; but this normal form is very seldom found. Practically, many of the groups are allowed to consist of three syllables, two of them being unaccented; but in these cases the syllable immediately preceding is very strongly accented.

The number of syllables may therefore be greater than ten, while the accents may be, and most generally are, less than five. It is necessary for an English verse of this description, that there should be an accent at the end of the third and fifth group, or at the end of the second and fourth; and if either of these requisites is complied with, other accents may be distributed almost at pleasure. The last group may also have one or two unaccented syllables after its last accent. Much of the beauty of a verse arises from the proper distribution of the natural grouping of words and the pauses between them, and also the distribution of the groups of accents among the groups of words. Thus the second or third group [that is, measure] must be divided in almost every case [that is, must be distributed between two words], or the effect on the ear will not be harmonious [this rule is very generally observed, but is here too absolutely worded].

"We will illustrate these remarks by a few lines from the beginning of Milton, not distinguishing sub-accented syllables as such, but reckoning them among the accented syllables, in order to simplify the analysis, as far as the rhythm is concerned." [Then I give the first sixteen lines of *Paradise Lost*, marking accents only in the text, and in a side-column marking the accent by 1, sub-accent by $\frac{1}{2}$, non-accent by 0, separating the words by a hyphen, and the rhythmical groups by a comma; but I will here write the line of figures under its line of text for more direct comparison, omit the hyphens, which thus become unnecessary, and alter 0, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, into 0, 1, 2, for distinctness, preserving the original scale in other respects.]

1. Of mán's first disobédience, and the frúit
0 2, 1 0, 0 2, 0 0 0, 0 0 2
2. Of thát forbídden trée, whose mórtal táste
0 1, 0 2, 0 1, 0 2, 0 2
3. Bróught déath into the wórld, and áll our wóe
1 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 1, 0 2
4. With lóss of E'den, till one gréater mán
0 1, 0 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 2
5. Restóre us, and regáin the blíssful séat,
0 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 2, 0 2

6. SÍng, héavenly Múse, thát, on the sécret tóp
 2 2, 0 0 2, 1 0, 0 2, 0 1
7. Of Hóreb or of Sínai, didst inspire
 0 2, 0 0, 0 2 00 1, 0 2
8. Thát shépherd, who first táught the chósén séed
 1 2, 0 0, 2 2, 0 2, 0 2
9. In the beginníng, how the héavens and éarth
 0 0, 0 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 0 2
10. Róse out of cháos. O'r, if Zíon híll
 2 0, 0 2, 0 1, 0 2, 0 2
11. Delíght thee more; and Síloa's brook that flows
 0 2, 0 2, 0 2, 00 2, 0 2
12. Fást by the óacles of Gód, I' thénce
 2 0, 0 2, 0 0, 2, 1 2
13. Invoke thy aid to my adventúrous song:
 0 2, 0 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 0 2
14. That with nó míddle flíght inténds to sóar
 0 0, 2 2, 0 2, 0 2, 0 2
15. Abóve the Aónian móunt, whíle it pursúes
 0 1, 0 0 2, 0 0 2, 2 0, 0 2
16. Thíngs unattémp'ted yét, in próse or rhýme
 2 0, 0 2, 0 1, 0 2, 0 2

"In these sixteen lines, there is not one with a superfluous syllable at the end of the line, but lines 1, 6, 7, 9, 11 and 13 have eleven syllables, and line 15 has as many as twelve syllables. There are several groups, therefore, of more than two syllables, some groups of two, and one (in the first line) of three unaccented syllables. Sometimes a group has two accents, as in lines 6, 8, 14. Lines, 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 15, owe their rhythm to accents at the end of the third and fifth groups; lines 2, 4, 6, 9, [10], 12, 13, 16, to accents at the end of the second and fourth groups; and both characteristics are united in lines 11, 14. The mode in which these necessary conditions are diversified, by the introduction of other and unexpected accents, or by the omission of accents, is very remarkable, and shews the art and rhythmical feeling of the poet. So far from the theoretical standard, 02, 02, 02, 02, 02, being of constant recurrence, we only find one line (the second) in which it is strictly observed; and even then we have to assume that sub-accents have the same effect on the ear as primary accents, which is far from being the case.

Line 11, in spite of the three syllables in the fourth group, approaches the theoretical standard nearer than any other verse." [And I might have added, line 11 is immediately succeeded by line 12, which, as a contrast, goes miles away from the standard form.]

At a later period, in my *Early English Pronunciation*, Part I., 1869, pp. 333-5, I made some passing remarks on Chaucer's rhythm as different from the modern, and I laid down my modern tests with a few variations, thus :

"In the modern verse of five measures, there must be a principal stress on the last syllable of the second and fourth measures; or of the first and fourth measures; or of the third and some other measure. There is also generally a stress upon the last syllable of the fifth measure; but if any one of the three conditions above stated is satisfied, the verse, so far as stress is concerned, is complete, no matter what other syllables have a greater or less stress or length." Then in a foot-note: "The length of syllables has much to do with the force and character of a verse, but does not form part of its rhythmical laws." Then, going on in the text, "It is a mistake to suppose that there are commonly or regularly five stresses, one to each measure." And I add in a foot-note, "Take, for example, the first six lines of Lord Byron's *Corsair*, marking the even measures by italics, and the relative amount of stress by 0, 1, 2, we have—

1. O'er the *glad waters* of the *dark blue* sea
1 0, 1 2, 0 0, 0 2, 1 2
2. Our thoughts *as boundless* and *our souls* as free,
1 1, 0 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 2
3. Far as the *breens* can bear, the *billows* foam,
2 0, 0 1, 0 2, 0 1, 0 2
4. Survey *our empire*, and *behold* our home !
0 1, 0 2, 0 0, 0 2, 0 2
5. These are *our realms*, no limits to their sway—
2 0, 0 1, 2 1, 0 0, 0 2
6. Our flag the *sceptre* all *who meet* obey.
1 2, 0 2, 0 1, 1 2, 0 2

"The distribution of stress is seen to be very varied, but the action of the rules given in the text is well marked.

Different readers would probably differ in the ratios 1 and 2, in some lines, and others might think that it would be sufficient to mark stress and no stress. The last line most nearly approaches to having five principal stresses."

My observations on Dr. Abbott's prosodical system, with which I find that I profoundly disagree, on p. 927 of my *Early English Pronunciation*, and my general remarks on metre on pp. 927-953 of the same, together with my special remarks, p. 929, quoted by Professor Mayor in this paper, must be read in the light of the above quotations, with which Professor Mayor was evidently unacquainted. But I should like to add a few remarks on the observations he has made on the special propositions of *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 929, that "the whole subject of English metres requires investigation on the basis of accent. The old names of measures borrowed from Latin prosodists are entirely misleading, and the routine scansion with the accent on alternate syllables is known only to grammarians, having never been practised by poets." I should, however, premise that all my remarks on rhythm and metre in the above quotations are merely *obiter dicta*, occurring almost parenthetically in the midst of works devoted to other investigations, and give nothing but hints or indications of a theory which I had neither space nor occasion to elaborate in those works.

My objection to the old names of measures is not sentimental, it is scientific. If I accept Horace's definition, A.P. 251—

Syllaba longa brevi subjecta vocâtur iambus—

I cannot apply it to a measure of two syllables in which the second has the greater force, and the ratio of their lengths is indifferent. It seems to me that the use of the classical names has arisen from our not understanding them, that is, not having the feeling for what they expressed, and that it is essential to our comprehension of classical metres to dissociate their terminology from that of modern metres which have nothing in common with them. For the whole subject of ancient metres, and the meaning of their regulative ele-

ment length, with its modification by pitch, and its absolute freedom from force, I must refer to my *Practical Hints on the Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, 1874, which is devoted to the explanation of a series of exercises for working out the conception into practical execution. The word foot, and names of feet, have reference solely to length, without noticing pitch or force. Our groups of syllables, or measures, as I have proposed to call them, have reference solely to force, without noticing pitch or length. But the ancient rhythms were also materially swayed by pitch, although that entered only by a sidepath into practice, and did not directly affect the rules, except as related to the distribution of words among feet, as the hexametral caesūra in Latin, where the position of the high pitch syllable in words was determined by a mechanical rule unknown in Greek, so that caesūra does not play so prominent a part in Greek hexameters, but comes in solely through the action of pause, or break in speaking between words.¹ In the same way our English verse, though based on alternations of force, is materially governed by length, and pause, is seldom or never unaccompanied by variety of pitch unknown in prose, and is more than all perhaps governed by weight, which is due to expression and mental conceptions of importance, and is distinct from force, length, pitch and pause, or silence; but results partly from expression in delivery (a very different thing from mere emphasis), produced by quality of tone and gliding pitch, with often actual weakness of tone, and partly from the mental effect of the constructional predominance of conceptions, as of substantives over adjectives, and verbs over adverbs, even when

¹ The rhythm of both Latin and Greek verse is decidedly and importantly affected by the distribution of pitch. The number of high pitch syllables in a line depends on the number of words in both. But the position of that high pitch syllable was determined in Latin mechanically, by the length of the penultim in polysyllables, and was fixed in dissyllables and monosyllables. This was not the case in Greek. The main action of caesūra in Latin hexameters is to throw the high pitch off the first syllable of dactyls and spondees. In Greek this effect could be otherwise obtained, and hence, perhaps, the caesūra in Greek is not so strictly observed in hexameters. In Greek iambics it seems to act solely by distributing feet among different words, through the action of the natural break thus occasioned. The different treatment of the pentameter in Greek and Latin very well illustrates what I mean, but the subject requires a detailed treatment which I am at present unable to give it.

the greater force or emphasis is given to the lighter words. Weight is a very complex phenomena, therefore, which certainly affects English rhythm in a remarkable manner at times, entirely crossing the rules of force or strength. We want, therefore, a nomenclature which shall distinguish degrees of force, length, pitch, and weight in syllables, and in groups of syllables so affected, and of degrees of duration of silence. Our rhythms are thus greatly more complicated than the classical, so far as we can appreciate them, except the dithyrambic and the comic, which, as Cicero felt, required music. (Or. § 183-4, quōs cum cantū spoliāveris nūda pæne remanet ōratiō.) By-the-bye, I cannot think that moderns who do not feel quantity like the ancients, such as Ritschl and Wagner, can have understood Plautus's metres better than Cicero's ears, or, to take a poet's, Horace's (A. P. 270-4), to which quantity was perfectly familiar as the foundation of rhythm.

I have elaborated a series of expressions for degrees of force, length, pitch, weight, and silence, which will in some way avoid the great ambiguities, and indeed contradictions, which occur in the use of the words *accent* and *emphasis* among writers on rhythm. These are as follows. Nine degrees are distinguished, representable by the numbers 1, the smallest, to 9, the greatest. But of these three are principal, each having a super- and sub-form.

FORCE.	LENGTH.	PITCH.	WEIGHT.	SILENCE.
9. superstrong	superlong	superhigh	superheavy	supergreat
8.— <i>strong</i>	— <i>long</i>	— <i>high</i>	— <i>heavy</i>	— <i>great</i>
7. substrong	sublong	subhigh	subheavy	subgreat
6. supermean	supermedial	supermiddle	supermoderate	supermedium
5.— <i>mean</i>	— <i>medial</i>	— <i>middle</i>	— <i>moderate</i>	— <i>medium</i>
4. submean	submedial	submiddle	submoderate	submedium
3. superweak	supershort	superlow	superlight	supersmall
2.— <i>weak</i>	— <i>short</i>	— <i>low</i>	— <i>light</i>	— <i>small</i>
1. subweak	subshort	sublow	sublight	subsmall

For all practical purposes the three principal degrees suffice, but fewer will not serve. I have found it of great

practical advantage to be able to speak of a *strong* syllable, quite independently of the origin of its strength, which may arise from its position as an accented syllable in polysyllables, or from its emphatic pronunciation in a monosyllable. Thus we may say that English rhythm is primarily governed by alternations and groups of strong and weak syllables, and that it is materially influenced by alternations and groups of long and short, high and low, heavy and light syllables, and great and small pauses. The names of these groups would require great care to be sufficiently intelligible, and I have not yet attempted to work them out. As English verse would have, however, to be studied in reference to all of them, it is very easy to express a group of syllables by the initials F, L, P, W, S, and the corresponding figures. Thus what used to be called an accentual iambus will assume any of the forms F 19, 29, 39, 49, 59, 69, 79, 89; or F 18, 28, 38, 48, 58, 68, 78; or F 17, 27, 37, 47, 57, 67; or F 16, 26, 36, 46, 56; or F 15, 25, 35, 45; or F 14, 24, 34; or F 13, 23; or F 12; and very subtle ears might be ready to appreciate all these forms, although the forms F 28, 58, 25 would be all that might be generally reckoned. But in such groups we might also have L 28, 58, 25; P 28, 58, 25; and W 28, 58, 25. Thus F 28+W 28, and F 28+W 58, would have very different effects, and new effects would be introduced by the distribution of the syllables in a group among different words and the length of the corresponding silences, if any—no silence not being marked. It will be found not easy to take note of all these peculiarities in reading a piece of poetry. Joshua Steele and James Rush tried much this way, see my paper on Accent and Emphasis, *Philological Transactions*, 1873-4, pp. 129-132. Steele attended to length and silence in one, under the name of time, and distributed them so as to divide speech, in prose or verse, into equal intervals of time, answering to musical *bars*; he especially noted pitch, and also force, not however as here employed, but as part of expression, and hence forming part of weight, and corresponding to the crescendos and diminuendos of music, and in fact the whole apparatus of oratory.

What is here meant by force he calls weight, and makes it agree so completely with the beating of a conductor of music, that he assigns weight to silences.

When merely two grades are necessary, the long vowel, implying a long syllable, has the long mark, as *sēat*; the long syllable with a short vowel may have the short mark over the vowel, as *strēngth*; short vowels and syllables are unmarked. Strong syllables have a turned period (·) after a long vowel, as *rē·gion*, or the consonant following a short vowel, as *wrē·tch'ed*; weak syllables are unmarked. High syllables have an acute accent over the short vowel in short syllables, as *cánō*, or after the vowel bearing the long or short mark in long syllables, as *cā'nō*, *cá'ntō*. The glide down from a high pitch to a low one, always on a long vowel, is marked by the circumflex, as *sūme*. The glide up from a low pitch to a high one, also always on a long vowel, is marked by a grave accent on the vowel followed by an acute accent after it, as Norwegian *dǎ'g*. The low pitch is unmarked. But a grave accent marks a still lower pitch. Heavy syllables are in italics, light syllables unmarked. Emphasis as affecting a whole word is represented by (·) placed before the whole word, and will mark any peculiarity of expression by which it is indicated in speech. Silence, when not marked by the usual points or dashes, or in addition to these, may be denoted by (o), a turned mark of degrees, for small, and (0), a turned zero, for long silences. Odd measures should end with | or), and even measures with]. By this means all the principal points of rhythm can be easily marked by ordinary types.

From the above it will be seen how minute are my own notions of rhythm as actually practised by poets in a developed state of literature, not those who had to struggle with singsong doggerel, as in much of our oldest rhymes. This also shews in what sense I consider the old classical terms "misleading"—principally, as now used, in studying classical metres with modern prepossessions,—and also as utterly insufficient for English purposes.

"Routine scansion is the natural form of poetry to a

child," i.e. it is one of those childish things which the man puts aside. "It is the right butter-women's rank to market. This is the very false gallop of verses! Why do you infect yourself with them?" (As You Like It, Act III. Sc. 2, speeches 26 and 28.) Children learn this from nurses, a very ill-educated class unfortunately. The way I pursued to give my own children other conceptions (when they were old enough for them, from about twelve to sixteen years of age) was to read out verse to them, and study verse with them. For myself, I had acquired my feeling for rhythm, *not* from the thousands of Latin and Greek verses which I made publicly, but from private attempts at English verse, beginning, when very young, with the notion that I had only to put ten syllables into each line, and finding to my surprise that that was not enough, for that some lines had a little life, while others were disjointed dolls. It is most unfortunate that it is difficult to hear poetry read at all, and much more so to hear it decently read, and that even our tragedians are not agreed as to how blank verse should be delivered. But fancy Hamlet scanning his soliloquies thus!

To *bē*·, or *nōt*· to *bē*·; that *is*· the *quē*·stion.

This is the "routine scansion" which I deprecate, this is the scansion which, as I understand them, grammarians lay down, and which I cannot believe that poets ever practised, whatever early rhymesters may have done.

I will conclude by appending a few lines which I have put together for the sole purpose of contrasting irregularities with regularities. Lines in strange rhythms would never be so accumulated and contrasted in practice. I mark them for force only below, but roughly for length, pitch, weight, silence, and measure, in the text, and add remarks.

1. In the| black·*ský'.*_{8,} glím·mǣrs| the pá·le| cō·ld mǫ·n.₈
 2. Sǣd· ghō·st| of nī·gh̃t,_{8,} and the stā·rs| *twīn·klē*₇ arōu·nd
 or, 2 2, 7 8, 2 2 6
 3. Trēm·bling| *spān·glēs.*_{8,} set·in| her dǣ·rk| gāu·ze ṽē·l
 8 2, 8 2, 2 5, 7 8

4. Pā·le *quēe'n*, | pū·re *quēe'n*,] dū'll· *quēe'n*, | forlō'·rn] quēe'n,; ā'·yeo
5. Giv·e me | the sō'·cial *glōw*, | the brī'ght] cōā'·l, theo
6. Fit·ful | ly gē·nial *flā·me*, 0 | lī'ghting] ēa·ch chēe·k,
7. Gīl·ding | ēach *smī·le*,] brī'ghtsome | accōm·paniment
8. Of brī'ght | some *mēl'·ody* rī'ng·ing from brī'ght] some hēa'·rta.
9. The rig·id lī'ne] encā·sed | in rig·id rū'·les,
10. As dū'll· | as stāg·nant *wā·ter*, 0 dū'll·s] the mī'nd
11. That lōng·s | to frēe·] itself· | from hā'·rsh] *contrō·l*.
12. And·in | the vā·ried *rhy'th·m* of hēa'·rt] and sōu'·l
13. Fēe'·ls the | sūn·gōā',] trūe· *pō·esy's*] trūe· *kī'ng*.

It will be at once evident that force is here very insufficient for marking the rhythm, and that length, weight and silence have much effect. The only regular lines are 9, 10, 11, and they have a singularly dull effect among the others. Some of the lines set all ordinary rules at nought, and some readers may take them, as Goethe's mother took Klopstock's Messiah, for "prose run mad." Line 1, an ordinary form, begins with two short and weak syllables, followed by two strong and long ones, of which the first, "bläck·," has a short vowel and an ordinary pitch, and the second, "skȳ·," has a long diphthong, and with a higher pitch. The next two measures are of the form strong-weak weak-strong, very usual at the commencement or on beginning the third or fourth measure. The third measure, "glīm·mērs," has a short strong high first syllable, and a long weak low second syllable, which is also very common. The three long strong syllables which close the line are very common as an ending, the first is high, and the other two descend, but the voice must not drop to "mōo·n," as the sentence does not end. The weight of the last word makes the metre secure. In line 2 there are three

long and rather strong syllables, but the pitch is low, and the weight unimportant. These are relieved by the trisyllabic third measure, in which the first two syllables are extremely light short and weak. The pitch rises on the long and strong "stā'rs," but higher yet on its verb (and hence heavy) "twín'klě," in which the first syllable is short and strong, but the second long and weak, the *lě* standing for the long *l* only. Line 3 does not satisfy any one of my three tests, for it is only the fourth and fifth measures which end with a strong syllable. On examination, it will be seen that the line consists of two sections; the first, "trēm'bling spān'glēs," of two measures with the strong and long syllable first, and the last ending with a long syllable; and the second, "set in her dā'rk gāu'ze vēi'l," of three measures, of which the first two are common initial and post-pausal measures (strong-weak + weak-strong), and it is this arrangement which saves the line; the last three syllables are all strong, but the last is the *heaviest*, and this makes the line complete. It would be easy to alter the line to

Set in| her dā'rk] gāu'ze vēi'l| like trēm'bling spān'glēs,
or to

Trēm'bling| like spā'n'glēs in| her dā'rk] gāu'ze vēi'l,
or

Like spā'n'gles trēm'bling in| her dā'rk] gāu'ze vēi'l.

But all these would be far more commonplace both in rhythm and poetry. At present, the beginning of the line typifies the feeling of the trembling starlight, while the three strong final syllables contrast this with the dark expanse of the heavens.

Line 4, with its nine strong syllables, is strange. The fifth syllable, "dull," has decidedly more force than the sixth, "queen," because the word forms a climax, but the "queen" throughout has much weight from grammatical reasons, which restores the balance of rhythm. The slight pause in the fifth measure raises the "queen" in force, and also requires the pitch to be sustained, that the ear may be prepared for the "ā'ye," which not only rises in force, but

much more in pitch, and must be followed by a much longer silence, ready for the burst in the next line (5), where the first words, "give me the," will be very short, though "give" will be distinctly emphasised, and with a much lower pitch than the preceding "ā'ye." The chief force comes on "sō'cial," which will lengthen its first syllable and rise in pitch, whereas "glow" will be nearly as strong, much heavier, but lower. The last four syllables seem to knock verse on the head, but the nearly equal force of "bright" and "coal," with heavier weight and higher pitch of "coal," allow the slight pause after it; the weak but lengthened "the" (which must have a perceptible pause after it, without dropping the voice to the lowest pitch, to fill up the last measure), prepares the mind to contrast the steady brightness of the glowing coal with the jerking darting flame—typified in the whole two lines 6 and 7, first by the three-fold recurrence of the group strong-weak+weak-strong (the first united with another of the form weak-weak-strong, having the weak syllables almost sub-weak and sub-short, and the two others, complete in themselves, with the weak syllables rising to medium force and medial length), and next in the curious form of the last two measures of line 7, "accōmpaniment," which must retain all its five syllables. The gushing of the "melody" is indicated in a similar manner by the two trissyllabic measures in line 8; the effect may be readily seen by avoiding them thus—

Of brī'ghtsome nō'tes, rīng'ing from brī'ghtsome hēa`rts,
or, worse far, but restoring regularity—

Of brī'ghtsome nō'tes, that rīng' from brī'ghtsome hēa`rts,
where I have marked the regular singsong pitch. One can fancy Pope "correcting" to this form!

After the three very dull regular lines 9, 10, 11, the ear is greatly relieved by the line 12, beginning with three weak syllables, rising to a climax of weight and pitch in "rhythm," and introducing a trissyllabic fourth measure, with sustained pitch on the last syllable of the fifth measure to mark the

parenthetical clause, and lead on to the last line 13, with its heavy lengthy rhythm, marked especially by the word "sun-god," which has most force on the first syllable, "sun," but higher pitch and heavier weight on the second, "god." The last three measures of this line, with four long, strong, and heavy syllables, is relieved by distributing them into two groups of two, separated by a very light weak measure with a last syllable of medial length, which saves the line from ponderosity without detracting from its majesty.

These observations on my own lines, patched together for the mere purpose of exemplification, will serve to shew the method in which, if I could bestow the requisite time upon them, I should study the rhythms of real poets, and the great complexity of English rhythms in the state they have reached since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Shakspeare had learned to be daring in metre as well as poetry. But each poet would have to be considered in relation to his antecedents and his contemporaries, and the state of our language at the time, as shewn by its pronunciation, and its prose manipulation. Each poet, worthy of being so called, bears his own individual rhythmical stamp, as well as that of his age. We must not judge Chaucer's rhythms by Browning's or Swinburne's, any more than we must judge the unison music of the Greeks by the choral music of Handel and Bach.

9 Nov 1876.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

APPENDIX. By PROFESSOR J. B. MAYOR.

I am glad that my paper should have furnished the occasion for Mr. Ellis's interesting remarks, especially as I find from them that his views are much more in accordance with my own than I feared might have been the case. If I rightly interpret his words, his position is equally removed from Dr. Abbott's mechanical system, and from the intuitivist negation of system. While freely admitting trisyllabic feet and variation of accent, he retains the division of the line into

five groups of not less than two syllables each,¹ and apparently only recognizes such trisyllabic groups as have the accent on the first or last syllable (the dactyl or anapaest). In some points the rule which he lays down would be stricter than mine, in some perhaps more lax. This we shall see further on. Before entering into details, I should like to add a word or two on the intuitivist school. I took Mr. Symonds as the best example I knew, but Mr. Swinburne perhaps is the writer who has gone to the furthest extreme in this path of subjective metrical criticism. To give one instance: in his review of Rossetti's edition of Shelley, he quotes from *The Lament*, to show the "ineffable effect of indefinable sweetness produced by the suppression of a single syllable." To judge it better I will give the whole:—

O world! O life! O time!
 On whose last steps I climb,
 Trembling at that where I had stood before;
 When will return the glory of your prime?
 No more—oh, never more!

Out of the day and night
 A joy has taken flight:
 Fresh spring, and summer, and winter hoar,
 Move my faint heart with grief, but with delight
 No more—oh, never more!

Mr. Rossetti suggests the insertion of "autumn" in the line

Fresh spring, and summer, [autumn] and winter hoar,
 in order to make it equal to the corresponding line,
 Trembling at that where I had stood before.

I cannot say that I myself feel the want of another foot, as far as the rhythm of the line is concerned, but it is difficult to see why the poet, in speaking of the joy which has passed from the year, should omit to mention autumn. However, this modest proposal makes Mr. Swin-

¹ I ought to have allowed an occasional monosyllabic first measure, as in Chaucer.—A. J. E.

burne boil over with fury. For a page and a half he prolongs his shriek against this "incredible outrage," "atrocious," "damnable corruption," for which "one thousand years of purgatorial fire would be an insufficient atonement," and so on. One may be ready to allow that no man living has a finer ear for melody than Mr. Swinburne; but this way of talking, if it is not mere foolish affectation, seems to me downright madness. A poet, it is to be supposed, except the author of *Sordello*, writes to please either the mass of men, or the majority of educated men, not some small clique who are to lord it over the rest of the world, and force their own fancies down everybody else's throat. I confess that, in every line of thought, I have an extreme suspicion of these noisy overbearing disputants, and, in the interest of freedom, I hold it each man's duty to resist their *ipse dixit* to the utmost of his power. No doubt it is interesting to learn that Mr. Swinburne prefers one line to another, just as it is to learn that Mr. Ruskin prefers one painting to another; but neither the one nor the other is empowered to give the final verdict of the world, and the violent language in which they indulge very much lessens the weight which would otherwise attach to their authority.

To return now to Mr. Ellis. I am still not quite satisfied with the limitation which he puts upon the general rule that every foot admits of the inversion of the accent. In his remarks he gives two views, not quite consistent with each other, one of which appeared for the first time in 1848, and the other in 1869. According to the former, "it is necessary that there should be an accent on the last syllable, either of the third and fifth measures, or of the second and fourth. If either of these requisites is complied with, other accents may be distributed almost at pleasure." According to the latter view, "there must be a principal stress on the last syllable of the second and fourth measures; or of the first and fourth; or of the third and some other. If any one of these three conditions is satisfied, the verse, so far as stress is concerned, is complete." Yet in p. 436 it is confessed that even this later and freer view

is only applicable in cases in which "the feeling of the rhythm is still preserved, not in a case in which the initial syllables of all the other measures had the stress;" and again, a little below, that "rhythmical lines can be written which do not observe these rules, though their observance creates rhythmical lines." But how can it be said that "their observance creates rhythmical lines," when it has just been acknowledged that it will *not* do so, if the initial syllables of all the other measures have the stress? I am unable to understand the value of a rule, the observance of which does not necessarily make the line rhythmical, and the breach of which does not necessarily make it unrhythmical.¹ Of the latter we have more than one example in the lines quoted by Mr. Ellis himself in the "Remarks." Thus the following from Byron's "Corsair" is marked by him as having the stress only on the last syllables of the second and fifth measures:

Thése are our réalms; nó limits to its swáy.²

And his own line,

Trémbling spángles sét in her dárk gauze véil,

has the final stress only in the fourth and fifth measures.

Is it not better to allow, as I have done, that three out of the five feet may be trochees, without laying down the law as to the order in which they may come? Of course the strain on the rhythm is greater when two trochees come together, or when the last foot is a trochee: and I think Mr. Ellis is right in saying that three trochees can never come together unless they belong to different sections of a line composed of two sections.³ If I were disposed to make any more definite rule, I should prefer to say that in general it would be found that the fifth and either the second or third foot had the final accent. But it seems to me exaggeration to pick out a

¹ I must be content to leave it as it is, with the limitations annexed in my previous remarks, as a good working rule, until I am able to enter into the subject more minutely.—A. J. E.

² I mark that there is a stress on the first syllable of *limits*, but that its force is inferior to that on the preceding *no*.—A. J. E.

³ As in my line just cited.—A. J. E.

certain position of the accents, as is done in p. 438, and speak of the rhythm of a line as owing to accents so placed, when the line has other accents which are of themselves capable of sustaining the rhythm.

I was certainly quite on the wrong tack when I suggested that Mr. Ellis ought possibly to be connected with the intuitivist school. Probably no man has ever elaborated such an apparatus for recording the minutest varieties of metrical stress as he has given in p. 442. Not only does he distinguish nine different degrees of force, but there are the same number of degrees of length, pitch, silence, and weight, making altogether forty-five varieties of stress at the disposal of the metrist. The first observation which occurs upon this is that, here as elsewhere, the better is the enemy of the good. If the analysis of rhythm is so terribly complicated, let us rush into the arms of the intuitivists and trust to our ears only, for life is not long enough to admit of characterizing lines when there are forty-five expressions for each syllable to be considered. But leaving this: there is no difficulty in understanding what is meant by force, pitch, length and silence, and I allow that all of them have an influence on English rhythm, though the first alone determines its general character. But what is meant by "weight"? Mr. Ellis calls it "a very complex phenomenon," which "is, more than all, the governing principle of English verse," and "is due to expression and mental conceptions of importance, resulting partly from expression in delivery, produced by quality of tone and gliding pitch, and partly from the mental effect of the constructional predominance of conceptions." I cannot think that what is thus described has any right to be classed along with those very definite accidents or conditions of sound, force, pitch, length and silence. Feeling and thought may be expressed by any one of these, as well as by the regularity or irregularity of successive sounds. Weight therefore cannot be defined as expressiveness; or if it is, it is something which cannot exist separately, but only manifests itself through the medium of one of the others. It is true that it is said to be produced partly by gliding pitch and

quality of tone; but gliding pitch is only a variety of pitch; and quality of tone, when it is not used to denote the difference between one man's mode of pronunciation and another's, as nasal, thick, clear, etc., is scarcely distinguishable from force, pitch, and the others. Nor do I find the difficulty cleared up by looking at Mr. Ellis's examples. In his own lines he tells us (p. 446) that "moon," at the end of the first, has weight, but in the second, "sad ghost of night," though "long and strong," is "unimportant in weight": "twinkle" is heavy as being a verb, and also "glow" and "coal" further on. I confess I fail to see any ground for these distinctions; to insist upon them as essential to the appreciation of rhythm seems to me to be putting an unnecessary burden on all students of poetry. The one thing to attend to is the variation of *force*, arising either from emphasis, in the case of monosyllables, or from the word-accent in polysyllables. When this is thoroughly grasped, it may be well to notice how the rhythm thus obtained receives a further colouring from pitch, length, or silence, from alliteration, and in various other ways, but all these are secondary.

Supposing, however, that we allow to these secondary considerations, "weight" among them, all the importance which is claimed for them in English verse, on what ground are all but length and pitch excluded from Latin verse? In p. 441 Mr. Ellis expressly ascribes to the ancient metres "an absolute freedom from force," and in p. 442, after speaking of the nomenclature required to distinguish the five kinds of stress in English verse, he continues, "our rhythms are thus greatly more complicated than the classical." I am quite unable to see this. No one will deny that there are passages in Greek and Latin poetry, the expressive pathos of which is unsurpassed by anything in English; such passages, for instance, as the parting of Hector and Andromache, the dying speech of Ajax, Medea's farewell to her children. This pathos is not a mere conception of the mind, but manifests itself in the rhythm by pause, by force, by gliding pitch, to at least as great an extent as is possible in English verse. As to the *force-stress*, the existence of which Mr.

Ellis expressly denies,¹ I remember well, as a boy at Rugby, how it was drilled into me by the present Oxford Professor of Political Economy, in reference to Dido's "Sic, sic, juvat ire sub umbras," expressive of the repeated stab; and again in reference to the sound of the arrows of Apollo as he shot down the Greeks—

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἔχευεν κῆρ ἐφίελς
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυρὰ νεκρῶν καλόντο θάμειαι.

This is not the place to discuss classical metres, so I shall only say in reference to the metre of Plautus, that the reason why Ritschl's theory has been, with a few modifications, so generally accepted, is that the principles which he has laid down enable us to feel the rhythm of lines, which before his time were not to be distinguished from prose. The difficulty which they caused to Cicero and Horace is easily explained when we remember the extraordinary change which had passed over the language during the century and a half which intervened between the births of Cicero and of Plautus, and also the fact that they were neither of them antiquarians. To the antiquarian Varro, the metre of Plautus was probably as clear as to Ritschl.

There is only one more point on which I have any observations to make, and that is the use of "routine scansion." I had said that this was natural to children, and that it was only through this that the ear could be gradually trained to appreciate a more varied rhythm. Mr. Ellis thinks it is only a bad trick learnt from nurses. I believe I might safely appeal to any one here to say whether he does not know of cases in which this would have been impossible: but without reference to experience, the question is surely one which may be safely determined *a priori* by the general laws of human nature. The reason why both the child and the uneducated nurse prefer the routine scansion is, that in

¹ In the sense of a stress upon one *fixed* syllable in a word of two or more syllables in Latin or Greek. As a *variable* emphasis I do not deny it at all, except as an element of the *law* of versification. How it affected the whole verse to the ear of the poet, I cannot say, not knowing how the ancients used it or felt it.—A. J. E.

everything the simple precedes the complex, the complex supersedes the simple. It is so in music, and painting, and architecture; it is so in prose composition. However elaborate and complex the result, yet it grew up from the simplest beginning, and can only be explained by reference to that. I hold, therefore, to my original statement, that the routine scansion is natural, that it is necessary for science and for education, and that it has greatly influenced many of our poets. But I quite agree with Mr. Ellis that it is entirely inadequate to represent the rhythm of Milton or Shakspeare.

I just take the opportunity of noticing here that Keightley has some good remarks in his "Life of Milton," p. 440 foll., on the manner in which Milton's verse was influenced by Italian precedents. He particularly notes the double trochee, of which he gives a number of examples, as having been derived from this source.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS BY MR. A. J. ELLIS.

My previous remarks were meant to apply first to English verse only, and secondly to the unrhymed heroic line or blank verse of an advanced stage, without any special reference to dramatic usage. Professor Mayor's elaborate observations on the metrical usages in Macbeth were not then before me. These I now propose to review briefly, but I shall not touch on rhymed verse at all. Lines which cannot be naturally divided into measures readily acknowledged by the ear, when read need not be noticed. No poet, I believe, ever writes such lines. When we find them in Shakspeare, we are bound to assume that we have not the whole or the correct version of the poet's words before us. Such lines may be exercises for ingenuity in correction; but they are at any rate *not* suited to become a basis for a metrical theory. This observation at once disposes of some of Dr. Abbott's certainly original, but as I cannot help thinking, impossible scansions.

If we were determining Shakspeare's own rhythmical habit as opposed to that of other writers,—a research now carefully pursued by many members of the New Shakspeare Society,—then we should have at once to reject from consideration all lines about which critics are yet doubtful as to whether they are Shakspeare's or not. It is evident that no theory should be founded except on undoubted instances. But we are not dealing with this investigation. Any line not rejected as defective or erroneous, or doubtful, or as simply a modern or possible emendation, is sufficient for our present purpose, whether Shakspeare wrote it or not.

In considering the rhythm of any single line, we should also, as I have already said, remember that it is part of a passage, and that the poet rhythmises whole passages, not single lines—except at a very early stage of his art. This is more particularly the case in dramatic poetry, where the author will even change the metre, by reducing or extending his number of measures, to produce an emotional effect. And this leads to the difficult question how far the dramatic poet intended his actors to give oral effect to his rhythms, how far he intended them to distinguish his verse from measured prose, and how far he himself felt the transition from verse to prose. It would take too much time to consider this, and I therefore content myself with indicating the point. In the mean time I shall assume, as the basis of a rhythmical inquiry, that a poet always means to be rhythmical, whether he writes prose or verse; but, as Dionysius and Cicero well put it, verse is *in rhythm*, and prose is merely *rhythmical*, that is, verse follows a conscious and mainly enunciative law in the juxtaposition of syllables of different kinds (long and short in Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian; strong and weak in Modern Greek, Italian, Spanish, German, English), and prose follows a subjective and mainly non-enunciative feeling.

Now I will endeavour to notice the principal points in Professor Mayor's notes on *Macbeth* in his own order.

A. I.—Lines in defect, that is, having fewer than the normal five measures, are *not* necessarily defective. These may be called "short lines," and are common enough in con-

clusions and in parts of dialogue, but they also occur in the body of a speech, as in the following examples, where I mark the odd and even measures as I previously proposed.

- I. 2, 20. Till he faced| the slave].
 I. 2, 51. And fan| our peo]ple cold|.
 I. 5, 60. Shall sun| that mor]row see|.
 II. 1, 41. As this|which now] I draw|.
 III. 2, 32. Unsafe| the while] that we|
 III. 2, 51. Makes wing| to the rock]y wood|.
 IV. 3, 217. Did you| say all?] O hell|kite! all?].

So many speeches end and begin with such short-measured lines, that when there is an "amphibious section," as Dr. Abbott strangely calls it, the break of the sense must determine to which one of the two short lines, that it is able to complete into a full line, the poet meant it to be taken. To assume that it was intended to be part of both, seems almost ludicrous. Using this test I should divide

- IV. 3, 219. At one| fell swoop]. [short]
 Dispute| it like] a man.|—I shall] do so|. [short]
 V. 3, 18. The En]glish force] so please| you. [short]
 Take thy| face hence] Seyton!! I'm sick| at heart|.

We cannot, I think, divide,¹ as Professor Mayor proposes

The En]glish force] so please| you. Take] thy face| hence
 making *face* strong; but we might make "thy face hence" a final trissyllabic measure, and then begin with a short line. I prefer the other plan.

- II. 4, 33. To be| invest|ed. [short]
 Where is Dun|can's bod]y? Car|ried to] Colmekill|. [short]
 III. 2, 12. Should be| without] regard,| what's done] is done|. [short]
 We've scotched| the snake] not kill'd] it. [short]
 V. 3, 34. Give me| my ar]mour. 'Tis| not need]ed yet|. [short]
 I'll put| it on.] [short]
 V. 8, 23. And break| it to] our hope. [short]
 I will| not fight] with thee!!—Then yield] thee
 cow]ard.

Observe that in "I will not fight with thee," the utter tonelessness of the speech takes it almost beyond the bounds of rhythm. There is scarcely a strong syllable in the phrase,

¹ I think you are right.—J. B. M.

as I read it; the strongest is *not*, and the *I will* would be naturally contracted to *I'll*. Still it is possible to read:

I will not fight] with *these*].

There seems no reason anxiously to avoid these short lines. Thus, why not read?

III. 1, 44. Sirrah| a word] with you|.

Attend| these men] our pleas|ure.

No thought of an Alexandrine need occur. Yet, as the omission of "Sirrah" or "with you," would produce a regular line, no certainty is possible—or of consequence.

In III. 2, 15, "but let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer," there is no such reason as in I. 2, 37 ("So they") to make one line of one measure, and another of five measures. Such a division is, I think, really unusual. Considered as one line, although there are six measures, there is no Alexandrine rhythm. The conclusion, "both the worlds suffer," is that of a regular five-measure line, with a pause at "disjoint," where the Folios divide the line. There is possibly some error. The initial "but" is not required, and is rather prosy. By omitting it, and making an initial trissyllabic measure, regularity is restored:

Let the frame| of things] disjoint:| both the| worlds suf|fer.
It is therefore a line from which we can conclude nothing.

I should divide

I. 3, 126. In deep|est con]sequence. Cous|ins a word] I pray
you|.—

Two truths| are told.] [short]

without a "common section," giving a short line to the commencement of Macbeth's soliloquy.

I also cannot accept the scansion of IV. 3, 28, given by Professor Mayor on p. 418. It seems to me entirely unlike the rhythm of the rest of Macbeth, especially in ending a line with "but" after a comma, that is, the "weak ending," and in the two initial measures of the strong weak form. I would rather divide

Without| leave ta]king.

I pray| you,

[short, pause]

[short, initial]

Let not| my jeal]ousies| be your] dishon]ours,
 But mine| own safe]ties. You| may be right]ly just,
 Whatev]er I] shall think|.—Bleed, bleed,] poor coun]try.

But I strongly suspect the genuineness of the text throughout this scene; and here the words, "I pray you," which are quite unnecessary, may be a mere insertion, or part of a player's "cut."

A. II.—"Lines defective in their internal structure," for reasons already explained, may be omitted. Each requires a separate critical examination, either on the ground of pronunciation or alteration, which takes it out of the present investigation.

B. I.—A superfluous syllable at the end of a line, or even two such, when both are very weak, must be admitted as common in heroic rhythm, especially when dramatic. The greater or less liking for it by particular poets is altogether another inquiry. But as to the existence of such syllables at the end of the second or third measure, after a pause, or closing a speech, Professor Mayor is right in supposing that I should treat them in almost every case as cases of trissyllabic measures. And for this reason: the continuation may or may not begin with a weak syllable; when it does not, the final syllable of the preceding section is evidently effective, that is, *not* superfluous. Why should it not be so in other cases, when it merely introduces a regular variety, namely a trissyllabic measure. Thus in

I. 4, 11. As 'twere| a care]less tri]fle.—There's] no art|
 the last syllable of "trifle" acts in the usual way. But read "there is] no art|," with an emphasis (which the passage allows), and we have a trissyllabic fourth measure. There is, therefore, no reason for considering "-fle" a superfluous syllable in this case rather than the other.

I. 4, 27. Safe toward| your love] and hon]our.—Wel]come
 hith]er.

Here "-our" is effective. Had the reading been "Thou'rt wel]come hith]er," would "-our" have ceased to be effective? I find no need for such a supposition.

I. 5, 36. Than would| make up] his mes|sage.—Give] him
tend|ing.

Here “-sage” is effective, why then not “-stant” in

I. 5, 57. The fu|ture in] the in|stant.—My dear|est love ?
Might we not omit “my,” without the slightest influence on
the rhythm of the first section ? But then “-stant” must be
effective, not superfluous. Without considering every line, I
will mark the measures in a few, where this “superfluous”
syllable is *not* part of the trissyllabic measure which it intro-
duces, or of two such syllables. Generally it will be seen
that when this weak syllable is followed by a strong one, we
have a regular weak-strong measure. But the final weak
syllable of the first section may be followed by another weak
one, making a weak-weak measure ; though it is then more
commonly part of a trissyllabic measure of the weak-weak-
strong class, and even a weak-weak-weak measure is possible.

III. 1, 25. 'Twixt this, and sup]per: go| not my horse] the
bet|ter.

III. 1, 34. Craving| us joint]ly. Hie| you to horse:] adieu|.

III. 1, 79. In our| last con]ference, passed| in proba]tion with| you.

III. 2, 19. 'That shake| us night]ly. Bet|ter be with] the dead.

IV. 3, 229. Convert| to an]ger. Blunt| not the heart,] enrage| it.

III. 4, 86. I have| a strange] infr|imity, which] is noth|ing

To those| that know] me. [short line, decided pause]

Come, love| and health] to all ;| then I'll] sit down|.

Give me| some wine!] fill full !! [short, order]

I drink| to the gen]eral joy| o' the] whole ta|ble.

[This might be divided thus, if the text is correct—Pope
omits “come” in v. 88, but it seems better left in.]

V. 6, 4. Lead our| first bat]tle. Worth|y Macduff] and we|

IV. 3, 117. To thy| good truth] and hon]our. Dev'lish Macbeth|.

[Read “dev'lish” in two syllables, it is not once necessarily
of three syllables in Shakspeare, even at the end of a line, as
in Rich. III., I. 4, 265,

Not to| relent] is beast|ly sav]age dev'lish.]

IV. 3, 33. For good|ness dare] not check| thee. Wear] thou
thy wrongs|.

[Perhaps “thou” is erroneous, as it is quite superfluous.]

III. 6, 2. Which can| inter]pret fur|ther. On]ly, I say,|

V. 8, 27. Here may| you see] the ty|rant. I'll| not yield|.

[Read *I'll* and emphasise *not*, saving the rhythm by the weight of *yield*.]

B. II.—Much of the so-called “slurring,” and almost all the “elision,” when not usual in common conversation, I find unnecessary, that is, I see no reason for not reading the words fully, with a natural pronunciation. As to Alexandrines divided among two speakers, there is always a doubt, because only two short lines may have been intended. These lines, therefore, lie out of my present province. When a five-measure line ends with two light superfluous syllables, it does not become an Alexandrine to the feeling of the reader, and there is no occasion to suppose one of these light syllables to be elided. The words “fantastical, gentlemen, instruments,” give rise to such terminations. In the middle of lines they simply produce trissyllabic feet, as

III. 2, 22. In rest|less ec]stasy. Dun|can is in] his grave|.—

IV. 3, 239. [may be divided thus]

Put on| their in]struments. [short, pause]

Receive| what cheer| you may, [short, initial]

The night| is long] that nev|er finds] the day.

I suspect, however, some error in “receive.” A monosyllable, such as “have,” would suit the-rhythm, and occurs with “cheer” in other passages, Rich. III., V. 3, 74: “I have not that alacrity of spirit, Nor cheer of mind,” and All’s Well, III. 2, 67: “I prithee, lady, have a better cheer.” Whereas “receive cheer” is not used elsewhere. Certainly an Alexandrine would be very much out of place as the first line of a final rhyming couplet, and even the break, with short lines, is not what we should expect. But this enters into the region of conjecture and criticism which I wish to avoid. I pass over all the other lines where Professor Mayor suspects errors. And the rest of his remarks referring to the measures strong-strong and strong-weak, in place of the theoretical weak-strong (which he calls spondees and trochees, p. 433), merely bear out my own observations.

In reading through Macbeth afresh for this purpose, the

general impression made on me is that the character of five-measure lines is well preserved. The fifth measure of each verse ends strongly, with often one, and occasionally two additional very weak syllables. I have not observed any so-called "weak endings." Sometimes, not often, the fifth measure has two weak syllables. But two weak syllables are also allowed to form a measure elsewhere, as the second in

III. 1, 96. Distin|guishes] the swift| the slow] the sub|tle.

III. 1, 97. Accor|ding to] the gift| which bound|eous nature.

Trissyllabic measures are common enough, perhaps more common than our present utterance shews. The lines are generally vigorous, and rhythm varied. But there are probably numerous errors of the printer and copyist, as indeed the Cambridge editors allow, "especially as regards metre," to use their own words. This makes the selection of this play rather unsuitable for the determination of Shakspeare's metres, and, as Professor Mayor states, it was not purposely so selected. There are a very large number of short lines, especially when ending and beginning speeches. Whether this was intentional, or is to be reckoned among errors, or arose from players' "cuts," cannot be determined. Generally they do not produce a bad effect. Long lines, especially real Alexandrines, are not numerous, and perhaps were never intentional.

I pass now to Professor Mayor's Appendix; and first referring to Mr. Swinburne's horror at Rossetti's suggested insertion of "autumn" in Shelley's *Lament*, I almost think that Shelley would have resented its intrusion himself; it comes in so very lamely.

With regard to my remark that the observance of my rules creates rhythmical lines, although rhythmical lines may be written which do not obey them, I submit that this is no contradiction. It simply admits that the rules are not exhaustive. Their chief defect consists in their not paying sufficient regard to the fifth measure, which, striking the ear last, like a cadence in music, is often typical. With respect to this fifth measure, the general condition, although circumstances sometimes arise which induce the poet to violate it, is

that the last syllable should *not be weaker* than the preceding syllable or syllables, and that, when it is actually weaker, it should be at least longer or heavier. The usual form of the fifth measure is weak-strong.

In looking through the first book of *Paradise Lost*, I find this usual form in a decided majority of instances. It occurs in fifteen out of the first sixteen lines already quoted (p. 438). Even in the exception (line 12), the fifth measure is at most mean-strong. In a few instances I have noted weak-weak-strong; but then the weak is usually subweak, as: ethere-al sky, fie-ry gulf, tempestu-ous fire, mutu-al league, perpetu-al king, sulphu-rous hail, fie-ry waves, Stygi-an flood, obli-vi-ous pool, superi-or friend, ponde-rous shield, cho-sen this place, popu-lous North, barba-rous sons, fie-ry couch, tem-ple of God, border-ing flood, gener-al names, Isra-el 'scape, spi-rit more lewd (where the second weak syllable is almost sub-mean, but *sprite* may have been said), counten-ance cast, follow-ers rather (with a superfluous syllable also), spir-it that fell. A very common variety is simply weak-weak, as: ar-gu-ment, prov-idence, vis-ible, en-emy, suprem-acy, es-sences, mis-ery, mis-er-able (with a superfluous syllable, which is not usual after a fifth measure of this kind), calam-ity, circum-ference, chiv-alry, car-casses, invis-ible, etc.

The most important deviation, however, consists in having fifth measures of the form strong-superstrong, or mean-strong, or even strong-strong or strong-heavy. I subjoin all cases of this kind which occur in the first book of *Paradise Lost*, quoting the whole line, and italicising the other measures, which, instead of being weak-strong, have any other form, as weak-weak, mean-strong, strong-strong, strong-mean, strong-weak, or trissyllabic. The figures prefixed shew all the measures in which the *last* syllable predominates over the others, and a glance at them will shew that, whatever other measures satisfy this condition, we have always either the third and fifth, or the second and fourth, that most frequently only four measures satisfy this condition, and that when all the five measures have the principal force on the last syllable (which occurs in seven cases), one at

least of these measures is varied by strengthening or lengthening the preceding syllable, or trissyllabising a measure, and thus avoiding the monotony—in fact only one (“By ancient Tarsus”) does not treat at least two measures in this way.

- 1 345 Wast pre|sent, and] with might|y wings] out-spread
 123 5 Say first| for Heav'n] *hides noth|ing from*] thy view
 2345 Nor the| deep tract] of Hell;| say first] what cause
 23 5 Favour'd| of Heav'n] so high|ly to] fall off
 123 5 The infer|nal ser]pent; he| it was,] whose guile
 2345 Mix'd with| obdu]rate pride| and stead]fast hate
 12 45 A dun|geon hor]rible| on all] sides round
 123 5 As one| great fur]nace flam'd;| yet from] those flames
 2345 Regions| of sor]row, dole|ful shades,] where peace
 123 5 That comes| to all;] but tor|ture with]out end
 2 45 There the| compan]ions of] his fall] o'erwhelm'd
 123 5 And thence| in Heav'n] call'd Sat|an, with] bold words
 12345 If thou| *beest he*;] but O,| how fall'n !] how chang'd
 23 5 Cloth'd with| transcend]ent bright|ness, didst| outshine
 12345 Though chang'd| in out]ward lus|tre that] fix'd mind
 2 45 Who from| the ter]rour of] this arm] so late
 2 45 Irrec|oncile]able| to our] grand foe
 2345 Out of| our e]vil seek| to bring] forth good
 12345 By an|cient Tars]us held :| or that] sea-beast
 2 45 Moors by| his side] under| the lee,] while night
 12345 So stretch'd| out huge] in length| the arch]-fiend lay
 2 45 Evil| to oth]ers; and| enrag'd,] might see
 123 5 How all| his mal]ice serv'd| but to] bring forth
 123 5 That felt| unu]sual weight;| till on] dry land
 123 5 Of un|blest feet]. Him fol|low'd his] next mate |
 23 5 In this| unhap]py man|sion; or] once more
 2 45 Hung on| his should]ers like| the moon,| whose orb
 2 45 Or in| Valdar]no to| descry] new lands
 12345 Hath vex'd| the Red] Sea coast,| whose waves] o'erthrew
 2345 Roaming| to seek] their prey| on earth,] durst fix
 12345 By that| uxo]rious king,| whose heart] though large
 123 5 Of Tham|muz year]ly wound|ed; the] love-tale
 123 5 Infect|ed Si]on's daught|ers with] like heat
 1 345 Of a|liena]ted Ju|dah. Next] came one
 2345 Maim'd his| brute im]age, head| and hands] lopt off
 1 345 From mor|tal or] immor|tal minds.] Thus they

- 123 5 That fought| at Thebes] and Il|*sum, on*] each side
 123 5 That all| *these pu*]ssant le|*gions whose*] exile
 1 345 He spake,| *and, to*] confirm] his words| out-flew
 1 3 5 In vi|*sion be*]atiff|*ic: by*] him first
 12345 To man|*y a row*] of pipes| the sound-]board breathes

Nevertheless, even with this supplementary caution respecting the constitution of the fifth measure, my rules do not form, as I thought, the sole conditions of rhythmical verse. A really rhythmical line can be contrived (as line 3 of my own, p. 445), which does not follow my rules, but owes its rhythmical character to other considerations, which I have partly noticed on p. 447. It may be observed in addition that the metre (using *s* and *w* for strong and weak) *sio sw sio ws ws w* is the imitation of the Sapphic line by force-accents, and though I do not recollect any line in any poet which adopts it among heroic lines, there appears to be no strong reason against it. Thus

Listen| while the] damsels| respond] enchant|ing.

Far from| madd'ning] crowds she| retires] exhaus|ted.

But perhaps such lines owe their rhythm also to the fact that they might be considered heroic lines with a monosyllabic first and a trissyllabic fourth measure—

List|en while] the dam|sels respond] enchant|ing.

Prefix “Oh!” and the line runs quite smoothly.

Although it is not common to find nor easy to invent lines which violate my rules and this subvariety, yet Dr. Abbott (English Lessons for English People, p. 205) notices two verses of Milton which accomplish this feat. The first is:

12 5 Burn'd af|ter them] to the| bottom]less pit. P.L. iv. 866.
 To which we may add:

2 5 With them| from bliss] to the| bottom]less deep. P.R. i. 361.

The word *bottomless* occurs only three times in Milton. The third instance is

12 45 With hid|eous ru]in and| combust]ion, *down*
 1 345 To bot|*tomless*] perdi|tion; there] to dwell.

If the word *down* had been accidentally omitted in the first two instances, by restoring it, we should get easy lines.

12 45 Burn'd af|ter them] down to| the bot]tomless pit.
 2 45 With them| from bliss] down to| the bot|tomless deep.

As the lines stand, they can be only partially saved by making a pause after the second measure, uttering the third "to the" in a low solemn tone, lengthening each syllable abnormally, and then bursting out on "bottomless," in which, however, the greater force of the first syllable will be accompanied by a lower pitch. But this is "forcing" the words into metre, and even a Milton cannot succeed in making the result rhythmical.

Dr. Abbott's second instance is P.R. iv. 289 :

2 5 Light from| above] from the| fountain] of light,

which may be treated in the same way, by lengthening "from the" abnormally, but the pitch would rise on the first syllable of "fountain," instead of falling, as it did on the first syllable of "bottomless," above. Milton may have also lengthened the second syllable of "fountain." In P.L. iii. 375,

Fountain| of light ;] thyself| invis]ible,

this is not needed. Modern ears would certainly be more satisfied with

Light from| above,] the foun|tain of] all light,

which Milton would have probably felt to be commonplace.

Respecting "weight" I am afraid I cannot go into further particulars. I did not say it was produced by gliding pitch or quality of tone, but "partly from expression in delivery," of which these were common indications. Also Professor Mayor seems to have misunderstood what I meant by "gliding pitch," which is "not only a variety of pitch" in any respect, but is the passing by insensible degrees from a high to a low pitch (as in the Greek circumflex), or from a low to a high pitch, or first one and then the other. Also, acoustically speaking, quality of tone (consisting in the relative loudness of the component simple tones of a sound) is totally distinct from force or pitch. I do not insist on the appreciation of weight, or pitch, or quality, or length, or anything but variety of force for the mere discovery of the laws of rhythm. The other considerations are only required for the complete estimation of the poet's march within those laws, and this march differs materially from poet to poet.

I have already spoken in a footnote as to the meaning I attach to "freedom from force" in classical poetry. Until we can be sure of speaking like Virgil and Homer, we cannot hope to appreciate their rhythms fully. But we cannot even approach within two thousand years of appreciating it, till we have learned to realise the effect of fixed-pitch and fixed-length on every syllable of every word, as perfectly distinct from the effect of fixed-force. As I do not find that this has been done, or even attempted in actual public declamation, by any modern but myself, and as I believe that such a mode of utterance was perfectly easy and natural to Cicero and Horace, I think that these two writers had a far better chance of understanding the rhythm of Plautus than either Ritschl or Wagner, and there is just a chance, that as the last two have given a scansion intelligible to the moderns, they may have invented a scansion unintelligible to the ancients. A Dutch savant whom I heard read a paper in excellent English, told me he was sure he pronounced badly because all the foreigners understood him. How far Varro, so far as he was an antiquary, understood ancient rhythms, I cannot venture to say; but certainly very few English antiquaries have any notion of the rhythm of Chaucer. And if Varro and Ritschl saw their results with equal clearness, the results they saw were undoubtedly very different.

Of course the "sīc, sīc, juvat ire sub umbrās," of Dido were introduced to produce an intentional effect, like the "out! out! brief candle!" of Macbeth (V. 5, 23), and neither belongs to the rules of versification, except in so far that both the first syllables "sīc, sīc," are long, and both the last syllables "out! out!" are strong.

With regard to routine scansion, I must not be supposed to have implied that it is "*only* a bad trick learnt from nurses." It is certainly "*only* a bad trick;" and it is also often learned from nurses, but it may be learned from others of the same calibre, or from the natural ear of the young child. This routine is, of course, fundamental. But I did not consider that we were investigating such a state; but rather the edifice built up on this foundation, to which the early con-

ceptions were inapplicable, and I thought that our problem was to determine how much of the early plans remained to identify the new edifice with the old.¹ A. J. E.

¹ Since this paper was read, I have become acquainted with Dr. Ernst Brücke's *Die Physiologischen Grundlagen der neuhochdeutschen Verskunst* (Vienna, 1871, 8vo. pp. 85), in which he has had the extraordinary notion of investigating what *ought* to be the rhythmical structure of verse, by repeating verses to such syllables as *pap, bim, bam*. Thus he got the Alcaic rhythm from "*bimbdm bmbdbm bmbabam bmbabam*." While saying these words, he rested a thin veneer of wood on his lower lip, the middle being supported and fastened, and the other end being furnished with an index which scratched a curve on a blackened roller turning with a constant velocity. Naturally every closure of the lips occasioned a hillock on this curve, the distance between hillocks (measured in a peculiar manner, which I need not describe) gave the lengths of syllables, and the time between one chief arsis (every second stress) and another. Of course he got very satisfactory results, because they entirely depended on his own *bim-bdm*; the principal of them being that in all kinds of modern high German poetry (including their imitation of the Greek metres, which are indeed chiefly dwelt on) the time from chief arsis to chief arsis is constant. To effect this even the pauses must be regulated. Unfortunately he is obliged to say: "If more importance is given to interpunctuation, the verse will no longer be recited metrically, but delivered rhetorically, as frequently happens on the stage, and up to a certain point must happen" (p. 55), which upsets the value of *bim-bdm*. One could hardly have anticipated such a mode of determining the nature of versification, when the author began with such an excellent assumption as the following: "I believe I shall not be contradicted by the reader, when I start from the principle, that a verse is the more correct, the less that we have to depart from ordinary prose pronunciation when scanning it." How is this reconcilable with *bim-bdm*?

* * In a letter to Mr. Furnivall, Mr. Rossetti explains that "autumn" was inserted in the passage from Shelley at Mr. Fleay's suggestion. He adds that though he still holds the line of full length to be probably what Shelley wrote, or intended to write, he would not now take upon himself to insert the word, "partly because one can't be certain Shelley had it in, and partly because, to my own ear, it damages the melody of a highly melodious line." J. B. MAYOR.

IX.—WORDS, LOGIC AND GRAMMAR. By HENRY SWEET, Esq.

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INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the most striking features of the history of linguistic science as compared with zoology, botany and the other so-called natural sciences, is its one-sidedly historical character. Philologists have hitherto chiefly confined their attention to the most ancient dead languages, valuing modern

languages only in as far as they retain remnants of older linguistic formations—much as if zoology were to identify itself with palæontology, and refuse to trouble itself with the investigation of living species, except when it promised to throw light on the structure of extinct ones.

Philologists forget, however, that the history of language is not one of decay only, but also of reconstruction and regeneration. These processes are of equal, often more importance than those by which the older languages were formed, and, besides, often throw light on them. They have further the great advantage of being perfectly accessible to the observer. Thus the growth of a language like English can be observed in a series of literary documents extending from the ninth century to the present day, affording examples of almost every linguistic formation.

But before history must come a knowledge of what now exists. We must learn to observe things as they are without regard to their origin, just as a zoologist must learn to describe accurately a horse, or any other animal. Nor would the mere statement that the modern horse is a descendant of a three-toed marsh quadruped be accepted as an exhaustive description. Still less would the zoologist be allowed to ignore the existing varieties of the *Equidæ* as being “inorganic” modifications of the original type. Such, however, is the course pursued by most antiquarian philologists. When a modern language discards the cumbrous and ambiguous inflexions it has received from an earlier period, and substitutes regular and precise inflexions and agglutinations of its own, these formations are contemptuously dismissed as “inorganic” by the philologist, who forgets that change, decay and reconstruction are the very life of language—language is “inorganic” only when it stands still in its development.

The first requisite is a knowledge of phonetics, or the form of language. We must learn to regard language solely as consisting of groups of sounds, independently of the written symbols, which are always associated with all kinds of disturbing associations, chiefly historical. We must then consider language in its relation to thought, which necessitates

some study of the relation of language to logic and psychology. Such investigations, if carried out consistently, will greatly modify our views, not only of English, but of language generally, and will bring us face to face with many of the ultimate problems of language, which have hitherto been rather shirked by philologists. Such problems are those which I propose to discuss in the present paper. I begin with the important question of sentence-, word- and syllable-division, beginning again with the purely formal, or phonetic criteria.

SENTENCE- AND WORD-DIVISION.

The first and most obvious is the organic necessity of taking breath—we are unable to utter more than a certain number of sounds in succession without renewing the stock of air in our lungs, which unavoidably necessitates a pause. Speech in its simplest form consists mainly of short questions and answers expressed in simply constructed phrases—in this case there is not merely a pause, but an absolute cessation of voice.

Within these “breath-groups,” or phonetic sentences, there is no pause whatever. This is important to observe, as many people, misled by our ordinary word-division, imagine that they make a pause at the end of every word. But a very little observation will be enough to convince them that the words of a sentence run into one another exactly in the same way as the syllables of a word do. This coalescence is most readily observable in the stopped consonants, which, when sounded alone, or at the end of a sentence, end in a marked explosion of breath, which is sometimes called the “organic recoil.” Now if we compare such a sentence as “he took off his hat” and “he took his hat off,” we see that this organic recoil is quite wanting in the second sentence, the *t* in “hat off” being pronounced exactly as in the single word “hatter.”

The second criterion is force or stress—the most important element in the synthesis of speech-sounds. We will now examine some simple sentences, writing them provisionally without division into words or syllables, and see what light is thrown on their structure by the degrees of force with

which their elements are pronounced.¹ Let us take the sentences (*kæmtemorou*) and (*henrikeimhoumyestæde*). It is at once evident that certain syllables are pronounced with greater force than others; marking force provisionally by the use of italics, we have therefore (*kæmtemorou*) and (*henrikeimhoumyestæde*), disregarding minuter shades of force for the present. We find, in short, that every sentence can be analyzed into smaller groups characterized by one predominant stress-syllable, round which the others group themselves. In our first sentence there are two such stress-groups, in the second four; and if we consider the meaning of these two sentences, we see that the number of stress-groups agrees exactly with that of the words they contain—a word is, phonetically speaking, a stress-group. It must now be observed that the stress, although it tells us how many words there are in a sentence, does not tell us where the words begin. Thus in our first sentence there is nothing in the *sound* to enable us to assign the second syllable to the first or the second stress-group—there is, phonetically speaking, no more reason for the division (*kæm temorou*) than for (*kæmtæ morou*), although the *sense* shows clearly that the first is the only possible one. Word-division is really a very complex problem, involving many considerations, phonetic, logical and grammatical. We get so accustomed to our received word-division that we regard it as something self-evident. But when we have to deal with unwritten languages, we find it by no means so easy. Thus in Mr. Jenner's paper on the Cornish Language (Trans. 1873-4) it is stated that at the beginning of the last century Cornish was "a most irregular jargon, the chief peculiarity of which was

¹ In the phonetic notation I have here used, the letters are employed as far as practicable in their original Roman values, arbitrary combinations being excluded as much as possible. Words and sentences written phonetically are enclosed in parentheses.

a	as in	father.	æ	as in	bird, burn.	dh	as in	then.
æ	"	hat.	i	"	bit.	sh	"	rouge.
æ	"	hair.	iy	"	beat.	q	"	sing.
æ	"	nought.	o	"	not.	o	"	church.
f e	"	bet.	ou	"	note.	j	"	judge.
ei	"	bat.	u	"	full.	x	"	six.
e	"	but, father.	uw	"	fool.			

a striking uncertainty of the speakers as to where one word left off and another began." I must confess to having encountered the same difficulty in my study of our own language.

It is evident that word-division implies *comparison*. As long as we confine ourselves to the examination of isolated sentences, we shall not advance one step further. But when we compare a variety of sentences in which the same sound-groups are repeated in different combinations, we are able first to distinguish between meaning and unmeaning sound-groups, and finally to eliminate a certain number of groups having an independent meaning and incapable of further division. The test of independent meaning is *isolation*, or the power of forming an independent sentence. We may, therefore, define a word as an ultimate, or indecomposable sentence. Thus the verb (kəm) pronounced with a falling tone is equivalent to the fuller sentence, "I order you to come;" the adverb (əp) pronounced with a rising tone may signify "shall we go up?" or may have some analogous meaning determined by the context. The same applies also to nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Sound-groups, which, although phonetically capable of isolation, are meaningless when so isolated, are not words.

But between these two extremes there is an intermediate class of sound-groups, which, although not capable of being isolated and forming sentences by themselves, are yet not utterly devoid of meaning, and can, therefore, be to a certain extent isolated in thought, if not in form. Thus, if we compare the three groups (mæn), (əmæn) and (dhəmæn), we see that the two prefixes have an unmistakable, though somewhat vague meaning of their own, which enables us to identify them at once in all other cases in which they are prefixed to nouns, and yet these two syllables would convey no meaning if pronounced alone. If, on the other hand, we attempt to analyze such a group as (diyvieit), we find that not only are its elements incapable of logical isolation, but that they fail to suggest any idea whatever. The last syllable is, of course, identical with the preterite of the verb "eat," but the association is felt to be purely fortuitous. But

if we compare (denai), (depouz) and (depraiv), we feel at once the meaning of deprivation and negation in the (de), just as we feel the generalizing and specializing meaning of the prefixes in (emæn) and (dhæmæn), although the syllables (nai), (pouz) and (praiv) have no meaning whatever by themselves. We are, therefore, obliged to regard (denai), etc., as ultimate, indecomposable words, in spite of the significance of the prefix, while in the case of (dhæmæn) and (emæn) it is, to some extent, an open question whether we have here one word or two words. It seems best to distinguish two classes of words, *full-words* and *half-words*, (mæn) being a full-word, (dhe) a half-word—that is, a word incapable of forming a sentence by itself, or of suggesting an independent meaning.

The next question is, how far do these logical distinctions correspond to the phonetic ones already laid down? The answer is simple enough. Full-words correspond to stress-groups, half-words to stressless syllables. If we wish to know how many full-words there are in a sentence, we only have to count the number of full stresses. Each full stress indicates a full-word, although it does not show where the word begins and ends.

It must be remarked that the test of being able to form a sentence by itself does not strictly apply to all words. The finite verb is an important exception. The third person (gouz), for instance, cannot form a sentence by itself; by the sentence-test, therefore, (gouz) is not a word; while (hiygouz) is. And yet it would be absurd to deny the title of word to (gouz) in such a sentence as (dhæmængouz). We feel (gouz) to be a full-word, 1) because it has the full stress, 2) because of the analogy of the imperative (gou), which can stand alone, and 3) because of (hiygouz), which is felt to be a compound precisely analogous to (dhæmæn), etc.

There is, finally, an important phonetic element of word-division to be noticed. This is the fact that certain sounds and sound-combinations only occur in certain positions. Thus the sound (q) and the combinations (tl), (x), etc., never occur at the beginning of a sentence, and others, again, never occur finally. It is, therefore, clear that these sounds cannot begin or end any full-word.

DERIVATIVE SYLLABLES AND INFLEXIONS.

We must now consider the important question of the relation of half-words to derivative syllables and inflexions. It need scarcely be remarked that no absolutely definite line can be drawn between them, and that the distinctions made in practice are often purely conventional.

We must first consider an important distinction between full- and half-words, which clearly brings out the semi-inflexional character of the latter, viz. that full-words are position-free, half-words not. Compare the varying position of (gou) in such sentences as (*gouəwei*), (*ailgou*), (*ailgouəwei*), with the unvarying præ-position of (dhə) in (*dhəmæn*). The same fixity of position characterizes derivatives and inflexions also, but in a higher degree. Thus, although the position of (dhə) *before* its noun is fixed, the connexion is loose enough to allow an adjective to come between, as in (*dhəgudmæn*). Such "incorporations" are quite exceptional with derivative syllables,¹ and still more so with inflexions.

Derivations may be either initial or final, inflexions are only final. This last is, of course, an arbitrary limitation, which, although convenient enough in treating of the old Aryan languages, in which the most general relations were generally expressed by suffixed syllables, does not apply to other languages, which indicate the same relations by means of prefixes. Even in the Aryan languages such formations as the augment and reduplication can only be conventionally separated from the postfixed inflexions. It is, however, undeniable that, in the Aryan languages at least, the end of words is more exposed to phonetic decay than the beginning, and consequently that that intimate fusing together of root and modifying syllable, which is felt to be something more advanced than mere derivation, and which we call inflexion, has a right to be considered rather as a "final" than as an "initial" phenomenon.

There are several important distinctions between half-

¹ The Gothic *ga-u-laubjats* = "Do ye-two believe?" with its incorporated interrogative particle *u*, is a case in point.

words and derivatives. Half-words can be used everywhere where their meaning allows of it, thus (dhə) can be prefixed to all nouns. Such a derivative as (be), on the other hand, can only be prefixed to certain words without any apparent reason—we have (bekəm), but not (begou). Further, the root often has no independent existence; from (beheiv), for instance, we cannot deduce a verb (heiv). Or else the connexion between the meaning of the simple root and that of the derivative is not evident, as in (kəm) and (bekəm). There are, of course, various degrees of obscuration of meaning; the prefix (be), for instance, is practically almost meaningless in the present English, while (mis) in (misteik), (misfaotyən), etc., has a perfectly clear meaning. But as a general rule the connexion between derivative syllable and root is logically very intimate, more so even than in inflexions. Sometimes the derivative syllable even takes the full-stress from the root, as in the German *ant-wort*, which never happens with half-words and inflexions.

Inflexions differ from derivative syllables, and agree with half-words in being of general, unrestricted application, and in always preserving a more or less definite general signification. Their main characteristic is phonetic variation and obscuration: derivative syllables are invariable in form, inflexions not. Compare the plural forms (hæts), (dogz), (men), (fiyt), so definite in meaning, and so divergent in form, with a group of (be)-derivatives, with their constancy of form and want of meaning. Inflexions often express the same idea in totally different ways, either from phonetic change, as in the Latin acc. plurals *ovēs*, *equōs*, and the Greek acc. singulars *hippon*, *ōpa*, or from confusing the meanings of forms of independent origin, as in the Latin datives *populō* and *patri*.

If we assume, as we seem to be justified in doing by historical evidence, that derivative syllables and inflexions have developed out of half-words, we may roughly describe a derivative syllable as a half-word which has lost its logical, an inflexional as one which has lost its phonetic independence.

SYLLABLE-DIVISION.

We may now turn to the important question of syllabification. The definition of a syllable is easy enough: it is a group of sounds containing a vowel, or, in some cases, a vowel-like consonant. To determine the number of syllables in a word, we have simply to count the number of vowels. The difficulty is to tell where the syllable begins. Here I am compelled to differ both from Mr. Bell and Mr. Ellis. Mr. Bell considers that the division into syllables is determined by the nature of the sounds which constitute the syllable, whereas I hold that syllabification has nothing to do with the sounds themselves, but depends entirely on the force with which we pronounce them. (It must be understood that I speak of the natural syllabification of spoken language, not of the artificial syllabification of the spelling-books.) Let us consider the syllabification of a natural, simple sentence, such as (*teikəp dhətiy kəp*). Here we at once feel that the first (*k*) belongs to the preceding syllable, that the syllabification is clearly (*teik-əp*), while the second (*k*) belongs to the following syllable, the division being (*tiy-kəp*), the consonant being the same in both cases. The difference is simply one of stress, the first (*k*) being pronounced with weak, the second with strong force. (We may for the present disregard the fact that the stress is in both cases secondary.) The influence of the syllable-stress in determining the meaning of words is so important that if we reverse that of (*teikəp*) by beginning the secondary stress not on the vowel, but on the preceding (*k*), the word becomes quite unintelligible, or rather, sounds like an Irish pronunciation of "teacup." Other examples of varying syllabification are (*notətaol*)¹ and (*ətaolmæn*), (*ətæk*) = "attack" and (*etæk*) = "at Ack" (name of place). We see, in short, that a syllable is a vowel-group beginning with a certain degree of force, which decreases up to the end of the syllable, till a new stress marks the beginning of another

¹ Generally, however, pronounced (*notətaol*), just as (*ətəuəm*) becomes (*etəuəm*).

syllable. This decrease of force is observable in monosyllables also: in (kæt), for instance, the (k) is much stronger than the (t)—we do not pronounce (kæt) or even (kæt), but only (kæt). Indeed, it may be stated as a general law that perfect uniformity of force is something exceptional: force is followed by weakness of stress, and uniform weakness, again, cannot be sustained, but requires force to relieve it. These principles are clearly shown in the accentuation of polysyllable words. If we carefully measure the degrees of force with which the different syllables of a word like (impenetræbiliti) are pronounced, we shall find that every syllable has a different degree of force. Simple sentences, which are phonetically identical with polysyllabic words (or even in some cases with monosyllable ones), follow the same laws. They always have one predominant stress which dominates over the simple word-stress. The great distinction between words and sentences is that in the former the predominant stress is fixed and invariable, while in the latter it varies according to the principle of emphasis, which gives the strongest stress to the most important word.

Before leaving the subject of syllabification, I have only to warn against the error of imagining that the division into the syllables is ever made by any kind of pause—the truth is that there is no more break in (ætəʊl) than there is in (ætəʊlmæn), and the idea that we pause between (æt) and (əʊl) is simply due to the association of the graphic separation in “at all.” Mr. Ellis considers that there is often a distinction made by omitting the “glide” from vowel to consonant, or vice versa, but it seems to me that he is confusing *absence* of glide with mere *weakness* of glide. When we pronounce a stopped consonant with stress, the air naturally escapes with greater force, which of course makes the glide more audible; but the glide is always there, however weakly it may be pronounced.

METRICAL STRESS.

I propose now to devote a few words to the analogies of musical accentuation, which will be found both instructive

and interesting. The origin of rhythm is no doubt to be sought in the natural tendency to alternate strong and weak stress—rhythm is in fact nothing but the utilization of this instinct for æsthetic purposes by making it regular and symmetrical. As in language we have sentences, words and sounds, so in music we have phrases, bars and notes. If we take any sound, say the vowel (a), and repeat it several times in succession with a uniform strong stress, thus (aaaaaa), it gives no impression of rhythm whatever, except that of a succession of isolated bars or musical words, just as in such a word-group as (*bigblækdogz*), with its equally uniform word-stress, we feel that we have a succession of isolated, independent full-words. But if we retain only the first, third and fifth stresses, thus (aaaaaa), we feel at once that instead of six bars we have only three, beginning on each strong stress, just as in language the syllable (and often the word) begins on the strong stress. If we retain only the first and fourth stresses, giving (aaaaaa), we get two bars only. It is the regular recurrence of these groups of two or three (or more) “beats” bound together by one predominating stress which constitutes the rhythm of two, three, etc., time. It is also possible to have a rhythm of four beats, thus (aaaaaaaa). But here the principle of alternation of force comes into play, and to break up the monotony of three weak stresses in succession, a secondary accent is placed on the third note of each bar, so that the rhythm really consists of eight two-beat bars (aaaaaaaa) with two predominating stresses on the beginning of the first and third bars.

It is important to observe that the principles of metrical stress apply not only to music and poetry, but also, to a certain extent, to ordinary speech as well. Besides the purely logical stress which indicates the various relations of full-words, half-words, etc., there is a purely metrical stress, which often runs counter to the other. Thus in the sentence (*itizsou*) the first two syllables are half-words, the second being simply a sign of predication, and therefore hardly a word at all, and the only full-word in the group is the adverb (*sou*). The logical accentuation can therefore only be

(itizsou). But as a matter of fact the usual accentuation is (itizsou), the full-stress falling on the most insignificant syllable in the sentence! The explanation is a purely metrical one: the ear prefers to hear the alternation of weak, strong, weak, to hearing two weaks together followed by a strong. Similarly we often accent (*kænyutelmiydhæweitu.*.) instead of the logical (*kænyutelmiy.*.). And it is probable that certain collocations are preferred to others on purely metrical grounds.

In the ordinary musical notation the bars are divided by vertical lines or bars. The same method is adopted in the tonic sol-fa notation, and the beats are divided by :, thus | a : a | a : a | a : a ||, | a : a : a | a : a : a ||. Although regular and consistent, this method is extremely cumbrous, and my own practice has been for some time to discard the lines, etc., entirely, and write each bar simply as a word with nothing but a space between each group, thus (aa aa aa), (aaa aaa). With the help of a few simple signs for pauses and for holding or continuing a note, and a few diacritics to indicate fractions of notes (which often need not be expressed at all), music can thus be written almost as quickly as ordinary writing.

WORD-DIVISION IN WRITING.

We may now turn to the practical question of word-division in writing. If we are to be guided consistently by logic, we must either write all half-words, derivative syllables and inflexions as separate words, or else incorporate them into the full-words. The difficulty is that, although word-division is mainly logical, the purely formal side of the question must also be considered. Thus, although it would be as easy to write the plural of (fish) in two words (fish iz), as it would be if the (iz) were the verb substantive, it would be impossible with the plural of foot (fut), unless indeed we were boldly to write (ft iy), although even this spelling would ignore the fact that the (iy) is as much part of the word itself as a sign of the plural. Cases in which unpronounce-

able letter-combinations would have to be written separately have also to be considered. The isolating system is thus found to be impracticable, if carried out consistently, and nothing remains but that of joining the half-words on to the full-words. This method, while offering considerable difficulties of detail, is practicable, although it has not been carried out consistently in any language I know. Our present word-division is a compromise between the two extremes of isolation and agglutination. As a general rule we agglutinate inflexions and derivatives, and isolate half-words, whose connexion with the whole-word to which they belong is less intimate than in the case of inflexions and derivatives. Inflexions are only acknowledged when sanctioned by Latin Grammar. Such purely modern inflexions as the negative (*aikaant*) from (*aikæn*), where the (*nt*) = (*not*), although conventionally only a half-word, not a true inflexion, could not be written as an isolated word, are shirked by that convenient compromise the apostrophe ('): by writing "can't," we keep up the fiction of the divisibility of a monosyllable into two separate words.

All these considerations show the hopeless confusion into which orthography falls when it attempts to overstep its legitimate function—that of giving a faithful graphic representation of the sounds of the spoken language. The attempt to indicate simultaneously the formal and the logical side of language by the same alphabet—an alphabet, it may be remarked, which is barely capable of fulfilling its purely phonetic duties alone—is about as successful as most compromises, that is, instead of doing one thing properly, it does two things badly. If, for instance, it is convenient to denote a substantive by a capital letter in German, why should we not do so in English, and why should not the same principle be extended to the other parts of speech? Adjectives, for instance, might be written with a turned capital, verbs with an italic, adverbs with a turned italic. Again, in Latin it would be very convenient to have a series of marks to indicate the different cases, independently of their form, and would much facilitate the understanding of Latin. Others,

again, think that the spelling of every word ought to give a brief epitome of its etymology and history. If carried out consistently, all this would postulate an entirely independent set of signs, which, for special purposes, would be written between the lines of ordinary phonetic writing, forming a sort of short-hand logical, grammatical or historical commentary, as the case might be. In the same way I should consider word-division simply as a logical commentary on the phonetic text; in short, I would abolish the ordinary word-division altogether.

But the abandonment of conventional word-division by no means postulates a return to the old system of writing each sentence without a break. On the contrary, it is clear that the great assistance afforded to the reader by presenting the letters in groups of moderate length was the one great reason for abandoning the original system of non-division. As we have seen, the most important element in the synthesis of speech-sounds is stress. I propose, therefore, to follow the analogy of musical notation, and divide our sentences into bars, making the beginning of each group of letters coincide with a full-stress. The accent-mark otherwise required to mark the full-stress would be available for the secondary stress, and the same mark, when placed before a letter-group or "stress-group," as we may call it, would indicate the emphatic sentence-stress. Thus with a single mark we should be able to indicate no less than four degrees of stress. We should, however, also require a mark to indicate absence of stress at the beginning of a sentence. If we added a sign for breathing, and two accents to indicate the rising and falling tones, we should be able to dispense entirely with the present unsatisfactory system of punctuation, etc., and to express clearly and precisely what they indicate only imperfectly and vaguely.

LOGIC AND LANGUAGE.

The great difficulty of all investigations which involve a study of the meanings of language is the want of a satisfactory classification of what is expressed in language. We

have not even a classification of the words themselves, except Roget's "Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases," which, although a wonderfully acute and full work, is now somewhat antiquated, written as it was before the rise of modern psychology, under all the disadvantages of being a first attempt. I have been engaged for some years in trying to devise a more consistent and satisfactory scheme of classification; but as it is still unsettled in many of its details, I will not enter into any details now, but content myself with a few general remarks.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the ultimate ideas of language are by no means identical with those of psychology, still less with those of metaphysics. Language is not in any way concerned with such psychological problems as the origin of our ideas of space and matter; for at the time when language was evolved, these conceptions were already stereotyped in the form of simple ideas, incapable of any but a deliberate scientific analysis. Even such universally known facts as the primary data of astronomy have had little or no influence on language, and even the scientific astronomer no more hesitates to talk of the "rising of the sun" than did the astrologers of ancient Chaldæa. Language, in short, is based not on things as we know or think them to be, but as they *seem* to us.

But although the categories of language do not require so deep an analysis as those of psychology, they are on the other hand far more complicated. Each word we use suggests a large number of ideas at once, varying always according to the context, and it is a matter of extreme difficulty to select the really characteristic and essential idea or ideas, which can alone be made the basis of classification. It is the great defect of Roget's system that he often classes his words by some extraneous idea which they suggest. Thus "food" is considered as something purely mechanical, as a mode of "insertion," and hence is included under "directive motion," whereas it clearly comes under "volitional functions of living beings," with, of course, a cross-reference to

"insertion" and its other mechanical associations. "Theft" again is naïvely classed as a mode of "transfer of property," whereas it belongs first to "ethics" or "morality," and only subordinately to "property," ethics being a far wider category than property, although both ideas are equally indispensable to the meaning of the word. It is much as if we were to class frogs and horses together as "quadrupeds," and then make a special class "mammalia" to distinguish horses. For many words special compound categories are required. It is, for instance, quite misleading to class "sharp," "edge" and "knife" together under "superficial form," as Roget does; the essential difference between "knife" and the other two is that while they denote (or can denote) natural objects, "knife" always implies human agency: we require therefore a special category "inanimate things + volition," or something of the sort. Similarly "meadow," as opposed to "heath," etc., requires a special complex category.

It is further very important to begin with a limited selection of words in popular use. Roget's Thesaurus is full of such words as "zoohygiantics," "cicuration," which only tend to confuse the mind, and increase the difficulty of arrangement. In my own lists I have cut out at least three-fourths of the words given in ordinary dictionaries.

I will now discuss the parts of speech, confining myself for the present to the consideration of noun, adjective and verb. I may remark at once that the real difficulty of determining the meaning of the parts of speech lies in the fact, which logicians and grammarians obstinately ignore, that they often have no meaning at all. Indeed the whole of language is an incessant struggle and compromise between meaning and pure form, through all the stages of vagueness, ambiguity and utter meaninglessness.

If we confine our attention to material objects and to the simplest nouns, adjectives and verbs, we see at once that the original function of these classes of words was to denote things and their attributes; adjectives denoting their permanent attributes or qualities; verbs their changing attributes

or phenomena. It must be borne in mind that primitive man did not distinguish between phenomena and volitions, but included everything under the head of actions, not only the involuntary actions of human beings, such as breathing, but also the movements of inanimate things, the rising and setting of the sun, the wind, the flowing of water, and even such purely inanimate phenomena as fire, electricity, etc., in short all the changing attributes of things were conceived as voluntary actions. Hence the origin of verbs from the simple root with a personal pronoun following. Further, in speaking of things it would be natural to call attention in the first place to their changing rather than to their permanent attributes, which would generally be taken for granted. Primitive man would not trouble himself much with such propositions as "man is mortal," "gold is heavy," which are a source of such unfailling delight to the formal logician; but if he found it necessary to employ permanent attribute-words, would naturally throw them into what is called the attributive form, placing them in immediate proximity with the noun, whose inflexions they would afterwards assume. And so the verb gradually came to assume the purely formal function of predication. The use of verbs denoting action necessitated the formation of verbs to denote "rest," "continuance in a state," and when, in course of time, it became necessary in certain cases to predicate permanent as well as changing attributes, these words were naturally employed for the purpose, and such a sentence as "the sun continues bright" was simply "the bright sun" in another form. By degrees these verbs became so worn away in meaning, gradually coming to signify simple existence, that at last they lost all vestiges of meaning whatever, and came simply to be marks of predication. Such is the history of the verb "to be," which in popular language has entirely lost even the sense of "existence." Again, in a still more advanced stage, it was found necessary to speak not only of things, but of their attributes. Thus, such a sentence as "whiteness is an attribute of snow" has identically the same meaning as "snow

is white," and "white snow," and the change of "white" into "whiteness" is a purely formal device to enable us to place an attribute-word as the subject of a proposition. We see now that the only satisfactory definition of a part of speech must be a purely formal one: "snow," for instance, is not a noun because it stands for a thing, but because it can stand as the subject of a proposition, because it can form its plural by adding *s*, because it has a definite prefix, etc., and "whiteness" is a noun for precisely the same reasons. By using the technical terms "noun," etc., in a purely formal sense, and distinguishing words according to their meaning as thing-words, attribute-words, etc., we shall be able to escape the hopeless confusion into which grammarians fall, who appeal alternately to the meaning and the form of the parts of speech in grammatical discussions. "Snow" then is both a thing-word and a noun, "white" is a quality-word and an adjective, "whiteness" a quality-word and a noun. I may notice here that great indignation was roused some time ago by a pedantic school-inspector, who plucked some unhappy children for calling "cannon" in "cannon-ball" a noun instead of an adjective. The fact is that he had observed that "cannon" in "cannon-ball" was not a thing-word, but an attribute-word, and imagining that thing-word and noun were convertible terms, hastened to make the children feel the weight of his brilliant discovery. He would probably be as much surprised as the children themselves to hear that not only when it comes before "wall" is "stone" a quality-word, but also when it follows a transitive verb, in fact that the accusative case is what he would call an "adverb," as I hope to show hereafter.

We may now turn our attention to logic, and first of all to that introductory portion which treats of names. Although formal logic is mainly based on language, it has developed some views of its own which have had considerable influence on the grammatical analysis of language. I propose first to examine the theory of denotation and connotation. General names, such as "man," "horse," are said to denote an object and connote or imply various attributes. Proper

names, such as John, London, are said only to denote an object, and not to connote any attributes. Here logicians have strangely overlooked the fact that such a word as John connotes at least two attributes, "human" and "male," "male human being." I maintain also that the name John, to those who know him, connotes an immense number of other attributes, physical, moral and mental. That the name is practically applied at random to a variety of men is a mere accident, an imperfection of language. The word "sun," which, like John, is practically a proper name, also connotes, to those who know what the sun is, a number of attributes: to people who had never seen or heard of the sun, it would connote nothing at all, less even than John, which even to those who do not know John personally always connotes "male human being." An instructive instance of the dependence of logic on the accidents of language is afforded by the distinction it makes between such words as "white" and "whiteness." "Whiteness" is correctly described as an "abstract" name, as signifying an attribute without reference to the things that possess the attribute. "White," however, is held to be connotative: it denotes particular objects and connotes the attribute "whiteness." How a word can be said to denote an object which is entirely unknown until the name of that object is joined to it, was always a matter of bewildering astonishment to me, when I first began to study logic, and probably has been to many others as well. The truth is, of course, that "white" is as much an abstract name as "whiteness" is, the two being absolutely identical in meaning. I consider, further, that all attribute-words are denotative and connotative, they denote an attribute and connote attributes of that attribute. Thus the word "colour" is the name of an attribute, but it also connotes all the various kinds of colour, red, blue, etc.; "bright" connotes various degrees of brightness, and so on. These secondary attributes again admit of connotation, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. The terms denotation and connotation thus appear to be applicable to every possible word, and therefore to be practically meaningless and useless. We

are now able to understand what an adverb is—it is simply the attribute of an attribute, and bears exactly the same relation to an attribute, as a permanent attribute (adjective) does to a thing-word. Grammarians, misled by a false logic, describe adverbs as denoting the *manner* of an action, or make use of some similar expression, forgetting that manner is as much an attribute as anything else. Hence it follows that when an adjective is joined to a noun which is either entirely or only partially an attribute-word (action-word, for instance), the adjective is in meaning identical with an adverb; “he is a good runner,” for instance, is identical in meaning with “he runs well.”

We may now turn to the consideration of the proposition in logic. A regular logical proposition, such as, for instance, “all men are bipeds,” is clearly nothing but a stereotyped form of the linguistic sentence. In language the subject being originally a permanent thing is stated first; when once stated, its permanence is taken for granted and retained by the mind until the predicate, originally an impermanent attribute or phenomenon, is stated. That there is, however, no absolute necessity for this order is shown not only by the frequency with which it is violated in most inflexional languages, but also by the fact that the finite verb was originally formed by the agglutination of a subject-pronoun coming *after* the predication root. And now comes the very important consideration that not only is the order of subject and predicate to a great extent conventional, but that the very idea of the distinction between subject and predicate is purely linguistic, and has no foundation in the mind itself. In the first place, there is no necessity for a subject at all: in such a sentence as “it rains” there is no subject whatever, the *it* and the terminal *s* being merely formal signs of predication. “It rains: I will therefore take my umbrella,” is a perfectly legitimate train of reasoning, but it would puzzle the cleverest logician to reduce it to any of his figures. Again, the mental proposition is not formed by thinking first of the subject, then of the copula, and then of the predicate: it is formed by thinking of the two *simul-*

taneously. When we formulate in our minds the proposition "all men are bipeds," we have two ideas, "all men" and "an equal number of bipeds," or, more tersely, "as many men, as many bipeds," and we think of the two ideas simultaneously, not one after the other, as we are forced to express them in speech. The simultaneity of conception is what is expressed by the copula in logic, and by the various forms of sentences in language. If these views are correct, the conversion of propositions, the figures, and with them the whole fabric of Formal Logic fall to the ground. It by no means follows that logic is entirely destitute of value, but we shall not arrive at the real substratum of truth until we have eliminated that part of the science which is really nothing more than an imperfect analysis of language.

STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH.

I now propose to say something about the structure of English, and the proper method of treating its grammar. I may state at once that I consider the conventional treatment of English to be both unscientific and unpractical, starting as it does with the assumption that English is an inflexional language like Latin or Greek. The time is still not very far distant when the grammar of all languages—however diverse their structure—was servilely modelled on that of Latin. It was assumed, for instance, that as Latin had five cases, English must necessarily have just as many and no more. In those days *man* was declined thus :

nom.	man.	acc.	man.
gen.	man's.	voc.	oh man !
dat.	to a man.	abl.	by a man.

After a time, however, when the historical and comparative study of language had opened people's eyes a little, they began to see that on this principle the number of cases in English might be indefinitely extended—in short that there might be as many cases as there were prepositions. The cases were, accordingly, cut down to three, nominative,

genitive and accusative. As I shall show hereafter, it is very doubtful whether the so-called accusative of the pronouns has any right to be considered a case at all, and when we consider that the genitive inflexion can generally be replaced by the preposition *of*, we see to what narrow limits the English cases, or rather case, are confined. The verbal inflexions are hardly less limited. The only personal inflexion is the *s* of *he goes*, which is practically a superfluous archaism. The only other inflexions are those which form the preterite and the two participles. These, together with the plural of nouns, are the only essential inflexions of English. No wonder, then, that the historical philologist looks with contempt on English as a language "destitute of grammar." Certainly it is so, if judged from a purely antiquarian point of view. That this point of view is inadequate to the requirements of English grammar is tacitly admitted by the grammarians, who, while refusing to allow that "of a man" is a case, do not scruple to put "I did love," etc., on a level with the inflexional preterite. And yet most of them ignore the equally important formations of the emphatic and negative forms or moods, simply because such forms are not recognized in Latin grammar.

All this confusion and inconsistency arises from the fact being ignored that the history of language is not merely one of negative decay, but also of positive reconstruction. Every language has the right to be regarded as an actual, existing organism, not merely as the representative of earlier stages. The fact that English was an inflexional language two thousand years ago does not prove that it is so now. The only rational principle is to look at the language as it is now, and ask ourselves, How does this language express the relations of its words to one another? If we examine English on this principle, we shall have no hesitation in characterizing it roughly as an isolating language which is passing into the agglutinative stage, with a few traditional inflexions. Hence the value of English as a preparation for the study of language generally, when studied rationally: it enables us to watch many linguistic phenomena in the very

process of formation, which in other languages can only be observed in a stereotyped condition. Another advantage of English for comparative purposes is the many-sidedness of its structure. In this respect it differs essentially from languages whose structure is primitive, not, like that of English, the result of casting off an effete inflexional system. In most agglutinative languages there is no distinction of meaning made by position, all grammatical relations being expressed by modifying syllables which have a fixed order, from which they never depart. English can, therefore, only be compared with such languages in as far as it is itself agglutinative, while in that part of its grammar which depends on position it can only be compared with "isolating" languages, such as Chinese. Again, although English agglutination is mostly of a rudimentary type, it is in other cases extremely advanced. Who, for instance, in comparing the positive future (*hiylgou*) with the negative (*hiywountgou*), would be able to detect the root (*wil*), which comes out clearly in the emphatic future (*hiywilgou*)? In such forms there is as much obscuration of the formative elements as in the traditional inflexions. These observations show how difficult it is to draw the lines which separate the different stages of linguistic development—languages pass from the isolating to the agglutinative and inflexional stages by insensible degrees, and even during the fullest development of inflexion begin to lay the foundation of future agglutination.

One striking result of the English power of expressing grammatical relations by position is the freedom with which one part of speech may be converted into another. Thus (*səndi*) is a noun, (*dhen*) an adverb, but in (*səndi iivniq, ʌdhə¹ dhen steitəvə faeəz*) they are both attribute-words. In the same way any part of speech may be made into a noun simply by prefixing an article or adjective.

Even groups of words may be treated in this way. Thus in the sentence (*ʌdhə bukyu sentmiywəz nou yuws*), (*nou*

¹ ʌ indicates weak stress.

yuws) is simply equivalent to the adjective "useless." When we talk of (adheēm ploiezlaie bilitifer injəri bil) the whole of the group except (bil) is nothing but a huge composite adjective. These groups may also be inflected like simple words, as in (adhe mænai sao yestedeətdhe thiyetəz faadhe), where on all received principles of grammar (thiyetəz) ought to be parsed as the genitive of "theatre."

English, in common with the Romance languages, is often described as an "analytical" language, as opposed to a "synthetic" language, such as Latin. This term is meant to imply that the agglutinations of modern languages are deliberate substitutions for the older inflexions—the inflexions are supposed to be "analyzed" into their simple elements. It is easy to see that this view is quite erroneous. If the characteristic agglutinations of modern English, for instance, were nothing but substitutes for inflexions, there would be exactly as many agglutinations as there originally were inflexions; but, as we see, we have in English combinations to which there is nothing corresponding in the older inflexional languages, while, on the other hand, many inflexional distinctions are entirely lost.

CASES.

I propose now to examine some portions of English grammar more in detail, beginning with the cases of nouns and pronouns.

It is a curious fact, hitherto overlooked by grammarians and logicians, that the definition of the noun applies strictly only to the nominative case. The oblique cases are really attribute-words, and inflexion is practically nothing but a device for turning a noun into an adjective or adverb. This is perfectly clear as regards the genitive, and, indeed, there is historical evidence to show that the genitive in the Aryan languages was originally identical with an adjective-ending, "man's life" and "human life" being expressed in the same way. It is also clear that "noctem" in "flet noctem" is a pure adverb of time. It is not so easy to see that the

accusative in such sentences as "he beats the boy" is also a sort of adverb, because the connexion between verb and object is so intimate as almost to form one simple idea, as in the case of noun-composition. But it is clear that if "boy" in the compound noun "boy-beating" is an attribute-word, it can very well be so also when "beating" is thrown into the verbal form without any change of meaning.

Our difficulty in determining the meaning of the accusative has, as far as I know, never been pointed out hitherto, viz. that in many cases it has no meaning at all, but merely serves to connect a verb with a noun in various arbitrary ways. With such verbs as "beat," "carry," etc., the accusative unmistakably denotes the object of the action expressed by the verb, but with such verbs as "see," "hear," it is clearly a mere metaphor to talk of an "object." A man cannot be beaten without feeling it, but he can be seen without knowing anything about it, and in many cases there is no action or volition at all involved in seeing. And in such a sentence as "he fears the man," the relations are exactly reversed, the grammatical nominative being really the object affected, while the grammatical accusative represents the cause, but as he is conceived as a *passive* cause, the fiction of object can still be maintained. The meaninglessness of the accusative is further shown by the inconsistencies of its actual use in language. Thus Latin has "rideo aliquem," English "laugh at," while "deride" has the accusative as in Latin. Compare also English "see" with "look at" and the divergent use of the dative and accusative in Greek and Latin. It is, indeed, often doubtful *à priori* whether any language in a given case will employ the accusative or not—we can only tell by observing the actual form. Now in English, in the noun at least, the only "form" of the accusative is its position after the verb. As far as the form goes, then, "king" in "he became king," "he is king," may be in the accusative. And, as a matter of fact, English people who have not been taught grammar, that is to say Latin grammar, in their first attempts to express themselves in such a language as German, *do* put "king" in the

accusative. They are naturally confirmed in this idea when they find that if they substitute for the noun a personal pronoun, which is supposed to have distinct forms for nominative and accusative, the accusative is used, and it is only the influence of ignorant grammarians that prevents such phrases as "it is me" from being adopted into the written language, and acknowledged in the grammars. In Danish "det er mig" is the *only* form known, and "det er jeg" would be as wrong as "c'est je" would be in French. Indeed, were it not for Latin grammar, we can easily imagine the grammarians proving that "king" in "he became king" could not possibly be anything but the accusative, the action of the verb "become" passing on to the object "king." That there is really nothing extravagant in this view is shown by the Old English "hé wearð tó cyninge (gehálgod)" and the German "er ward zum könig."

Further we have also a positional dative, as in "he gave the man a book." May not then the supposed accusative in "he flattered the man," "it pleased the man," be really a dative, as it certainly would be historically? ¹ This view might again be supported by an examination of the corresponding pronoun forms, for "him" is historically a dative, not an accusative, and so with the others also.

But the truth is that, whatever the history may be, the so-called accusative of the personal pronouns is functionally not a case at all, but a special form which may be indifferently nom., acc. or dat., as the case may be. The real difference between "I" and "me" is that "I" is an inseparable prefix used to form finite verbs, while "me" is an independent or absolute pronoun, which can be used without a verb to follow. These distinctions are carried out in vulgar English as strictly as in French, where the distinction between the conjoint "je" and the absolute "moi" is rigidly enforced. The difference between French and English is that French has also a true conjoint accusative "me," which, as in Basque, is incorporated into the verb. In vulgar English we hear not only "it is me," but also with the relative, as in "him that's

¹ Old English, "hé ólecte ðám menn" and "hit lícode ðám menn."

here" (Aimdhəts iia), where the polite language only tolerates "he." In the polite language we find such monstrosities as "it will give my friend and I great pleasure"—the natural result of the artificial reaction against "it is me."

And now a few words about the terminology. It will be observed that I have throughout avoided the names "possessive" and "objective." The distinctions implied are historical, and therefore the historical names should be retained. If the names of grammatical forms were to be changed whenever their meanings changed, we should have different names for every period and every language. It is much simpler to regard these terms as being what they really are, purely conventional names of forms whose meanings are often vague and sometimes nothing at all. Historically English nouns can only be said to have one case, the genitive. The unmodified base represents historically both nominative and accusative (possibly also dative in some cases), we may therefore call it the "common" case. Pronouns have three cases, nominative, genitive, as in "it is his," and dative. The question whether "his" in "his book" is a genitive, or a possessive adjective, is really an idle one, for the genitive is in all cases functionally identical with an adjective. If we disregard history, and take position as the criterion of case, we are able to distinguish doubtfully a subject and object case, the former corresponding to the old nominative, the latter sometimes to the acc., sometimes to the dat.

PRONOUNS.

Pronouns bear the closest analogy to proper names. They are nouns which, in themselves, only connote "human being," and in some cases sex also. When we hear that "he is coming," all we learn is that a male human being is coming, and we learn just as much from the proposition "James is coming." The main distinction is that pronouns are of general, proper names of special application, for, if the system of giving proper names were carried out perfectly, every one would have a name to himself, which would be

shared by no one else. Pronouns are, therefore, even less significant than proper names: "he" may refer in turn to each individual man there is, if the grammatical structure of the sentence allows it.

All pronouns are relative—they always refer to some noun. "He" is quite as relative in signification as "who" is, and the two are really identical in meaning, the distinction being purely formal, viz. that a sentence beginning with "who" is always accompanied by another sentence containing some statement about the person to whom the pronoun refers, and until we have this sentence, we feel that the first sentence is formally incomplete. "He" is, therefore, relative in meaning, "who" in meaning and form also. "He is here" does not really convey any more information than "the man who is here," but it can stand alone, whereas the other cannot.

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives may be either special or general attribute-words. Special adjectives are "bright," "blue," etc., while such adjectives as "this," "that," which connote nothing but the attribute of existing in space, are general. Still more general are such adjectives as the definite article "the," which connotes nothing but the attribute of forming a member of a class, or something similar. Many of these general adjectives are at the same time pronouns when they stand alone, thus "some" alone is equivalent to "some human beings," while in "some men" it is simply an adjective, or, as it is sometimes absurdly called, an "adjective pronoun." Similarly in vulgar English "them" by itself is a pronoun (*Adhemdhets on eint duwin nou week*), but before a noun (*dhem thiqz*), it is a general (demonstrative) adjective.

The two articles are often so devoid of meaning as to amount practically to nothing more than prefixes for forming nouns, although this is not carried so far as in French and German, where the definite article may be said to have hardly any meaning at all, being not only prefixed, as in

English, to the names of things which only occur singly, such as "the sun," "the earth," but also to proper names and the names of abstractions.

In "a good man" "a" belongs not to "good," but to "man." We have, therefore, here a case of incorporation, which is avoided in "all the way," "so great a work," etc. In "a hundred men," the "a" belongs to the "hundred," forming with it a single attribute-word.

VERBS.

The really characteristic feature of the English finite verb is its inability to stand alone without a pronominal prefix. Thus (gou), (rən), (flai), by themselves may be either nouns or verbs; if, for instance, the indefinite article is prefixed to any of them, it becomes a noun—(əgou), (ərən), (əflai), are all nouns. But (aigou), (wiyrən), (dheiflai) are verbs. With the help of other prefixes a great variety of verbal forms may be made without the slightest change of the primitive form. Thus (wiylgou) is future, (wiydgou) is conditional, (wiydidgou) is a form of the preterite, etc. If for the pronoun a noun is substituted, the verb is recognized solely by its position after the noun in its common case, thus in (dhəmenrən) there is nothing but the fact of (rən) following the uninflected plural (dhəmen) to show that it is a verb. Even when there is a noun preceding, the pronominal prefix is often used in common talk, especially among the uneducated; thus we often hear, instead of (Δmai brədhez kəmiq houmtə morou), (Δmai brədhehiyz kəmiq . . .). The tendency to employ a pronominal prefix is also strikingly illustrated by the impersonal verbs, such as (itreinz), (itæpnz), etc., where the (it) is quite unmeaning.

These facts illustrate the peculiar complexity of English grammar, and the difficulty of attaining a just and adequate view of its characteristic features. In such a sentence as (Δdhə men kəm) (kəm) is a verb mainly through its position, in (dheikəm) because of the pronominal prefix, and in (hiykəmz) both because of the prefix and of the inflexional (z).

It is important to observe that English has no infinitive, except from an historical point of view. (*Kəm*) by itself is, as we have seen, not necessarily a verb at all, still less an infinitive "mood," and it is certainly most in accordance with the instinct of those who speak English naturally to consider (*kəm*) simply as a base or common form of the verb, just as (*mæn*) is felt to be a common case.¹

The term "mood" is, of course, quite a misnomer as applied to the infinitive in any language, for the infinitive is nothing but a sort of nominal form of the verb. On the other hand, there are in English several forms of the verb which, on all sound analogy, ought to be included among the moods. These are the emphatic (*aiduwgou*), the negative (*aidountgou*), the interrogative (*duwaigou*), the negative-interrogative (*dountaigou*), the first of which is quite peculiar to English.

The inflected subjunctive is almost extinct in English. In form it is only in a few cases to be distinguished from the indicative, and its original meaning is so completely lost that English people have great difficulty in learning the proper use of the subjunctive in such languages as German and French, where it is still a living element of the language. We still employ it chiefly in a few stereotyped optative phrases, such as "God save the Queen," and mechanically after certain conjunctions. In the language of the vulgar it seems hardly to be used at all, and such constructions as "if I *was* you" . . . seem to be gradually spreading even among the educated.

PREPOSITIONS.

The combination of a preposition and its noun (or pronoun) is identical in meaning with an oblique case of a noun, that is to say, it is a compound attribute. The preposition itself is modified attributively by the noun, and the two together constitute an attribute of some other word. Thus in "he stood

¹ The form (*təgou*), as in (*ai wishtə gou*), might be called the supine. It is not even historically an infinitive.

by," "by" is an attribute-word modifying "stood," in "he stood by the gate," "by" is modified by "the gate," which is virtually an adverb of "by," and the two together form a compound attribute of "stood." In this example the prepositional compound is equivalent to an adverb, but it may also qualify a substantive, as in "the church in the town," which is equivalent to "the town church," or, in German, "die städtische Kirche."

SENTENCE-WORDS.

There are a variety of words which have the peculiarity of always forming a sentence by themselves; they might also be called isolated words. These words are: 1) the imperative mood of verbs, "come!" for instance, being equivalent to "I command, or ask you to come"; 2) the "adverbs" *yes* and *no*, which are equivalent to affirmative and negative propositions; and 3) the interjections, many of which, as, for instance, *alas!* from the adjective *lassus*, are quite erroneously described as inarticulate imitative sounds, and which have as much right to be considered parts of speech as the imperatives of verbs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

It is of great importance to obtain a clear idea of the province of grammar as opposed to that of the dictionary—a subject on which considerable confusion of ideas prevails. The popular notion is that the business of a grammar is to explain *forms*, of a dictionary to explain *meanings*. But it is clear that the study of forms involves also a study of their meanings as well, and, indeed, the whole of syntax is nothing else but an investigation of the meanings of grammatical forms. The real distinction is that grammar deals with the general facts of language, lexicology with the special facts. Thus the fact that "tree" becomes "trees" when we speak of more than one tree, is a general one, for it applies, with certain restrictions, to nearly all other nouns as well; but the fact

that the combination of sound that constitutes the sound-group "tree" has the meaning we attach to it and no other, is an isolated one, and there is nothing in the sounds themselves or the way in which they are combined to necessitate one meaning more than another, while even if we were ignorant of the meaning of the word "tree," we should be able to recognize in "trees" the meaning of "plurality," if we met with it in an unambiguous sentence. If we had a rationally constructed Universal Language, in which every letter in a word would be significant and combined according to definite laws, so that the connexion between form and meaning would be at once evident, there would be no dictionary at all—everything would be grammar, and the dictionary would be simply an alphabetical index to the grammar.

The simple question, then, that we have to ask ourselves in determining the scope of the grammar of any language is, how does this language indicate general meanings? The answer to this question is the grammar. If the language chiefly employs what are conventionally termed "inflexions," its grammar will be mainly an "inflexional" one; if position, its grammar will be like that of Chinese, and, to a great extent, of English also, "positional." To assert that Chinese has "no grammar," or "no grammar *properly speaking*," as it is sometimes cautiously put, is simply an eccentric way of stating that it has no *inflexional* grammar.

An essential part of English grammar is *intonation*. An immense number of general ideas, both emotional and purely logical, are expressed in English by the rise and fall of the tones of the voice. The distinction between affirmation and interrogation, subject and predicate, doubt and certainty, etc., are all expressed either partly or entirely by intonation.

The following are, then, the essential elements of English grammar :

1. Phonology, or an account of the formation of the sounds of the language, their combinations, etc.
2. Phonetic Synthesis, comprising Quantity, Force or Stress, and Intonation. (Voice-timbre, Expression,

etc., belong rather to Elocution, which is a special branch of Grammar.)

3. Word Position.

4. Parts of Speech, Inflexion, Agglutination, etc.,
(including all that is commonly understood as
"Grammar.")

The relation of form to meaning may, of course, be considered in various ways. The form may first be considered purely as form, as when we analyze the various degrees of quantity, the exact intervals of intonation, etc., and we may then either consider the various meanings attached to each form, or, starting from the meaning alone, determine what forms are used to express it. In a full grammar all these arrangements must be represented, partially at least. The facts must also be so stated that due prominence is given to the really important elements. Archaisms and fossilized forms must be duly subordinated to the living means of expression.

The different *strata* of the formative elements must also be distinguished. Thus, while the combinations of noun and preposition would be treated at full under the same category as inflexion — "of man" and "man's," for instance, coming together—the traditional inflexions would also be grouped together separately, apart from the later agglutinations. Even merely *nascent* forms and tendencies would also be grouped together separately. It is, for instance, important to observe the tendency to indicate the singular of nouns by prefixes, leaving the plural unmodified; "man," for instance, means "man in general," or, in short, "men," while "the man," or "a man," has a definitely singular meaning. It is of course true that we can also say "the men" in the plural, but it is at least conceivable that in a more advanced stage of English the use of the articles may be confined entirely to the singular, and in that case it is highly probable that the plural inflexions would be entirely lost, so that the distinction between singular and plural would be denoted entirely by prefixes. Compare the French singulars (eq¹ sha, lə sha) with the plural (de sha, le sha).

¹ I use (q) to denote the French nasal: (eq sha) = "un chat."

If English grammar were treated in this way, it would give the student just notions not only of the structure of his own language, but also of language generally, and a solid foundation would be laid for historical and comparative philology. The ordinary grammars, which ignore many of the most characteristic features entirely, and subordinate others to purely exceptional ones, not only give the student an entirely erroneous idea of the structure of English, but also train him to habits of erroneous and superficial observation, the evil results of which are seen every day both in scientific philology and in the practical acquisition of foreign languages.

X.—THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS. By W. R. MORFILL, Esq.

IN the following sketch I propose making some observations on the Russian language and its various dialects; their peculiar characteristics will be discussed, the area over which they are spoken examined, and brief criticisms will be introduced of some of the principal authors who have used them. I must remark at the outset that it will be the first attempt ever made by an Englishman to write a philological account of this neglected family of languages. Of two works which have treated of the subject in the English language, the valuable little manual published in America by Theresa von Jacobi, who afterwards became the wife of Professor Robinson, aimed rather at a popular exposition, and is now out of date. The few remarks introduced by Professor Max Müller in his "Languages of the Seat of War" are necessarily of the briefest possible kind.

Let us begin then with the Great Russian—the official and literary language of the Empire—spoken extensively throughout its length and breadth by the educated classes; necessarily therefore the dominant idiom. The number of Great Russians, according to Schafarik, amounts to 35,000,000. They inhabit the governments of Moscow, Petersburg, Novgorod, Vologda, Pskov, Tver, Yaroslav,

Kostroma, Vladimir, Nizhni Novgorod, Smolensk, Kaluga, Tula, Riazan, Penza, Simbirsk, Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, Tambov, Saratov, and parts of the governments of Orenburg, Viatka, Perm, and Kazan. In the northern provinces the Great Russian comes into contact with the Finnish dialects (as in the governments of St. Petersburg and Novgorod): in the western with the Little and White Russian dialects: on the east it is broken by the various languages of the Mordvinians, Tcheremissians, Tchuvashians, and other Ugro-Finnish tribes: and on the south it is met again by the Little Russian, the language of almost all Southern Russia and of the Cossacks, except where a Tatar idiom prevails.

The Great Russian may now be said to stand at the head of the Slavonic family of languages—a family which in many respects shows a greater likeness to the original Aryan parent tongue (by whatever name we are to call it) than its Teutonic and other sisters. As much has been written (very incorrectly) on the subject of the foreign elements incorporated into Russian, a few words may be permitted on the subject.¹

Of Finnish there are hardly any traces, except in the provincial dialects of Olonetz and Souzdal and a few others, but these words have had no influence upon the written language. With reference to Tatarisms, we must in the first place remember that for upwards of two centuries (1237–1462) Russia groaned under the yoke of the Mongolians, and it is therefore only natural to expect that we shall find some traces of their dominion. The Asiatic garb worn in Muscovy till the days of Peter the Great, the curious custom of the *pravezhe*, or public flagellation of defaulting debtors,—an institution not without its wholesome influence,—the seclusion of women, and perhaps the use of the knout, may be traced to the presence of these truculent invaders; but when we turn to the actual Tatar words in

¹ Thus in a little book, pleasantly written, and entitled "*Histoire de la Littérature Contemporaine en Russie*," par C. Courrière, Paris, 1875, we are told that it is "*mélange de finnois, de tatar et de slave*" (p. 19).

the language, we find them very few. Scherzl, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Slavonic and other kindred languages* (Сравнительная Грамматика Славянских и других родственных Языков), Kharkov, 1871, vol. i. p. 95, speaks as follows: "In the purity of its vocabulary, in its structure and syntax, the Russian language has preserved the Slavonic type better than the other members of the family. The Tatar words which have entered into it are limited to a small number of expressions of objects relating to clothes, precious stones, and articles of every-day use," etc. He then gives a list of thirty-one words, from which I will select the following as occurring most frequently:—ямщикъ 'a postilion,' чемоданъ 'a trunk,' туманъ 'a mist,' чупрунъ 'a forelock,' караулъ 'a sentry,' кинжалъ 'a dagger,' башмакъ 'a shoe,' колпакъ 'a hat,' булатъ 'steel,' чубукъ 'a pipe,' etc.

So much then for the nonsense we hear talked, frequently by men who ought to know better, about Russian being a mixture of Tatar and Slavonian. Scherzl is no doubt right when he claims for this language that it is the purest of all the sisters. Polish, for example, has always been greatly under foreign influences. The taste is constantly offended by the most palpable Germanisms thrust rudely upon the language; during the whole of the seventeenth century the pedants and Jesuitic schoolmasters with which the country teemed were introducing Latin words with Polish terminations, and this mischievous practice was at its height in the days of Sobieski. In the eighteenth century the language suffered more than any other from the Gallomania then rampant throughout Europe, and the manners of Versailles were imitated by this barbarous and only half-varnished aristocracy of slave-holders. If we turn to the Bulgarian and Servian, we find them full of Turkish words, as might reasonably be expected; since the former still groan under the Ottoman yoke, and the latter have only so recently emancipated themselves. Slovenish, Cech, and Lusatian-Wendish show the most unmistakable signs of their German neighbours. Some naval expressions have crept into Russian from Dutch and English—the

mind of the reader will at once be carried back to Peter the Great's labours at Zaandam and Deptford.

A few remarks may be made on the alphabet employed by the Russians: these are the celebrated Cyrillic letters, so called because said to have been invented by Cyril about 860 A.D. Of these, twenty-four are Greek, and the rest borrowed from Hebrew, Persian, and Armenian. The alphabet is admirably adapted to express the sounds of the Slavonic tongues, with the exception of the so-called præiotized vowels, viz. those that have a *j* or *i* sound preceding them. It is used with modifications by the Bulgarians and Servians, but the Slovenes, Poles, Bohemians, and Lusatian-Wends employ the Latin alphabet, and are in consequence compelled to make use of combinations of letters and diacritical points, which give their writing an uncouth appearance.

Besides this, there is another alphabet, called the Glagolitic, which is now only used by the Dalmatian Slaves. The origin of it is wrapped in obscurity, and it was for a long time mythically attributed to St. Jerome. Dobrowsky, the great Bohemian scholar, assigned it to a period so late as the thirteenth century. Kopitar, by the discovery of a MS. belonging to Count Cloz of Trent, consisting of versions of some of the sermons of St. Chrysostom in the Glagolitic character, raised its antiquity to at least the tenth century.¹

The question, however, still remains unsettled, and many of the supporters of the antiquity of the Glagolitic base their opinion upon the supposed fact that the alphabet is partly formed upon Wendish Runes. The whole subject of Wendish Runes is still in the most chaotic condition; we know from the remarks of the Monk Chabre that the Slaves had some kind of writing before the introduction of the Cyrillic letters.² Runes were found inscribed upon

¹ See Kopitar's *Glagolita Clozianus*, Vindobonæ, 1836.

² *Mnichů Chrabrá o Pismenech Slovanských*. Vydal Pavel Josef Šafařík. Prague, 1861.

the idols dug up at Merseburg and in other places,¹ but no one has yet been able to reduce them to any system or explain them, and in the theories of Wołanski² and others they have been perverted to very strange purposes.

It is clear, as Schleicher says, that the alphabets are not independent: one has certainly been moulded upon the other. He leans to the view that the Glagolitic, which he rightly calls a monstrous invention, is the later. Of these characters there are two forms: the Illyrian and the Bulgarian. Peter the Great, as is well known, made some modifications of the Cyrillic alphabet: he ejected some letters which appeared to be useless, and gave a clearer cut form to the others. It is somewhat curious that the first modern Russian Grammar was printed at Oxford in 1696: it was written in Latin by Henry Ludolf, nephew of the more celebrated author of the History of Ethiopia.

THE SYSTEM OF RUSSIAN SOUNDS (LAUTLEHRE).

1. *Vowels*.—The vowels of the Russian language are as follows: a, e, ѣ (i), o, y.

a generally has the sound of the English *a* in *far*; after the hissing consonants (ж, ч, ш, щ) in the middle of a word, when not accented, it takes the sound of *e* in *met*. In the termination *aro* of the genitive of adjectives, it has the sound of *o*.

e, at the beginning of words and syllables takes the sound of *ya* (as in *yea*). Hence the Russians make use of the letter э to express the sound of the pure *e*, and this character is very serviceable in the transliteration of foreign words. When it is accented, it takes the sound of *yo*, as лёдъ 'ice,' pronounced *lyot*.

ѣ, at the beginning of the various inflexions of the pronoun of the third person (ѣмъ, ѣхъ, ѣмн), and after the semi-vowel ъ, takes the sound of *yi* (as in English *ye*). Before vowels ѣ is always written i, and also in the word миръ 'the world,' to distinguish it from мнръ 'peace.'

¹ See *Obceny stan nauki o runach słowian'skich* in *Roczniki Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*. Posen, 1860.

² *Schrift-Denkmale der Slawen vor Christi Geburt*, von T. Wołanski, 1850.

o, when unaccented, takes the sound of *a*, as морскоѣ, pronounced *maraskoi*.

This rule is observed very accurately by those who speak the Moscow dialect, but not by those from other parts of the Empire, as I have myself frequently noticed. It is a characteristic of the White-Russian dialect, of which I shall speak more at large presently, to represent the unaccented *o* always as *a* in their orthography, thus *срапана* = *сропана*, *каго* = *коро*, etc.

y does not vary in its sound, which corresponds to the English *oo* in *moor* or the French *ou* in *doux*.

ы has a very peculiar sound, viz. that of a thick guttural *e*. It is expressed in Polish by the letter *y*, but is not found in the other Slavonic tongues.

я, when accented, has the sound of *ya*, but if not accented, is pronounced like *ye* at the beginning of words and syllables, and *e* after a consonant.

ю has the sound of *you*, as in the English personal pronoun.

ѣ has the sound of *ya* at the beginning of a word, but after a consonant it = *a* or *e* (French).

The semi-vowel ъ has no other effect than to give a strong sound to the consonant that precedes it. Thus the consonants б, в, д, ж, з, become п, ф, т, ш, с. ь causes the consonant that goes before to have sometimes a liquid sound, thus *станъ*, pronounced *stan'*, like *gn* in French; *братъ* 'to take,' almost like *bratch* (cf. the Polish).

2. The Russian consonants are thus arranged by Scherzl (vol. i. p. 569):

Gutturals к, г, х, which are softened in ч, ж, ш.

The consonant к, when placed before б, г, д, ж, з, takes the sound of г, as *къ дому* = *gdomu*, also *гдѣ* (old Slavonic *кѣде*), cf. Čech *kde*; before к, т, ч, it takes the sound of х as *кто* 'who,' pronounced *khto*.

г, in its ordinary use, has the sound of the English *g*. In the words *боръ*, *бѣро*, *боратнѣй*, *моръ*, it has a guttural sound (something, says Scherzl, between *h* and *ch*): before gutturals it is always *ch*, as *жеркнѣй*, pronounced *lioehki*.

x, represents the German *ch*—perhaps, however, not quite so strong.

Dentals т, д. These two sounds are sometimes confused.

Labials, б, п, в, do not require any especial notice.

Liquids л, р, м, н.

The only one of these requiring notice is the л (*l*), which has a thick sound, and is expressed in Polish by ł. The pronunciation of this is very peculiar, and cannot be expressed in writing (see Ellis on Early English Pronunciation, Part I. p. 6). I have also noticed that it varies considerably in different parts of the Russian Empire, some persons making it almost = *w*, thus сладкий 'sweet,' becomes in pronunciation *swatki*. This will help us to understand why in Little-Russian the strong л frequently becomes в or y, thus домро becomes довго, всталъ устану, умывалъ умываю.

Sibilants с, ш, з, ж, ц.

Upon these the following remarks may be made:—The letter с is in some instances (as in English) pronounced like *z*; ж is the French *j*, the English *s* in *pleasure*.

Palatal ч = English *ch* as in *church*.

ш is not a simple sound, but consists of two consonants amalgamated: ш × ч or с × ч. We get something like the pronunciation of the word in such an expression as 'smasht china.'

♦ only occurs in words of foreign origin or in onomatopœic words; thus we have фалшивый = Lat. *falsus*, фонарь 'lantern,' Modern Greek φεγγάρι.

Let us now examine the various parts of speech in Russian. We are struck at the outset with the absence of the article, a peculiarity which it shares in common with all the Slavonic tongues, with the exception of the Bulgarian. This little cultivated member of the family appends the article at the end, like the Albanian and Scandinavian languages. The influence of German has caused an article to be sometimes used in Slovenish, and perhaps with more persistence in the Lusatian Wendish.

The *Noun*.—There are three genders in Russian, and there is no need of making any particular remark upon

them, as they exhibit no special features. The declensions are also three, according to the best classification in such grammars as Reiff's,¹ but older writers made four.² The cases are very perfect. Besides the ordinary ones, there are the instrumental, which designates the means or cause (as *чѣмъ онъ забавляется? книгою*, 'With what does he amuse himself? With a book'); and the prepositive or prepositional case, so called because always used with certain prepositions, which need not be recapitulated here. Thus, *въ чѣмъ ты находишь удовольствіе? въ книгѣ*, 'In what do you find pleasure? In a book.'

Augmentatives and diminutives are even more copious than in Italian: the latter are used to express every shade of tenderness, and are largely employed in the popular songs. The dual has entirely disappeared from the modern Russian, but it existed in the Old Church Language, which Leskien and others call Old-Bulgarian. In the same way, though modern Polish has only kept it in a few words, it was in full use in the earlier stages of the language. All these Slavonic sisters are in fact wonderfully alike even at the present time, and show a much greater similarity in their archaic forms: thus the old law in the Polish language in the time of Casimir IV. in 1449, exhibits some Slavonic words which were afterwards supplanted by others derived from Latin. We might say of them:—

————— "*facies non omnibus una*

Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum."

The *Adjective* is fully declined in gender, number, and case, and, besides its regular form, assumes an apocopated one, which is used when the adjective is employed as a predicate. This is very convenient when the copula is omitted, which is frequently the case in Russian, as in Greek and Latin.

The *comparative* degree calls for no particular remark, but the *superlative* is frequently defective. Sometimes it

¹ English-Russian Grammar, by C. P. Reiff. Carlsruhe, 1853.

² As, for instance, the well-known Grammar of Charpentier, published at St. Petersburg upwards of a century ago.

is expressed by putting the word *самый* as *самый лучший*, 'the best,' but also by using the particle *най*, found in many of the other Slavonic tongues.

The *Numerals*.—A few peculiarities may be noticed here: some of them are considered as substantives, *e.g.* *сорокъ* 'forty,' *сто* 'a hundred,' *девяносто* 'ninety,' *тысяча*, 'a thousand;' we may compare the English, 'a hundred men,' 'a thousand soldiers.' The numerals *два* 'two,' *три* 'three,' *четыре* 'four,' and others, require the noun to which they belong to be put in the genitive singular, as we are told in the old grammars, but these are simply the remains of the old Slavonic dual; thus we must say *три человека* 'three men.' Of. with this the Polish, in the older form of which language we meet with traces of a dual.¹ There are several other irregularities connected with the numerals, but they are too tedious to recapitulate here.

The *Pronouns* exhibit, as might be expected, the closest affinities with those of the other Indo-European languages. *азъ* of the old Slavonic has been changed in modern Russian into *я* 'I,' and the dual has been altogether lost. The reflexive *ся* (*cf.* Latin *se*) is found appended to neuter and middle verbs.

The *Verb*.—Of the verb the tenses are only three, the present, the preterite, and the future. This seeming poverty, however, is amply compensated by the so-called aspects of the verbs, which may thus be classified:—

(1). The imperfect, subdivided into (a) the definite, (b) the indefinite. "The imperfect," says Reiff, "indicates that the action is being, has been, or will be performed, without intimating whether it is or will be finished."

(2). The perfect aspect, which indicates that the action has

¹ This seems to be the only possible theory which can explain the anomaly. It is accepted by Vostokov, and indorsed by Miklosich in his admirable Comparative Grammar of the Slavonic Languages, vol. iv. p. 38—"Die Erklärung dieser Erscheinung ist in der Annahme zu suchen, *syna* sei ein wahrer dual nom. während *ruki, nogi, lica* als plur. nom. aufzufassen seien, wobei einzuräumen ist, dass bei der formellen Gleichheit des sing. gen. und des dual nom. im masc. in den meisten Fällen sich allmählich der sing. gen. an die Stelle des dual nom. gedrängt hat." In the hands of such competent authorities I must leave this vexatissima questio.

been, or will be entirely finished.¹ This is again subdivided into (*a*) the perfect aspect of duration, and (*b*) the perfect aspect of unity, which indicates that the action has been, or will be performed only once, and has lasted only a moment.

(3). The iterative aspect, which indicates that the action has been performed repeatedly. The classical student will of course be at once reminded of the Latin form in *-ito*. Besides these modifications we have the prepositional verbs, viz. those to which a preposition has been added. By these the meanings of the aspects are materially changed, and the most delicate modifications of sense introduced. It may be remarked that the same luxury of verbal forms exists also in Polish.

The moods in Russian are only three, viz. the indicative, the imperative, and the infinitive. The subjunctive is expressed by the preterite of the indicative, with the particle *бы*.

It is only fair to say that we never meet with all the aspects in one and the same verb. A complete knowledge of their use forms one of the most difficult subjects in the study of Russian grammar. Of the other parts of speech no particular discussion is requisite.

I now turn to a few general remarks upon Russian literature, and shall divide it into two periods.

1st. The Early Period, from the origin of the *bylini* or legendary poems to the time of Peter the Great.

The Russians, like the rest of the Slavonic peoples, are exceedingly rich in national songs, many (as one may judge from the heathen allusions found in them) going back to a very remote period of antiquity. For a long time, and especially during the period of French influence, these productions were neglected as unworthy of the serious attention of scholars. In the last twenty years, however, they have been assiduously collected by such indefatigable antiquaries as Bezsonov, Kirievski, Ribnikov, Hilferding, and others. An admirable survey of their labours will be found in Mr. W.

¹ In the explanation I have here chiefly followed Reiff, who has translated from Gretsch and Vostokov.

R. Ralston's "Songs of the Russian People," which was the first work to make Englishmen acquainted with these treasures.¹ To this period belong the legendary heroes (богатыры) of Russian history, who are divided by scholars into two classes, the Earlier and Later. The Earlier exhibit traces of superhuman powers: to this class belong the giants Sviatogor, Volga-Buslaevitch, Mikoula Selianovitch, and others. The Later are heroes of a more earthly type, but still distinguishing themselves by wonderful acts of prowess, something in the style of the legendary paladins in the stories of western Europe. Perhaps the most celebrated of these is Ilya Murometz (of Murom), who is represented as fighting with the robber Solovei (Соловей-разбойникъ) and with the Pagan idolator (Поганый Идолщике). The following points of view have occurred to me while reading the Russian bylini.

(a). The language in which they have been handed down, with the exception of here and there an archaism, is modern. This fact, however, cannot be justly supposed to derogate from their antiquity, as they have unquestionably been modified by the various itinerant minstrels who have preserved them. Those familiar with the ballad literature of the western nations will at once recollect many similar cases.

(b). Little, if any, rhythmical skill is exhibited in the poems: the lines vary in length, and have only a kind of swinging cadence to make them poetry at all.

(c). There is no air of coarseness or barbarity about the heroes described; on the contrary, they are more distinguished for gentleness of disposition; but to apply the epithet "knights" to them, as some authors have done, conveys a false impression, and suggests a higher civilization than they can claim.

(d). There is a great repetition and sameness about the poems, not merely in the introduction of ornamental epithets and conventional expressions, such as "the thick wood," "the broad flat plain," but frequently in the case of complete lines.

¹ Cf. also *la Russie Épique* par Alfred Rambaud. Paris, 1876.

The bylini have been divided by Russian scholars into four great classes.

1. That of the Earlier Heroes.
2. The Cycle of Vladímir.
3. The Cycle of Novgorod.
4. The Royal or Moscow Cycle.

With the introduction of Christianity into Russia there necessarily came Byzantine influence, and the corrupt civilization of Constantinople was not likely to infuse much vigour into a young nation. The great centre of the new cultivation was Kiev, still regarded by the Russians as a sacred city.

The series of Russian chronicles which now made their appearance, and extend in an almost unbroken line to the days of Alexis Mikhailovitch, the father of Peter the Great, began with Nestor, a monk of the Pestcherski Cloister at Kiev, who was born about A.D. 1056 and died about 1116. Nestor shows himself everywhere intimately acquainted with the Byzantine historians. Most of these chronicles, however, are anonymous. Two breaks occur in the chain, one in the time of Vasilii, the son of Dmitri, and the second in the days of Ivan the Terrible: it is supposed that the chroniclers were put to death. A good edition of these productions will be found in *Полное собрание русских летописей* ("Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles"), published at St. Petersburg in 1846.

As these works are written for the most part in the Old or Ecclesiastical Slavonic, they do not come legitimately into the scope of the present sketch, and I must therefore omit any further discussion of them, passing over at the same time the address of Vladímir Monomakh and the celebrated "Song on the Expedition of Igor" (*Слово о полку Игоревѣ*), by some considered to date as early as the twelfth century: by others to be a modern forgery. The original manuscript of this curious production is said to have been lost at the burning of Moscow in 1812. It would be impossible to discuss its authenticity in a brief sketch like the present: thus much I will say, that it appears to be open to very grave doubts, and many of the objections urged

against it by Senkovski and others seem unanswerable. Its bombastic and melodramatic phraseology reminds one of some of the most turgid passages in Ossian.

During the subjugation of Russia under the Mongols for upwards of two centuries, the voice of the nation was silent, and literature only cultivated by the monks in their cells; but with the establishment of the autocracy under Ivan III., at the close of the fifteenth century, a new era dawned upon the unfortunate country. Byzantium was still the source of Russian civilization, and this influence was by no means diminished by the taking of that city by the Turks. A multitude of learned Greeks fled to Russia. The Monk Maximus resided there thirty-eight years, having been invited to put in order the libraries of the Muscovite Princes, and he did much to stimulate the prosecution of learning in the country.

In the reign of Ivan IV. (1534-1584), who has earned the title of the "Terrible," great material progress was made by the Russians. Italian architects were invited into the country, and many foreign artisans introduced. The printing press was set up, and let us remember that in this respect Russia was quite as early as Scotland. It was in 1581 that the first complete Slavonic Bible was printed at Ostrog in Volhynia, at that time subject to Poland. A copy of this rare book is preserved in the British Museum, and actually came from the library of Ivan himself. It was brought from Russia by the celebrated Sir Jerome Horsey. On the fly-leaf is the following memorandum in Horsey's own hand—"This Bibell in the Slavonian tonge had owt of the Emperor's librari."

From the death of Ivan (1584) till the election of Michael Románov, 1613, was a period of political tumult for Russia. The usurper Boris Godunov (1598-1605) showed himself to be a man of considerable intelligence, and did much to encourage education in Russia. Among other things, we are told that he sent several young men to be educated in England, but his reign ended in blood, and a vigorous sovereign did not appear till Alexis (1645-1676), who may

be said to have commenced the great reform, which was carried to such a pitch of development by his son Peter. The press became more active: embassies were sent to foreign powers, and many foreigners entered the Russian service, especially Germans and Scotchmen. The writers in Russian are still few, and among them ought to find honourable mention Simeon Polotzki (1628-1680), tutor to the Tzar Feodor, son of Alexis, and author of many religious works, and Koshikin or Kotoshikin, whose sketch of Russia, for a long time lying in manuscript in the Library of Upsala, in Sweden, was edited by the learned historian Soloviev in 1840.

The *second* period of Russian literature commences with the reforms introduced by Peter the Great: the country was now entirely under Western influence, and followed the changes of other literatures: thus this period may be subdivided into (a) pseudo-classical influence, (b) that of the so-called romantic school.

With Lomonósov begins the pseudo-classical period. He was born near Arkhangel, the son of a poor fisherman, but having read all the books he could lay hands upon there, resolved to make his way to Moscow. This he effected upon a waggon laden with fish. He was afterwards sent, at the expense of the Government, to complete his studies in Germany. The writings of Lomonósov are most multifarious; indeed, upon almost every conceivable topic, especially Natural Science, in which he was more successful than in poetry. He did much to improve the language, to reduce it to rules, and to regulate the style of verse and prose. Perhaps few people at present read his turgid odes in praise of Anne and Elizabeth; but if we find them too fulsome, we must remember that they are not worse than the odes of Boileau in honour of Louis XIV.

The reign of Catherine (1762-1796) saw hosts of bards, but they were merely court poets, for, as may naturally be imagined, it was hardly possible for any popular literature to exist in Russia. These wits were more or less supported by the Empress and her immediate *entourage*, to whom their florid productions were ordinarily addressed.

It would be a mere waste of time to recapitulate here the Kheraskovs, Ozerovs, Sumarókovs *et id genus omne*. Russia was now to pass entirely from her ancient Byzantine culture, such as it was, into the pseudo-classical, as taught by the *Henriade*, and others of the rhyming productions—poetry they cannot be called—of Voltaire.

The remarks of Oustrialov¹ are essentially just. "In the age of Catherine polite literature flourished greatly: her age was the age of glory, the true sister of poetry. There then appeared a multitude of poets, and but few of them in the eyes of their contemporaries did not stand in the rank of universal geniuses: we had our Homers, our Pindars, Anacreons, Horaces, and Sophocles, for the most part mediocre verse-makers; but in some instances there were authors with conspicuous gifts, Bogdanóvitch, Khemnitz, Von Visin, Dmitriev; finally, there was a poet truly great, worthy to be the representative of his brilliant epoch, *Derzhávin*." This last-mentioned author has really considerable merit; his "Ode to God" has found its way into our books of extracts from the verbose and inaccurate translation of Sir John Bowring. In *Derzhávin* the Russian language shows much strength and flexibility; perhaps, however, we get a little tired of the endless perfections of Felitza—the name under which he celebrates the Empress Catherine.

In Denis Ivánovitch von Visin, born at Moscow, but, as his name would show, of German extraction, Russia saw a writer of genuine national comedy. His two plays, the *Brigadier* and the *Minor* (*Мелочник*), have much original talent: no such vigorous representations of national character appeared again on the stage till "The Misfortune of being too Clever" (*Горько быть умным*) of Griboiedov and the *Revisor* of Gogol.

In Nicholas Karámzin appeared the first Russian historian. Of his poems but little need be said, for they are now almost forgotten: his tales, in which the sentimentalism of Sterne and the "Sorrows of Young Werther" found a Slavonic echo, have also sunk into partial oblivion. His

¹ "Russian History," vol. ii. p. 272.

"History of the Russian Empire," however, is a work of the most laborious research, and is quoted with respect by all Slavonic scholars. Unfortunately it only extends to the election of Michael Románov. It must be added that the work was more or less "inspired" from high quarters, and most of the sheets are said to have been read to the Emperor Alexander before publication. This was the first regular attempt at compiling Russian history, for the production of Tatistchev was a mere *ébauche*, and written in a very careless style. Karázmín's work seems but little known in this country, but translations have appeared in French and German. He was followed by the indefatigable Nicholas Polevoi, who left hardly any species of literature untouched. His "History of the Russian People" did not, however, add to his reputation. In later times both these authors have been eclipsed by such writers as Soloviev and Kostomarov. A new and more critical school of Russian historians has sprung up, but some of the latest speculations of Professor Ilovaiski show a certain amount of wildness. For the early history of the Slavonic peoples, the great work is still Schafarik's "Slavonic Antiquities," first published in the Čech language, and more familiar to scholars in the west of Europe in its German version. In this admirable book the settlements of the early Slaves are carefully traced.

With the age of Alexander I. begins the introduction of the so-called Romantic School, which was headed by Zhukovski (1783-1852), who was rather a fluent translator than an original poet; he has given us excellent versions of Schiller, Goethe, Moore, and Byron, and has enriched the literature of his country better in this way than by his own productions. Few languages have greater powers in the hands of an able translator than the Russian; hence they have long since familiarized themselves with the masterpieces of other countries. Thus excellent translations of Shakspeare, Byron, Buckle, Mill, Macaulay, and hosts of English writers, exist; for it is a fact very gratifying to us that the Russians, during the last thirty or forty years, have

shown a great passion for our literature. The modern school of novelists—Gogol, Tourghéniev, Pisemsky, Gontcharov, and others—is formed, not upon Balzac and Alexandre Dumas, but upon Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot. Before leaving the subject of translations, mention must be made of that of Homer by Gneditch, formerly one of the assistants in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. This version is very spirited and accurate: the hexameter metre is preserved, and the compound epithets rendered in a manner which shows the resources of the Russian language.

If, however, only a translator was found in Zhukovski, in the next literary planet which “swam into their ken” the Russians were destined to find their greatest poet—I mean Alexander Pushkin. Never had their language appeared to wear such grace as in the young author’s “*Ruslan and Liudmila*,” a charming tale of the early Russian half-mythical period, in which the influence of Byron was visible, but an influence which had never seduced the poet into being a mere copyist. The same may be said of “*The Prisoner of the Caucasus*” (Кавкаскій Плѣнникъ), in which Pushkin had an opportunity of describing the romantic scenery of that wild country, which was then new ground, and which he afterwards visited while accompanying the military expedition of Paskevitch. In the “*Fountain of Baktchi-Serai*,” he chose an episode in the history of the Khans of the Crimea, the detention of a lovely Polish captive in that palace, the ruins of which are still a conspicuous object to travellers. “*The Gypsies*” is a wild Oriental tale of passion and vengeance. The poet, who had been spending some time amid the steppes of Bessarabia, has left us some wonderful pictures of the wandering tribes and their savage life. Most Russians consider the “*Evgenii Oniegin*” of Pushkin to be his best effort. It is a powerfully written love-story, full of clever sketches of modern life, interspersed with satire and pathos.

One more work of Pushkin’s and I have done. With the eye of a true artist he perceived how excellently adapted to the stage was the story of Boris Godunov,—the Macbeth of

Russia. He accordingly produced a spirited play on the Shaksperian model. Since his time the historical drama, based entirely upon the English, has been very successfully cultivated. A fine trilogy has been composed by Count A. Tolstoi (whose premature death Russia has recently had to deplore) on the three subjects, "The Death of Ivan the Terrible" (1866), "The Tzar Fedor" (1868), and the "Tzar Boris" (1869). Other authors have followed in the same direction, and the Russians may boast of the existence of a national drama. I shall have occasion to speak of some of their comedies presently. Pushkin was killed in a duel in 1837, under very painful circumstances. I have had at St. Petersburg many interesting details of the poet from persons who were acquainted with him.

The Russian fabulists, whose name is legion, demand some mention, although this is a species of literature which seems to belong to a nation's infancy. Khemnitzer, Dmitriev, Ivanov, and many others have attempted this style of poetry, but the palm has been borne away by the celebrated Ivan Krilov (1768-1844). Many of his short pithy sentences have become proverbs among the Russian people, like the couplets of Lafontaine among the French, and Butler's Hudibras among ourselves. His sketches are most thoroughly Russian.

In Koltzov, the true voice of the people, which had before only expressed itself in the national ballads, was heard. The life of this sensitive and warm-hearted man of genius was clouded by poverty and suffering. He has, however, been fortunate in his biographer, the well-known Russian critic, Belinski. He was born at Vorónezh, chief town of the government of that name, in 1809. His youth was chiefly spent in driving cattle about the steppes. At the age of sixteen Koltzov first began to compose poetry; but he could not shape his exuberant fancies according to the strict rules of Russian prosody. At a small bookshop at Vorónezh he purchased the works of Lomonósov, Derzhávin, and Bogdanóvitch, and thereby became master of the more artificial portion of his craft. Being assisted by the son of

a country gentleman named Stankévitch, he was enabled to publish a small volume of poems at Moscow, which immediately created a *furor*, and the shepherd-poet (пастухъ), as he was called, became the lion of the chief salons of the two capitals, where he was generously welcomed by Pushkin, Zhukovski, Viazemski, and others. It is gratifying to observe that, amid all these trying changes, Koltzov, as we are told of Burns, preserved his native modesty and self-respect. His life, however, was embittered by a disappointment in love, and the impossibility of emancipating himself from the gross associations and drudgery of his lowly calling. Death came to the rescue at last: he died of consumption on the 19th of October, 1842. The poems of Koltzov are written for the most part in unrhymed verse; the sharp, well-defined accent in Russian amply satisfying the ear, as in German. His poetical taste had been nurtured by the popular lays of his country. He has caught their colouring as truly as Burns did that of the Scottish minstrelsy. Koltzov is unquestionably the most *national* poet Russia has produced: his works, however, are all comprised in a thin octavo, which, even including the essay of Belinski, extends but little over 200 pages.

Since the death of Pushkin, Lérmontov alone has appeared to dispute the poetical crown with him. The short life of this author (1812-1842), brief as our own Shelley's, ended in the same way as Pushkin's—in a duel provoked by himself. Many of his lyrics are exquisite, and have become standard poems in Russia. In the piece entitled "Song about the Tzar Ivan Vasilievitch, the young Opritchnik, and the bold merchant Kalashnikov," Lérmontov has imitated the old Russian national legends with great skill. It is to be regretted that such a bitter scoffing Mephistopheles-like irony runs through all his poems: before thirty he seems to have found life "all vanity." Pushkin is also tinged with the same feeling, and it has been echoed by Nekrasov and Polezhaev. There is something altogether overpowering in the verses by the latter entitled "Condemned" (Осужденный).

In Gogol, who died in 1852, the Russians had to lament the loss of a keen and vigorous satirist. With a happy humour, reminding us of Dickens in his best moods, he has sketched all classes of society in the "Dead Souls" (Мёртвые Души), perhaps the cleverest of all Russian novels; although in power of delineating character Mr. Tourghéniev, of whom I shall presently speak, follows close upon his heels.

No one has reproduced the scenery and habits of Little Russia, of which he was a native, more vigorously than Gogol, whether in the pictures of country life in his "Old-fashioned Household" (if we may translate in so free a manner the title Срапоствѣткіе Помѣшники), or in the wilder sketches of the struggles which took place between the Poles and Cossacks in "Tarass Boulba." Clever as is the latter piece, the manners are too savage, and the descriptions too revolting, to recommend it to the Western reader.

Gogol was also the author of a brilliant comedy, "The Revisor," in which he lashes the Russian bureaucracy. This very witty production is one of the best of the kind in Russia, and may be compared with the Горе от ума of Griboïedov, and the Minor (Недоросль) of Von Visin, to which I have previously alluded. Whether, however, these comedies, witty as they are, could be made palatable to an English reader unacquainted with the various phases of Russian life, is doubtful. He would perhaps grow weary of the constant sarcasms upon peculating tchinóvniks and the somewhat dull virtues of amiable and oppressed peasants.

To enumerate the various Russian novelists in a short sketch like this would be an impossibility. Their name is legion, and, as I have said before, they have taken the English as their models.

Ivan Tourghéniev does not need an introduction to the English public: his reputation is European, many of his works have been translated into French and German, and some even into our own language. He first made a name by his "Memoirs of a Sportsman" (Записки Охотника), full of vigorous pictures of the life and habits of the peasants. He has since produced many works of great excellence, in which

he has photographed, as it were, the various phenomena of Russian society, and produced many characters, which, among his own countrymen, have become typical.

In the subject of Slavonic philology, the Russians only occupy a secondary place, for as yet they have not produced a Schleicher, a Dobrowsky, or a Schafarik. Still, they have done some genuine and honourable work. The cultivation of these studies has of course been recent, and dates from the overthrow of the monstrous incubus of Gallicism. It was not till the beginning of this century that they realized that their past language and traditions were worth studying. The impulse may with accuracy be said to date from the time of Karamzin, whose history, previously alluded to, may indeed contain many faults, but was written in an elegant, almost fascinating style, and with great erudition. The notes teem with proofs of the most wide and varied reading. Soon afterwards, literary and antiquarian societies began to be formed in Russia, and foremost among the investigators of history must be mentioned Pogodin, Kostomarov, and Soloviev. The second of these authors writes in a very iconoclastic spirit, and handles severely many of the most pleasing legends of Russian history. Soloviev is still publishing his very voluminous history, which promises, when completed, to be rather a quarry of materials for future authors than anything else. Professor Ilovaiski has been recently astonishing his fellow-countrymen by some very heterodox opinions on the origin of the Russians, whom, in spite of the exhaustive labours of Schafarik, he affects still to derive from the Roxolani. The subject is now being ventilated in the columns of the magazine, "Old and New Russia" (*Древняя и Новая Россия*), which was commenced last year, and promises to be a very great success. To me, I must confess, the views of Schafarik still appear unshaken. Oustrialov, although in his "History of Russia" his descriptions seem pale and colourless, yet in other works he has made some very important contributions to the literature of his country. His most celebrated production is his "History of Peter the Great," important because it was

written with the help of many documents which had remained up to the time unpublished. The whole history of the unfortunate Alexis was narrated even in the minutest details, and the circumstances of his unhappy fate made clear.

Vostokov, a Russianized German, his original name having been Osteneck, edited the Ostromir Codex, the earliest MS. of the Palæo or Ecclesiastical Slavonic language. It is supposed to have been written in the year 1056, for the use of Ostromir, *posadnik* of Novgorod, who was related to the Grand-Duke Iziaslav. The edition of Vostokov was a very valuable contribution to Slavonic philology. A grammar of the language was added; but the labours of Miklosich and Schleicher have superseded his efforts. Biliarski has published a valuable work on the copy of the Gospels upon which the Kings of France were accustomed to take the oath at their coronation at Rheims before the Revolution. The book was magnificently bound in a cover of plates of gold, ornamented with precious stones. When, in 1717, Peter the Great visited Rheims, it was exhibited to him among the other curiosities of the place, and he recognized it to be written in some Slavonic language. In 1789 an Englishman, Thomas Ford Hill, having been shown some Glagolitic MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, at once declared that they were in the same characters as the mysterious book at Rheims. The matter would soon have been sifted, as the curiosity of Slavonic scholars had begun to be excited, when the Revolution broke out in all its fury. The wonderful book disappeared, carried off, no doubt, on account of its precious exterior. Nor could any trace of it be found, and its loss was naturally deplored by Slavonic scholars, as they readily imagined it might have contained leaves of the highest antiquity and of priceless value.

But how came the book in France? According to some conjectures it had been removed thither in 1204, when Constantinople was captured: Dobrowsky thought it was presented by Helen, a queen of Serbia; both these views, however, were mere suppositions.¹

¹ Kopitar *Glag. Cloz.*, xi.

The eminent savants, Sylvestre de Sacy and Kopitar, made all possible search for it, but to no purpose. How it ultimately turned up I am not able to state. But it was recognized by the Slavonic scholar Stroiev, of course stripped of its gorgeous environment.¹ In 1852 a very handsome edition was published at Paris, each plate of the manuscript being carefully reproduced, engraved on copper. The book was found by Paplonski to consist of two parts. 1st, Cyrillian in a Serbo-Russian dialect, written, according to the epilogue, by St. Procopius, at Prague, in 1032, and *therefore, if this date be correct, older than the Ostromir Gospels*; but the statement was no doubt added by a later hand, and is mythical, 2nd, Glagolitic of Čech origin, and dating no further back than 1325. Extracts from this interesting volume are given by Chodzko in his *Grammaire Paléoslave* (Paris, 1869).

In the *Slavische Bibliothek* (edited by Miklosich) Kopitar thinks that the volume was purchased by Charles IV., under the impression that it was really written by St. Procopius; about 1451 it seems to have got to Constantinople, and was purchased there by a French Cardinal, who presented it to the Cathedral at Rheims. The theory of Jerebtzov that it was taken to France by Anne, daughter of Yaroslav who married Henry I., is groundless.

Here also must be mentioned Sreznevski, a writer on the old Slavonic language, of deservedly high repute, and Hilferding, whose premature death was a great loss to Russian literature. His works on the history of the Polabes—the old Slavonic tribe on the Elbe—and on the Indo-European affinities of the Slavonic languages, are exceedingly valuable. The old customs of their race have been explored by Afanasiev, Kastorski, Kotliarevski, Snegirev, and Tereschenko, but it must be frankly confessed that the subject of Slavonic mythology remains up to the present time a chaos. Many works have appeared, in various languages, but the Slavonic pantheon has never

¹ See Gretsch, *Путевыя письма изъ Англіи, Германіи и Франціи*. С. П. Б., 1839, vol. ii. p. 161.

been satisfactorily arranged. The work of Hanuš¹ is full of wild speculations: perhaps the best is Schwenke's. I have already alluded to the Russian legendary tales and poems and their characteristics. During the period of Catherine and French influence, these productions were treated with profound contempt. Attention appears to have been first called to them by Prince Tzertev, who published in 1819 a small collection relating to Vladímir and his Round Table at Kiev. These were chiefly Malo-Russian, and I shall therefore allude more at length to them in my remarks on that dialect or language. Since this time large collections have appeared, of which the most celebrated are those edited by Kirievski and Ribnikov (of the songs), and the tales (*skazki*) by Afanasiev, Sakharov, and Erlenwein. Valuable works have been written on the characteristics of this early national literature by Buslaev (*Historical Sketches*) and Orest Miller (*Historical Survey of Russian Literature*).

The Servians had already been introduced to Western notice by Vuk Stephanovitch Karadschitch, in his "National Songs of Servia," and the Bulgarians by the admirable collection published in 1861 by the Brothers Miladinov, at Agram, under the patronage of Bishop Strossmayer. These unfortunate men were afterwards murdered in a Turkish prison, under peculiarly brutal circumstances. Their labours have since been supplemented by Messrs. Verkovitch and Dozon. All the Slavonic races have their ballads, but the families just mentioned are the richest.

Leaving now the subject of Russian literature, properly so called, we come to the Malo, or Little Russian. It will be observed that I have confined my notes on Russian dialects to the Little, White and Red Russian (with an allusion to a special dialect spoken in the Bukovina). There are however others, but the materials for the study of them are wanting. Some attention is paid to them by Dahl in his copious Dictionary, and we occasionally find meagre vocabularies, but they have never been scientifically in-

¹ Wissenschaft des Slavischen Mythos. Lemberg, 1842.

vestigated. Karamzin, in a note to the first volume of his history, speaks of the dialects of Souzdal and Novgorod. Some specimens of these were given in the "Comparative Vocabularies" published at St. Petersburg in 1787. Karamzin tells us that there are many curious words in the dialect of Souzdal: thus God is *Stod*; father, *khrutin*; sister, *mindra*; wife, *eltona*; maiden, *shiktora*. A short time ago a collection of popular tales from the Government of Olonetz was published. Little Russian is the language of the Cossacks, spoken on the Bug, Don and Dnieper, the Euxine, and the Sea of Azov. It prevails also in the Governments of Poltava, Kharkov, Tchernigov, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, etc. Scherzl says that it is heard from the town of Sandecz (near Krakow) to the Caucasian mountains. In fact, this dialect, almost reaching to the dignity of an independent language, is very widely spread. According to the tables published by Schafarik, there are upwards of ten millions of Malo-Russians subject to the Tzar, and to these must be added 2,774,000 under the government of Austria, of whom the majority are settled in the Province of Galicia (where the aristocracy alone are Polish), and some are to be found in Hungary, where they occupy several comitats. The Austrian and Hungarian Russniaks, as they are called by their German neighbours, are sometimes styled Red Russians, but their language is substantially the same as the Malo-Russian. Polish influences are to be perceived, as may readily be imagined, for the Poles were masters of these territories for two centuries. The orthography differs considerably from that of Great Russian. Thus *i* is put for the Russian *ѣ*, and *r* becomes in the Malo-Russian pronunciation *h*. The thick *л*, Polish *ł*, goes into *в* or *у*, thus *добро* = *довро*, *писау* = *писавъ*. The sound of the Little Russian *и* is a middle sound between *ы* and *и*. In most monosyllables the Russian *о* becomes *і* in Little Russian. Thus *ногъ* = *нигъ*, and the Russian *у* is frequently changed into *в* and *vice versa*: *умираю* = *умираю*. The consonants offer nothing particular to call for a remark. I may note, however, that *ѣ* is frequently pronounced like *хв*.

The orthography of the Little Russian appears to be by no means fixed. Each author pursues his own method. The semivowels *ь* and *ъ* are omitted by some as useless. The works which issue from the press of Lemberg have a different spelling from those published at Kiev, and in the books printed in Galicia a new letter has been invented for *г* when it takes the sound of *h*. An extraordinary system of spelling was attempted in the *Ужнокъ рідного поля* ("Gleanings of a Native Field"), published by Koutzii at Moscow in 1857.

As the Cossacks are so mixed up with the Little Russians, a few words may be added concerning them. The derivation of the name has been very much disputed. The most probable suggestion is that it is of Turkish origin, and signifies a robber. A very pleasant account of these people will be found in Clarke's "Travels," a work which is not without its attractions, although upwards of half a century has elapsed since its publication. At that time the Cossacks preserved many more of their old customs than they do now.

The Cossacks were originally divided into two branches, those of the Don, who became subject to Russia in the sixteenth century, and those of the Dnieper, called the Zaporogian Cossacks (*i.e.* those dwelling beyond the cataracts, *porogi*), who submitted to Alexis Mikhailovitch in the days of the celebrated Bogdan Khmelnitzki. The military republics founded by these hardy soldiers, which necessitated the severest discipline, are well known. The Malo-Russian dialect or language is exceedingly rich in *skazki* (national tales) and in songs. Peculiar to them is the *douma*, a kind of narrative poem, in which the metre is ordinarily very irregular, but a sort of rhythm is preserved by the recurrence of accented syllables. The *douma* of the Little Russians corresponds to the *bylina* of the Great Russians. In 1819 Prince Tzertelev gave to the world a small volume of these under the title, "Attempt at a Collection of Ancient Songs of Little Russia."¹ Others followed, edited by Shpigotzki and

¹ Опытъ собранія старинныхъ Малороссійскихъ пѣсень.

Sreznevski, and in 1834 there appeared at Moscow an octavo volume by Mikhail Maksimovitch, in which a very interesting anthology of these curious productions was put forth, with explanations both historical and philological. These works, however, are being thrown into the shade by the elaborate edition now in course of publication by Messrs. Antonovitch and Dragomanov,¹ in which the poems are chronologically arranged, and all requisite explanations given. The parallel ballads in the literatures of other countries are frequently added. On the national legends valuable works have been published by Koulish and Rondtchenko.

Many of the Malo-Russian philologers, among others Koulish, are anxious to claim a higher position for their native idiom, taking their stand on the fact that Kiev, in Little Russia, was the ancient capital of Slavonic civilization in the good days of Vladímir and his heroes of the epic cycle; they vindicate for this dialect the right to be styled *the Russian* properly so called. With them the Great Russian was only accidentally protruded from the fact that in the collision of the various Slavonic princes—one of the dreariest chapters in the national annals—Moscow came by mere luck to the front as the capital of the country. With this opinion Miklosich agrees, and his decision must carry great weight, as being that of the most eminent Slavonic scholar of our day. Prof. Bodenstedt, the genial translator of Pushkin, who has admirably rendered many of the Little Russian songs into German, thus pronounces an opinion upon them—"In no country has the tree of popular poetry borne such lordly fruits, nowhere has the spirit of the people exhibited itself in so vigorous and truthful a way as among the Little Russians. What a charming air of sadness, what deep true human feeling do these songs express, which the Cossack sings in a foreign country! What a tenderness, coupled with manly strength, breathes throughout his love-songs!" As might naturally be expected, most Malo-Russian authors

¹ Историческія Пѣсни Малорусскаго Народа-Кіевъ, 1874.

of eminence have preferred using the Great Russian, notably Gogol, who, however, is very fond of introducing provincial expressions, which require a glossary. Grebenko, however, and Kvetka, composed novels in their native idiom, and a celebrated writer of romances is still alive who uses the pseudonym of Netchoui.

The foundation of the Malo-Russian cultivated literature was laid by the travestie of the Eneid by Kotliarevski, which enjoys great popularity among his countrymen. A truly national poet appeared in Taras Shevtchenko, born a serf in the Government of Kiev, at the village of Kirilovka. He has himself described the vicissitudes of his early life. This highly interesting autobiography is printed in the Lemberg edition of the poet's works, and the new and complete one just issued at Prague, with details of Shevtchenko contributed by personal friends, among others Kostomarov and Tourgheniev. It also forms the basis of a sketch of the poet's life appended to the translation of a few of his pieces by Obrist.¹ Besides poetry, the young serf devoted himself to art with considerable success. His childhood was spent in poverty and misery, but his genius was awakened by the tales of the early days of the Ukraine, which he heard from an old monk. How faithfully the poet has reproduced these interesting traditions will be readily acknowledged by any one familiar with his writings, breathing all the spirit of that romantic part of Russia. Shortly before his death, at St. Petersburg, he composed some pathetic lines in which he expressed his desire to be buried in his beloved Ukraine. The poet's wishes were faithfully carried out by his admirers. Near the city of Kanev, not far from Kiev, a huge tumulus has been erected in his honour, which not long ago was characterized by a writer in one of the Polish journals as the Mecca of the South Russian Revolutionists. Many of the poems of Shevtchenko celebrate the early history of the Ukraine—the national heroes Ivan Pidkova, Nalivaiko, Doroshenko, and others. In the piece entitled

¹ See Taras Szewczenko, ein kleinrussischer Dichter, etc. J. George Obrist, Czernowitz, 1870.

Haidamak,¹ a fearful story is told. We have some terribly graphic pictures of the battles between the Cossacks and their Polish persecutors, especially when the former rose against the Jews and Roman Catholics. The account of Gonta is positively sickening, especially where we read of his murder of upwards of 1000 Jewish and Roman Catholic children at Human in 1770.

The reader will, no doubt, grow weary of these atrocities, but some compensation will be made by the fire and vigour of the lyrics of Shevtchenko, who was certainly a true poet. Professor E. Partizki, of Lemberg, has commenced an elaborate critique on his writings, of which a portion has appeared. Shevtchenko died in 1861. The native bards of the Ukraine are by no means extinct: in 1874 appeared an account of the minstrel Ostap Veresai, and further details have since been given in "Old and New Russia." A good insight into the Little Russian literature was given by the Reading Book (Руска Читанка) of Alexander Barvinski, published at Lemberg in 1870. The first volume is devoted to oral literature, and gives extracts from the most celebrated songs, legends and tales. In the second specimens are inserted, among others, of the writings of Kotliarevski, Kvetka, Gribenko, and Shevtchenko. In the third we are introduced (in the company of many others of minor note) to Marko Vovtchok (a pseudonym of Madame Eugenia Markovitch, whose tales descriptive of peasant life have enjoyed very great popularity) and Jouri Fedkovitch, who employs a dialect of Bukovina—another melancholy sign of the folly of the Slaves in eternally cultivating dialects. Fedkovitch, like Shevtchenko, sprang from a peasant family, and served as a soldier in the Austrian army during the war with the French under Napoleon III. Naturally, we find his poems filled with descriptions of life in the camp.

A collection of songs of Bukovina was published at Kiev last year by A. Lonatchevski. The Slavonians are becoming thoroughly awake to their treasures of popular poetry.

¹ Signifies robber.

It is to be regretted that no good dictionary of this South-Russian language has made its appearance as yet, although there has been some talk of one. Till one is compiled, Western scholars will with difficulty be able to enjoy the copious stores of popular songs and legends which these dialects possess. The evil is partly remedied by the White-Russian Dictionary of Nosovitch, and a small German Ruthenisch Dictionary, published by Professor Emilian Partizki (*Deutsch-Ruthenisches Handwörterbuch*, Lemberg, 1867). An excellent grammar has been written by Dr. Michael Osadza, a pupil of the celebrated Slavist Miklosich, which leaves nothing to desire.

A few words must be said about the third Russian dialect, that which is called White Russian, spoken in parts of Lithuania and Volhynia, especially in the governments of Mohilev, Minsk, and part of Vilno. It is of course full of Polish words and phrases, and was the official language for a long time of Lithuania, the Lithuanian never having risen in dignity above a peasant's tongue; in the White Russian all the historical monuments and the laws of that people are written. Scherzl, in his *Comparative Slavonic Grammar*, has commented upon the few peculiarities of this dialect. Among other characteristics we may mention that the White Russian uses *a* for *o*, *e.g.* *срапана* = *сропона*, *r* (as in Little Russian) is pronounced *h*: the gutturals are softened before *h*, *e.g.* *на пыж*. Its variations from the Red or Little Russian are trivial and unimportant, and are practically ignored by Koulisch. In White Russian Smotrycki wrote his *Syntagma* or *Grammar of the Ecclesiastical Slavonic*, published at Polock in 1619, the first ever printed.

The dictionary of Nosovitch, previously mentioned, was issued in 1870. His statement of the materials from which his lexicon was compiled will give but too evident proofs of the meagre nature of the literature of this branch of the Slavonic family. They are as follows:—(1) Oral national literature taken down from the mouths of the peasantry: songs, proverbs, traditions, tales, etc. (2) Collections of words gathered in the Governments of Mohilev, Pinsk and

Grodno, and some of the provinces bordering on the Vistula. (3) Materials (very meagre) of the White Russian dialect and literature printed in the Reports of the Imperial Academy of Arts, in works published by the Moscow Society of the Lovers of Literature, in the Ethnographical Collection of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, and the Collections of Chechet and Zenkevitch. Some White Russian songs have been edited by Bezsonov, but I have not seen his book.

I have thus endeavoured to trace the area over which Russian and its dialects are spoken. It will be seen that it is in all respects a vigorous and well-developed language, and I think we may safely prophesy a long future for it. In riches it need not yield the palm to any of its European sisters, and as it relies upon itself, and does not incorporate foreign elements, it may continue to be one of the most independent of modern languages. In the West its progress may be checked, but in the East it is gaining on the Finnish and Tartar tribes, and will no doubt become the language of all Siberia. The dialects will in process of time become absorbed into the dominant tongue; and Russian will thus be the property of about fifty millions. The prospects of such a language can only be paralleled by those of England and Germany.

XI.—TRADITIONAL RELICS OF THE CORNISH LANGUAGE IN MOUNTS BAY IN 1875. By H. JENNER, Esq.

IN this paper I shall not attempt to discuss the question how far Old Cornish words are still used in conversation by the people of West Cornwall. Such words are undoubtedly used; but they are not known to be Cornish by those that use them, and cannot be said to belong to a tradition of a former language, except in the sense of their having been handed down therefrom. The words with which I have now to deal are not used in conversation, but

are known, by those who can repeat them, to have formed part of the old language of their ancestors. The words are but few, and almost all of them are known on paper, but they deserve to be put on record as the very last relics of the language that have been handed down by word of mouth without having been incorporated with English.

Some while ago I received information from the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, Vicar of Newlyn, Penzance, to the effect that he had found in his parish some old people who could repeat the numerals and knew a few other words of Cornish. In July, 1875, I went to West Cornwall, and, in company with Mr. Lach-Szyrma, I visited these old people, and afterwards made an expedition to the little village of Mousehole, in the parish of St. Paul, well known to students of Cornish as the home of the celebrated Mrs. Dolly Pentreath, and, in still earlier days, of John Keigwin. The result of our investigations I have now to put forward. Such as it is, it may be divided into three classes:—A. *The Numerals*. B. *Detached words*. C. *Three complete sentences*.

The names of our informants are as follows:

1. John Kelynack, of Newlyn, fisherman, and his wife, the latter of whom had learnt the words from her father, John Tremethack, who died in 1852, aged 87 (a contemporary, therefore, of Dolly Pentreath, who died in 1778).

2. Mrs. Soady, of Newlyn, a widow of past 80. She had also learnt of her father.

3. Stephen Richards, of Newlyn, Captain in the merchant service, aged about 70.

4. Benjamin Victor, of Mousehole, fisherman, aged about 70.

5. Mrs. Tregarthen, of Newlyn, aged about 60.

A. *The numerals*.—We obtained two sets of numerals, differing in a few slight points, one from the Kelynacks and one from Mrs. Soady. The best way to show these will be to tabulate them with those given by Dr. Norris in his "Sketch of Cornish Grammar," and by Pryce in his "Archæologia Cornu-Britannica," the latter being those in use in the last century.

[I have adopted Mr. A. J. Ellis's system of "Glossic" for the spelling of all the words obtained by me. See Appendix. All other words are spelt as I find them in print in the authorities cited.]

	THE KELYNACKS.	MRS. SOADY.	PRYCE. 18th century.	NORRIS. ¹ 15th century.
1	on	on'un	wonnan	un, onan
2	doo	deu	deau	deu
3	trei	traiy	try	try
4	paj	paj'u	padzher	{peswar, m {pedyr, f
5	pemp	pemp	pemp	{pypm {pym
6	weth	eth	whch	whe
7	saa'yth	saa'yth	seith	seyth
8	eith	eith	eath	
9	noun	nou	naw	naw
10	deg	deg	deag	dek
11	ig'nak	ig'unak	ednack	
12	dau'dhak	dau'dhak	dowthack	dewthek
13	tau'dhak	tau'dhak	tarthack	
14	bizwau'dhak	bizwau'dhak	puzwarthack	
15	pemp'thak	pemp'thak	pemdhack	pymthek
16	wedh'ak	wedh'ak	huettag	
17	saa'ydhak	saa'ydhak	seitag	
18	ei'dhak	ei'dhak	eatag	
19	noun'jak	noun'jak	nawnzack	
20	ig'uns	ig'uns	iganz	{ugens {iganz

Now this set of numerals is of value in determining the pronunciation of the vowels in the last stage of the language. It would not be difficult to discover from these what Lhwyd, in his "Archæologia Britannica," meant by his elaborate system of Cornish orthography, adopted when the language was actually spoken.

I account for the survival of the numerals on this wise. Pilchards, the great branch of trade in Mounts Bay, are counted in the following manner. Take three in each hand, and say "one," another three and say "two," and so on up to twenty, by which means the "long hundred" (or one hundred and twenty) is arrived at, after which begin again. Now it is easy to see that those who learned English as a

¹ In the cases in which numerals are unrepresented in this column, Dr. Norris has borrowed from Pryce, having failed to find the equivalents in the Cornish dramas.

new language would find it easier to count in Cornish, and would count their fish in that tongue, and their children would hear them do so, and would do so themselves, and so for that purpose the numerals as far as twenty would survive long after the death of the rest of the language. This, of course, is merely conjectural, for I have no evidence of fish having been counted in Cornish, but the analogies of the mutilated Welsh numerals used in the Yorkshire "sheep scoring," and of the present use of Manx numerals for counting herrings in the Isle of Man by even the English-speaking Manx-men, as well as the coincidence of twenty being the limit, give an air of probability to the notion.

B. Detached words.—Some of these were obtained from more than one of our informants. In many of them the rules of changes mentioned at the beginning of my paper on the Cornish Language (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1873-4, p. 165), are noticeably carried out. I have arranged them in alphabetical order, giving to each the name of our informant.

Aaree'u (Mrs. Tregarthen).—An expression of surprise. This is the present form of the old expletive *re-varia* (by St. Mary) mentioned by Scawen (*circ.* 1670), and by Lhwyd. It is still used occasionally.

Baa'gus (Capt. Richards).—A kite or hawk. *Baa'gus vee'un* a little kite, *baa'gus brou* a great kite. This word is found in the play of "Origo Mundi" under the form of *bargos*, in the account of the naming of the animals by Adam. Welsh, *barcud*, Breton, *barced* or *barged*.

Boo'bun (Richards).—A wick for a lamp. The nearest analogy is the Breton *poulc'hen* (*mèche*). As Cornish it is a new word.

Chil (Richards).—A lamp.

Chib'lx (Richards).—Young onions. Welsh, *sibwl*, Breton, *sibolez*, French *ciboule*, Italian, *cipolla*, Latin, *cepulla*. Not found otherwise in Cornish.

Chei (Richards).—A house. Originally *ti* or *ty*, under which form it appears in the Cottonian vocabulary and in

the earlier plays. As a prefix in names of places West of Truro this word (spelt *chy*) is very common, but in the only instance in which I know of its occurring in East Cornwall (Chytan, near St. Columb), it is sounded *chee*; but the older form *ty*, which is occasionally found, is sounded (Glossic) *tu* (as in the name *Tywardreath*). Welsh, *ty*, Breton, *ti*, Irish and Scotch Gaelic, *tigh*, Manx, *thie*.

Deu (Richards, Kelynack and Victor).—Black. Cornish vocabulary (13th century) "*duw niger*," Welsh, *du*, Breton, *du*, Irish and Scotch, *dubh*, Manx, *doo*.

Dou'u or *dour* (Richards).—Water. This was given with *chei* as the meaning of the name *Chy-an-dour* (a place adjoining Penzance). The vocabulary gives it *douer* and *dofer*, Welsh, *dŵr*, *dufr*, Breton, *dour*, Old Irish, *dobhar*,¹ Old Scotch, *dobhar* (preserved in the word *dobhran*, an otter), Manx, *dubbyr* (a pond).

Frag'un (Richards).—Dirt. This was given as the meaning of the name of a field near Newlyn. The Breton *frigas*, mud, appears to be an analogous word.

Gijoa'ltu (Kelynack and Richards).—A spar used to push out the sail of a fishing boat. Also called a *vaa'goo'ud*. A notched board to keep this in its place was called a *timunog'i* or *trimunog'i*. These words are not used now, and are unknown to fishermen from other coasts, but I can find no derivations for them, though my informants believed them to be Cornish words.

Krog'un (Richards).—A limpet. In the vocabulary this is found as "*crogen concha*," in which form it also occurs in the Ordinalia and in the Poem of the Passion. Lhwyd writes it *crogan*. Welsh, *cragen*, Breton, *crogan*.

Krou (Richards).—A pigsty. Lhwyd gives this as a hovel, and *crow moh* a pigsty. The word is still used in West Cornwall, usually in the form "a pig's crow," but is known

¹ "*Bior is An agus Dobhar*
Tri hanmann d'uisce an domhain."
Bior and An and Dobhar
Three names for water in the world.

to those who use it as a peculiar word. Welsh, *craw*, Breton, *craou*, Irish and Scotch, *cro*, Manx, *croe*.

Meenol'as (Kelynack).—A hearth-stone. (Richards and Victor).—A caboose. From *men*, a stone (Welsh, *maen*, Breton, *men* or *maen*), and *ollas*, hearth (Welsh, *aelwyd*, Breton, *aoled*). This word has a curious history. Kelynack gave it to us as a Cornish word that he had been told of in his youth, and gave its literal meaning; but Victor said that he remembered when a *meenol'as* was used on the fishing boats. It was, he said, a sort of box with stone and clay in the bottom, in which fishermen cooked their food before the invention or introduction of iron stoves. This accounts for the survival of the word. When first used, it was called by the name of the nearest thing to it—a hearth-stone; but since the namers spoke Cornish, they called it *meenol'as*, and, there being no English word for this ingenious makeshift, the original name stuck to it till the thing itself went out of use.¹

Min'us (Richards).—A small stone used to drive the fish, otherwise known as a *kubooli-stone*. I would conjecture that the original word was *men minys*, a little stone, and that the word *men* was dropped.

Pee'th (Richards).—A well. This is a new word in Cornish, doubtless from the Latin *puteus*; Welsh, *pydew*, Breton, *puñs*, French, *puits*.

Pedn (Richards).—A head. Given with names of places. This is the common later form of *pen*, which is too well known a Celtic word to need discussion.

Vee'un or *vee'n* (Richards).—Little. This is a common late form of *bechan* or *bihan* (with the first mutation). The vocabulary gives it as "*bochan parvus*," Welsh, *bach*, and *bychan*, Breton, *bihan*, Irish, Scotch and Manx, *beg*. It is still used in the expression *cheeld vee'n* or *vaiyn* = little child (a common vocative), and Mrs. Kelynack remembered a girl who used in her younger days to be called "*Jenny vee'un*."

The following additional words were supplied by W. J. Rawlings, Esq., of Hayle, who remembered their use many

¹ This word, in the form *myn olla*, is mentioned in a paper by J. H. Nankivell, of Penzance, in the Gentleman's Magazine of September, 1866.

years ago. They are undoubtedly Cornish, and, with the exception of the first, are quite obsolete.

Skou or *skeu*.—An elder-tree. This I have heard used myself, though the impression of the users was clearly that the tree was called a *skew*-tree because it was *crooked*. Welsh, *ysgawen*, Breton, *skaw* and *scawen*, Latin, *scobies*.

Pun'yun.—A gable. Latin, *pinnium*, (see Ducange), French, *pignon*, Welsh, *piniwn*, Breton, *pinoun*.

Guldaa'yz and *diguldaa'yz*.—A harvest feast. Lhwyd gives *degl* as meaning a holiday, and derives it from *dedh goil*, the day of feast. Welsh, *dydd gwyl*, Breton, *de gouil*. The *daa'yz* is perhaps the English word "tide," with the first initial mutation of *t* to *d*, and the usual corruption of *d* to *z*.

C. *The Sentences*.—1. (Supplied by Kelynack and Richards). *Breeul meeut* (Kelynack *met'u*) *troo'ja bizwau'dhu pem'pez* (Kelynack *tem'pez*) *weth'ez* (the rest is English) *all ascrowd all along the line oh*.—This used to be sung out by fishermen in hauling in the mackerel nets. My informants could not translate it, but Kelynack knew that when they came to the words "all ascrowd," the fish were coming in too thick to count. The translation is this. *Bree'ul* is a late form of *brithel*, or as the vocabulary gives it, "*breithel mugil*," mackerel, from *brith*, streaked or variegated (Welsh *brith*, Breton *briz*). The Welsh equivalent is *brithyll*, a trout, and the Breton *brezel*, mackerel. *Mee'ut* or *met'u* is simply the English word *mate*. *Troo'ja*, *bizwau'dhu*, *pem'pez*, *weth'ez*, are *third*, *fourth*, *fifth*, and *sixth*. I will just tabulate these with Norris's and Pryce's Cornish, and with the Welsh and Breton.

1875.	NORRIS.	PRYCE.	WELSH.	BRETON.
<i>troo'ja</i>	{ tressa trega tryge }	trega (g soft)	trydydd	{ trived trede }
<i>bizwau'dhu</i>	{ peswere pyswere }	peswarra	pedwerydd	{ pevarved pevara }
<i>pem'pez</i>	pypmes	pempaz	pummed	pemved
<i>weth'ez</i>	whefes	wheythas	{ chweched chwechfed }	c'houc'hved

Kelynack's *tem'pez* is of course a mistake. The presence of the *dh* in *bizwau'dhu* is curious. Possibly a form *peswarca* or *peswarves* once existed, and the *v* (as the *f* in the case of *weth'ez* changed into *th*) became *dh*.¹

2. *Lag'en en dou'u* (Richards).—This was explained as meaning splashing backwards and forwards in the water (speaking of fish). *Lag'en* is probably the same as *logan* in the name of the Logan (or rocking) stone. It is not Celtic, but seems to have been adopted into Cornish. *En* is *in*. *Dou'u* is *water* (see above).

3. *Paj'i kulaa' tuvee'unpolee'un dumoi'jonaay*.—This sentence was supplied by Benjamin Victor. His account of it was that it used to be said to an old man called Tom Becaleck, and that it meant "Tom Becaleck, lend me your stick to go to Penzance." The general meaning of this translation is probably right. I think the sentence may be divided in the following way, though two of the words are as yet unintelligible to me.

Paj'i kulaa' tu vee un (or *tu vee'un*) *polee'un du moi'j onaa'y*.

Paj'i is *pigy* or *pesy*, meaning *pray* or *please*.

kulaa I cannot translate—perhaps it means *lend*.

tu vee is *dho vy*, to me.

un is *an*, the.

(or *tu vee'un* is *do vean*, thy little.)

polee'un is similar to the Welsh *polyn*, a pole or stick.

du moi'j is *dho mos*, to go; the *s* being corrupted into *j* according to the common rule.

onaa'y I cannot translate.

Thus the English of the sentence would be,

Please lend (?) to me the } *stick to go (onaa'y).*
or *Please lend thy little*

This then is the result of our investigations. It is not much, but I believe that there is more to be found. The great district of the Lizard or Meneage peninsula has not been searched yet, but there are several workers in the field,

¹ In Mr. Nankivell's paper, before alluded to, this sentence is given, but with the cardinal numbers from one to six, instead of these ordinals.

and before long we shall perhaps know for certain exactly how much tradition remains. The outlying districts of Zennor, Morvah and Towednack, in the Land's End peninsula, seem to contain no memories whatever of the old language; but that may be owing to the scattered nature of these parishes, which would have made it difficult for old people to have kept up their knowledge of Cornish by conversing with others of their own age.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to give a short account of what now remains to be done with regard to the Cornish language before every remaining fragment of it is carefully put into print.

1. There are several proverbs, songs and sentences of late Cornish to be found in the Gwavas MSS. (Add. 28,554) in the British Museum, and in the MSS. of Dr. Borlase at Castle Hornick, Penzance. These should be printed and annotated, and such of them as have been already printed by Pryce and Davies Gilbert should be done over again, as those editions, especially the latter, are almost worthless.

2. Then a supplement should be made to the excellent Cornish Lexicon of the Rev. Robert Williams, which should contain every word or form of a word (not already recorded therein) that is to be found in the aforesaid MSS., in Andrew Borde's Cornish dialogues in his "Boke of the Introduction to Knowledge," in Symonds' diary of the Civil War, in Richard Carew's "Survey of Cornwall," in the Drama of St. Meriasek, and even (with judicious selection) in Hals' History of Cornwall. No one could do this better than Canon Williams himself, if his valuable work in the way of editing Welsh Romances should leave him time to undertake it.

3. Lastly, perhaps a grammar should be made, based upon Dr. Norris's "Sketch of Cornish Grammar," and that in Lhwyd's "Archæologia Britannica," only bringing in *every* period of the language.

When these things are done, one at least of the world's languages will have been thoroughly worked out.

APPENDIX.

TABLE OF GLOSSIC LETTERS USED IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

VOWELS.

A	As <i>a</i> in <i>bat</i> .
AA	As <i>a</i> in <i>father</i> .
AA·Y	As the word <i>aye</i> (meaning <i>yes</i>), broadly sounded.
AI·Y	As <i>ay</i> in <i>tray</i> .
AU	As <i>aw</i> in <i>law</i> .
E	The ordinary short <i>e</i> , as in <i>men</i> .
EE	The ordinary long <i>e</i> , as <i>ee</i> in <i>seen</i> .
EE·ü	A fracture of the preceding, as in the word <i>ear</i> with the <i>r</i> perfectly untrilled.
EI	As <i>y</i> in <i>my</i> .
EU	As <i>ew</i> in <i>dew</i> .
I	As <i>i</i> in <i>tin</i> .
O	As <i>o</i> in <i>not</i> .
OA	As <i>o</i> in <i>smoke</i> .
OI	As <i>oy</i> in <i>boy</i> .
OO	As <i>oo</i> in <i>pool</i> .
OO·ü	A fracture of the preceding, as <i>oor</i> in <i>moor</i> with the <i>r</i> untrilled.
OU	As <i>ow</i> in <i>now</i> .
U	Common short <i>u</i> as in <i>until</i> , or like the second <i>e</i> in the German <i>meine</i> .

The consonants have their usual English value. The following only call for any remark. *Ch* is always soft, as in *church*. *G* always hard, as in *go*, *get*. *J* always sounded, as in *James*. *Dh* represents *th* as in *thy*, *th* being always sounded as in *thin*.

For more minute description of the value of Glossic letters, and for their comparison with Palæotype and with Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech letters, see the Appendix to Mr. Elworthy's paper on the West Somerset Dialect in the *Transactions* of the Philological Society for 1875-6, Part I. pp. 218—272.

XII.—DIALECTS AND PREHISTORIC FORMS OF OLD ENGLISH. By HENRY SWEET, Esq.

LATIN WORDS IN OLD ENGLISH.

My first object in this paper is to call attention to the changes undergone by Latin words introduced into Old English, and to the light these changes throw on the inflexions and phonology of the language. As several of these words were introduced before the period of the oldest literary documents, they afford evidence of the highest value for the prehistoric period.

I have also examined the oldest remains of our language, and collected the chief archaisms, many of which confirm the evidence of the Latin words. I have gone through the Northumbrian Runic Inscriptions given in Prof. Stephens's "Runic Monuments," and the following MSS. texts:

- 1) The Northumbrian fragment of Cædmon from the Ely MSS. (C.)
- 2) Bede's Death Song, from the St. Gall MS. (BDS.)
- 3) The Leiden Riddle. (R.)¹
- 4) The proper names in Bede's History (BH.), from the Ely MSS., as given in Moberly's ed., and from the Brussels MS., as given by Mone in his "Quellen und Forschungen," vol. i.

These are all Northumbrian.

- 5) The Epinal Glossary (Ep.), printed in "Cooper's Report," and elsewhere.
- 6) The Corpus Christi (CC.) Glossary, unpublished.

These two I believe to be in the Kentish dialect. Their contents show that they are, to a great extent at least, from a common source, the dialect is the same in both, and CC. originally belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury (Wanley's Catalogue, p. 116).

We have no direct evidence of the age of these documents, except in the case of C. and BH.—as far as the Ely MS. is

¹ These three are given in Rieger's "Angelsächsisches Lesebuch."

concerned, which has been shown to have been written about 737. The other Northumbrian fragments cannot be much younger, and may be older. The most archaic of all in language is the Epinal glossary, and its handwriting, as that of CC. also, points decisively to the beginning of the eighth century at least. Of the Runic inscriptions the Bewcastle one cannot be much later than 670, and the others, especially the Ruthwell Cross Poem, are very similar in every respect.

I cannot claim to have made anything like an exhaustive examination of all these texts. Many of the forms, both in the Runic inscriptions and in the glossaries, are very doubtful, and I preferred selecting only what appeared most certain and most in harmony with other evidence, to gathering a mass of doubtful and obscure material. To grapple successfully with all the difficulties of the glossaries requires a much greater knowledge of Middle Age Latin than I possess.

Latin words were introduced into OE. at very different periods. Many are evidently mere literary importations of a very recent date. Such words are: *apostol*, *calic*, *cantic*, *diacon*, etc. If these words had been introduced in the earliest period, they would have appeared in the forms of *postol*, *celec*, *centec*, *deōcon*. Of the prehistoric words, again, some are older than others. Especially interesting are those words which were learnt by the Germans who served in the Roman armies, and are consequently common to all the Teutonic languages. Such words are: *camp*, *cāsere*, *mīl*, *pīn*, *strāt*, from *campus*, *cāsar*, *mīlia*, *pāna*, *strāta*, in Old High German *kamph*, *keisar*, *mīla*, *pīna*, *strāza*. The antiquity of these words is shown both by their form and their meaning, for they are the first words that a soldier would naturally learn. The words relating to Christianity must, of course, be later, but many of them, such as *biscop*, *engel*, *munuc*, *mynster*, show very archaic forms. There are a large number of words whose date cannot be determined from their meaning, but whose forms are as archaic as those of the oldest words. Such are *lēden* (language), *mēse*, *olfend*, *stēr*, from *latinum*, *mensa*, *elephantem*, *histōria*, all of which may be as old as the first two centuries of our era.

Many of the words seem only to appear in English, although the limited vocabulary we possess of OHG. and Gothic must make us cautious in inferring non-occurrence in the language from absence from the dictionaries. Some words however, such as *ceaster* and *munt*, seem really to be peculiar to English; it is not probable that such common words should have left no trace in OHG. These words must, therefore, have been introduced in English after the settlement of Britain.

It is interesting to observe that, on the other hand, many of the continental words do not occur in OE. Such words are the OHG. *brief*, *fira*, *kamara*, *kelih*, *meister*, *zins*, from *breve*, *fēriæ*, *camera*, *calicem*, *magister*, *census*. Two of these words appear in OE. in the forms of *calic* and *mægester*—evidently late and unpopular forms.

INFLEXIONS.

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

The evidence of the following words shows clearly that at the time they were introduced the weak feminines still retained the original *a*-ending :

culpe	from culpa.
cycene	„ coquina (OHG. kuchina).
mæsse	„ missa (OHG. missa, messa).
mése	„ mensa.
mealwe	„ malva.
Róme-burg	„ Rōma (OHG. Rōma, Rūma).
rúde	„ rūta.

In the following words the *e* (or *a*) has been dropped :

gimm (masc.)	from gemma.
míl	„ milia (OHG. mila).
pín	„ pœna (OHG. pīna).
stræt	„ strāta (OHG. strāza).
tæf	„ tabula (OHG. zabal).

and in the terminations *er*, *ol* :

ceaster	from castra (pl.).
candol	„ candēla.

In the word *scolu* from *schola* there is an exceptional change into *u*.

If the weak feminine ending was *a*, the weak masc. must have ended not in *a*, as in the historical period, but in some other vowel.

créda from crēdo (1st pers. of vb.).

draca „ draco (OHG. tracho).

strúta „ strūthio (OHG. strüz).

These words show that at the time they were introduced the weak masc. nominative ending was *o*, as in Old Saxon and OHG. In the word *pápa* from *pāpa* (OHG. *pfāfo*), we may safely assume a prehistoric OE. *pāpo*, as the natural gender would certainly prevent the Latin *pāpa* from being enrolled among the weak feminines.

In three cases this *o*-ending has been preserved within the historical period. The Runic inscription on the Chertsey Dish has *uræcko* (= *wrecca*), *bogo* occurs once in the CC. glossary as a translation of "fornis," and *se tympano* in a passage of Alfred's translation of the Cura Pastoralis (347/4), where it is clearly suggested by the Latin dative *tympano*. But it is evidently some reminiscence of an older *o*-ending which allowed such a collocation as *se tympano*. The same remarks apply also to the gen. pl. *Fariseo* (361/25) and to the nom. (acc.) pl. *Fariseos* (59/20, 363/6), whose *o* may have been suggested by the Latin *Pharisæorum*. In the last example, however, the original has *Pharisæi*. Other examples are *magos*, which glosses "propinquos" in the Prov. (p. 555 below), and *aldursacerdos* in the Rushworth gospels.

In Old Saxon the oblique cases of weak nouns in the singular were formed in *-un*. That the same ending existed in OE. is shown by the acc. masc. *galgu* in the Ruthwell Cross inscription (*on galgu gistiga*), and the dat. (or acc.) fem. *eorðu* in the Riddle, where the final *n* is dropped, as is frequently the case in the Northumbrian dialect.

Instead of *ena* in the weak gen. pl. of substantives and adjectives, there are a few examples of a fuller *ana*, *ona*, as in Old Saxon. These are *welona*, *flæsclicana*, *trebweûsana*, all from the Past. (see Introd. p. xxii.).

From the form *ealnuweg* (Past. 179/3), for the usual *ealne-
weg*, we must infer an older acc. masc. *-na*, the *a* being
labialized by the *w*, which is again confirmed by the Old
Saxon form.

The fem. pl. ending of adjectives in *a* is well established
in the early West Saxon dialect, and there are isolated in-
stances of its use in the masculine also.

An important feature of the earliest documents is their
frequent retention of inflexional *i* and *æ*, where the later
language has *e* only. The following are the chief cases in
which *i* occurs :

1) in *i*- and *ia*-stems: *medeshamstedi* BH., *stycci* Ep., *eci*
C., *græsgræni* CC.; in *unsmopi* (*aspera*) and *ontudri* (*effetum*)
the mutation (umlaut) of the root vowel is curiously enough
not expressed, being left to be inferred from the final *i*.

2) in the gen. and dat. of feminine *i*-stems: *wyrði cræftum*
R., *on rodi* Ruthw., in *Romæcæstri* Franks Casket. It is
remarkable that *ceaster* was made into an *i*-stem—the nom.
occurs several times in BH. in the form of *cæstir*.

3) in the dat. (instr.) sg. of strong masculines and neuters,
and in the instr. sg. of adjectives, interchanged with *æ* and
e: *geabuli* (*ære alieno*), *hrægli* (*amiculo*) CC., *thys geri* (*horno*)
Ep.; *ængi þinga* (*quomodo*) Ep., *ænge þinga* CC., *sume dæli* CC.

In the following cases *æ* is used, constantly interchanging
with *e* :

1) in the gen. sg. of strong masculines and neuters: *geacæs*
Ep., *licæs* Ruthw., *hronæs* Cask.

2) in the dat. sg. of strong masculines and neuters, inter-
changing with *i*: *miþ blodæ* Ruthw., *oplē*¹ Cask.

3) in the nom. of weak feminines: *sercæ*, *fyrpannæ* Ep.

4) in the acc. masc. sg. of adjectives: *gegeruuednæ* (con-
parantem), *nætendnæ* (proterentem) Ep., *riicnæ* Ruthw.

5) in the acc. fem. sg. of adjectives: *biworhtæ* Rid.; and of
a-substantives with *u* in the nom.: *ærigfteræ* (from *faru*) Rid.

6) in the plural of adjectives, both masc. and fem. a)
masc. *æþþilæ*, *fusæ* Ruthw., *lytlæ sneglas* Ep. b) fem. *wundnæ*,
Rid.

¹ I read *oplē unneg* "unnigh to their home (country)."

The fem. declension is much confused even in these early texts. Thus in Ep. and CC. we find the dat. *getiungī* (apparatione), contrasting with *setungæ*, *setunge* (aucupatione), *gemangiungæ* (confusione), etc.

In Ep. we find the plural *uuyrdæ*—indeed I have not come across any plurals in *i*, with the exception of *mæcti* (C.). On the other hand, fem. *a*-stems often form their plural in *æ*, and even *e*, where the later language has almost always *a*: *runæ* Ep., *sandæ* (commeatos *sic*) Ep., *on ba halfæ* CC.

In the *u*-stems we must note the retention of the *u* of the nom. in *flodu* Cask., and in the name *olufwoflu* (*sic*) Bewc.

The following comparisons will bring out clearly the extraordinary similarity of the prehistoric OE. to the Old Saxon noun-inflexions:

	OLD ENGLISH.	PREHISTORIC O.E.	OLD SAXON.
Sg. nom.	fisc	fisc	fisc
gen.	fiscas	fiscas, (-as ?)	fiscas, -as
dat.	fisce	fiscæ, (-a ?); -i . . .	fisca, -e
acc.	fisc	fisc	fisc
Pl. nom.	fiscas	fiscas, -as	fiscas, -as
gen.	fisca	fisco, -a	fisco, -a
dat.	fiscum, -on . .	fiscum, -on	fiscum, -on
acc.	fiscas	fiscas, -as	fiscas, -as
Sg. nom.	hana	hano	hano
gen.	hanan	hanun, -an	hanun, -an
dat.	hanan	hanun, -an	hanun, -an
acc.	hanan	hanun, -an	hanun, -an
Pl. nom.	hanan	hanun, -an	hanun, -an
gen.	hanena	hanona, -ana, (-ano ?)	hanono
dat.	hanum	hanum	hanun
acc.	hanan	hanun, -an	hanun, -an
Sg. nom.	hirde	hirdi	hirdi
	tunge	tunga	tunga
Acc. sg. masc.	blindne	blindna	blindan, -ana, -na

The few instances which occur in OE. of masc. and neut. strong genitives and datives in *as* and *a* are very doubtful, as they mostly occur in quite late MSS. The same applies to the neut. pl. *a* for *u* (*fata*, *wundra*, etc.). It seems however probable that *as* and *æ* point to an earlier *as* and *a*.

VERBS.

We may now consider the verb inflexions, beginning with the strong.

The 1st pers. sing. indic. pres. ends in *u* or *o*: *grætu* (convenio) Ep., *obersuiðo* (vinco) CC.

The third sg. pres. generally preserves the *i*, the consonant being either *d*, *t* or *ð* (often written *th*): *siftið*, *míðið* CC., *siftit*, *tychtit* Ep., *hlímmid* Rīd. Compare my remarks in the *Intro.* to the *Pastoral*, p. xxxiv.

The pres. subj. sg. has *æ*: (*he*) *uueorthæ* BDS.

The pret. subj. originally had *i*, as is shown by the mutated forms *gemyne*, *dyrrēn*, etc., in the Past. (*Intro.* p. xxxv.). It is extremely probable that all subjunctives originally had mutated vowels, such forms as *fynde*, etc., being afterwards levelled under the indicative plurals *fundon*, etc.

The pres. participle ends in *i*: *sorgendi* CC., *hrutendi* Rīd.

The past partic. has in a few cases *a*, *o*, generally *æ* or *e*: *gesnidan* Erfurt glosses¹ (published by Oehler in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1847), *geborone* CC., *gibæn wæs* Ep.

In the weak conjugations we may notice that

The pret. sing. 1st and 3rd persons ends in *a* and *æ*: *manoda* Past., *oferhergeada* Chronicle, (*ic*) *darstæ* Ruthw. (*he*) *tiadæ* C. *ia*-verbs preserve the *i* in the pret. and past participle: *astelidæ* (= *astealde*) C., *bismiridæ* CC., *oberstælid* CC., *bistemid* Ruthw.

In the conjugation which corresponds to the *on*-conjugation in O. Saxon there is a constant fluctuation between *o* and *a*:
a) pres. (*he*) *ofsticoð* Prov. Sal., (*he*) *oferseceadoð* Past. 336/11.
b) pret. *gelaðade*, *meldadun* CC. c) past partic. *arasad* CC.

The Latin importation *pyngan* from *pungere* affords direct proof that all the weak verbs of the first conj. originally ended in *-ian*, as in Old Saxon, the stages being *pungian*, *pyngian*, *pyngan*. The second conj. probably ended in *-on* or *-an* indifferently, judging from the constant alternation of *o* and *a*, not only in the verbs of this conjugation, but also in the prehistoric inflexions generally. The ending *-ian* of the

¹ These glosses are very similar to Ep. both in matter and language.

historical period cannot have established itself till after the loss of the original *i* of *tellan*, *sécan*, etc. The origin of this peculiar ending is no doubt to be seen in the Old Saxon *scawoian* for the older *scawon*, which has been rightly explained as an attempt to assimilate the second to the first conj. The oldest ascertainable form of such a verb as *sceáwian* was therefore *sceáwan* or *sceáwon*, then *sceáwaian* and finally *sceáwian*.

The following table will again bring out the original identity of most of the prehistoric OE. verb-inflexions with those of Old Saxon. I have given the Kentish forms from the Vespasian Psalter,¹ as well as the WS., as being more archaic.

	W.S.	KENTISH.	OLDEST E.	O. SAXON.
Present indic. sg. 1)	finde . .	findu . .	findu, -o . . .	findu
2)	findest . .	findes . .	findis	findis
3)	findeð, fint	findeð . .	findid, -ið, -it	findid, -it
pl. findað . .	findað . .	findað . .	findad, -að, -at	findad, -at
Subj. sg. 1)	finde . .	finde . .	findæ, (-a ?) . .	finda
2)	finde . .	finde . .		findas
3)	finde . .	finde . .		finda
pl. finden . .	finden . .	finden . .	findan ? . . .	findan
Pret. Indic. sg. 1)	fand . .	fand . .	fand	fand
2)	funde . .	funde . .	fyndi	fundi
3)	fand . .	fand . .	fand	fand
pl. fundon . .	fundun . .	fundun . .	fundun	fundun
Subj. sg. 1)	funde . .	funde . .	fyndi	fundi
2)	funde . .	funde . .	fyndi	fundis
3)	funde . .	funde . .	fyndi	fundi
pl. funden . .	funden . .	funden . .	fyndin	fundin
Infín. findan . .	findan . .	findan . .	findan	findan
Partic. pres. findende . .	findende . .	findendi	findandi	findand
Partic. pret. funden . .	funden . .	fundan, -æn . .	fundan	fundan
Pret. sg. 1 & 3 pers. nerede . .	nerede . .	nerida	nerida	nerida
Pret. partic. genered . .	genered . .	ginerid	ginerid	ginerid
Infín. nerian . .	nerian . .	nerian	nerian	nerian
sécan . .	sécan . .	sécian ²	sécian ²	sökian
sceáwian . .	sceáwian . .	sceáwan, (-ajan ?)	sceáwan, (-ajan ?)	scawon, -oian, -an

¹ p. 555 below.

² This form is rather early "Anglo-Frisian" than English. See below.

PHONOLOGY.

VOWELS.

The most marked change of the short vowels is the uniform one of *o* into *u* before nasals :

munuc from monachus (OHG. munih).

munt „ montem.

pund „ pondus (OHG. phunt, Gothic pund).

It is a well-known law in OE., as in the other cognate languages, that *u* is preserved before nasals and does not undergo the usual change to *o*. The only *o* that can come before nasals in OE. is the open *o* from *a* in *monn*, etc. The change of *mont* into *munt* tends, therefore, to prove that the short *o* in Latin had the close sound.

In *gimm* from *gemma*, and *pinsian* from *pensāre*, we have an analogous change of *e* into *i*, which has not happened in *spendan* from *expendere* (OHG. *spentōn*).

Still more irregular is the word *mæsse* from *missa*. The OHG. forms *missa* and *messa* show the intermediate stages. The change of *e* into *æ* occurs also in *ælmesse* from *eleēmosynē*.

Olfend from *elephantem* agrees with Goth. *ulbandus*, both in form and in the change of meaning to that of "camel." But in CC. the form *elpendbaan* occurs.

In *torr* from *turris* we have a change which may have begun in Latin itself.

In the long vowels and diphthongs we may first notice the treatment of *ā* and *æ* in :

cāsere from cāsar (OHG. keisar, Goth, kaisar).

práfost „ prāpositus.

stræt „ strāta (OHG. strāza).

The changes in the last two may be only due to that interchange of *á* and *æ* in such words as *gást*. (*gæst*) and *swá* (*sæw*), which is so common in Early W. Saxon, but the Gothic and OHG. forms, to which may be added the Old Norse *keisari*, show that the *á* of *cāsere* comes from an older *ai*, as in *hám*, etc. The only explanation I can suggest is that the word was introduced into the Teutonic languages at

a time when they had no open $\bar{a}$, and that when they heard the broad $\bar{a}$, they analysed it into *ai*.

The word *mése* from *mensa* points back to a time in which *stūð*, etc., still existed in the form of *sunð*; etc.

The change of $\bar{a}$ into *i* in *pin* (OHG. *pīna*) from *pæna* was no doubt already carried out in Latin itself.

The development of the diphthong *eó* out of *ia* in *deðfol* (OHG. *tiuval*) from *diabolus* is evidently due to that confusion between *eo* and *ea*, *eá* and *eó*, which is common in the oldest MSS. The diphthong in *preóst* from *presbyter* is quite anomalous, but is supported by the OHG. *priestar*. *Leó* may be a purely learned form.

The words with mutation are interesting :

engel	from	angelus (OHG. angil, engil).
cymen	,,	cuminum (OHG. chumin).
mynet	,,	monēta (OHG. muniza).
mynster	,,	monastērium (OHG. munister, munstar).
pytt	,,	puteus (OHG. puzzi).
cāse (é, ý)	,,	cāseus (OHG. kāsī).
læden	,,	latīnus (with lengthened <i>a</i> ?).
stér	,,	histōria (OHG. stōria).

The form *engel* may be merely the result of the analogy of the proper name *Engle*. *Monēta*, etc., passed through the stages of *munēta*, *munita*, before the mutation took place (cp. *munt*, etc.). It is interesting to observe the Germanic accentuation of the first syllable, regardless of quantity. In the case of *stér* it is possible that the Italian form *storia* may already have existed in popular Latin. The stages were, of course, *stōria*, *stōri*, *stēri*, *stér*, *stér*.

The words *candol* and *pipor* from *candēla* and *piper*, show that the *os* before liquids in unaccented syllables are often later modifications of an older *e*. The second *u* in *munuc* is probably due to assimilation.

In conclusion I will call attention to the word *cempa* as an instance of the antiquity of the Latin words in OE. First of all the word *camp* itself must have been thoroughly naturalized. Then a derivative *campio* was found (OHG.

kamfo), then came the mutated *cempio*, then *cempo*, and finally *cempa*. Similarly *pyngan* from *pungere* postulates *pungian*, then *pyngian* and *pyngan*.

CONSONANTS.

In the following words *t* has become *d*:

abbod	from	abbatem.
derodin	„	teredinem.
læden	„	latinus.
rûde	„	rûta.

P has become *b* in *biscop* (OHG. *biscof*) from *episcopus*. The same dropping of the initial vowel in *pistol* from *epistolus*, but without any consonant change.

These changes were probably carried out in Latin itself, and it is probable that Augustine and his companions pronounced *ladinus*, *rûda*, *ebiscopus*, etc., of course only in popular words.

This suggests the important question of the Latin pronunciation of *d* and *b* between vowels. It is clear that in French they both passed into the unstopped *ð* and *v*. In the case of *v* the sound is still preserved in many cases (*evêque*, etc.), while the *ð* is clearly indicated by the *dh* of the Strassburg oaths (*ajudha*, *Ludher*). Additional confirmation is afforded by the spelling *Iuþytte* = *Judith* in the Chronicle (885). The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that in the Latin pronunciation of the sixth and following centuries a sort of "lautverschiebung" had taken place, medial and final *t* becoming *d*, and *d* becoming *ð*. The Italian retention of *d* might be simply a later change of *ð* into *d*, as has been the case in most of the modern Teutonic languages (Danish *ting*, *det*=O. Norse *þing*, *ðat*).

However this may be, it is quite clear that in the oldest English MSS. *d* and *b* are constantly used together with *th*, *þ*, *ð* and *f*, to express the same two sounds. Decisive proof is afforded by such spellings as *cneoribt*, *lybt*=*cneorift*, *lyft*, in CC. There is, therefore, no need for assuming, as I used to do, that the *d* in such a spelling as *gidanc* really represents

the true *d*. If the *gi* is removed, we get not *danc* but *thanc*, the sound in both cases being almost certainly *ð*.

In *Creācas* from *Græcus* we have what is probably a very ancient change of *g* to *c*. It is indeed possible that the word may have been introduced while the *lautverschiebung* was still in progress. The OHG. *kreah*, *kriah* shows the same consonant change and the same anomalous diphthong.

In

diht	from	dictum (OHG. dihtōn),
trahtian	„	tractāre (OHG. trahtōn),
scrift	„	scriptam (OHG. scrift),

we have changes which can be pointed out in OE. itself. For the later *niht*, *miht*, the oldest Northumbrian and Kentish documents have *næct* and *mæct*, and in Ep. we also find such forms as *scæpt* for *scaft*.

In

fers	from	versus (OHG. fers),
Fergil	„	Vergilius (Metres of Bœthius),

we have evidence of the *v*-pronunciation of *f* in OE., as in Irish and Welsh.

In *palant* from *palatium* there is an insertion of a nasal, which does not seem to have any support in the evidence of the Romance languages. It is, however, inserted in the OHG. *phalansa* as well. In *Ercol* from *Hercules* we have evidence of the loss of *h* in popular pronunciation.

THE OLD ENGLISH DIALECTS.

The investigation of the dialects of Old English is attended with peculiar difficulty, on account of the scantiness of the earlier remains. It is especially to be regretted that we have nothing in West Saxon earlier than Alfred's time,¹ which makes it difficult to determine whether the distinctive features of the other dialects are not due merely to difference of age.

The first step is to determine the divergences which pre-

¹ I was mistaken in claiming the Charter and Martyrology mentioned in the *Introd. to the Past.* (p. xxi.) as WS. The Charter is clearly Kentish, and the Martyrology's non-WS. character is made probable by the spelling *feringa* for *fāringa*.

vailed in Alfred's time. For this the materials are fortunately full and trustworthy. For the Northumbrian dialect we have the glosses to the Durham Gospels (D.), and to the Durham Ritual (Rit.). Both are written in the same hand, which cannot be later than the beginning of the tenth century. Wanley assigns them to Alfred's reign. It must not, however, be forgotten that the handwriting may have changed more in the North, and consequently may be later than it seems. In the Mercian or Midland dialect we have the Rushworth gloss to the Gospels (Ru.), which, as far as Matthew is concerned, is quite independent of the Durham gloss, as was first pointed out by Dr. J. A. H. Murray. They are probably only a little later than D. In Kentish we have the numerous Charters, most of which belong to the first half of the ninth century, the gloss on the Psalms (Vesp. A. 1) in the British Museum (Ps.), which originally belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, and the gloss on the Proverbs (Vesp. D. 6), unpublished (Prov.). These two are written in a very similar hand, probably of the first half of the ninth century. The latest Kentish documents are, therefore, rather earlier than the earliest Saxon.

The peculiar feature of the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects is their combination of archaism and disintegration, which can only be compared with that of Southern English in the twelfth century. We find the same confusion of genders (*ðæs mæhtes*, pl. *burgas*, etc.), of cases (*heom* acc. in Ru.), of strong and weak (*ðæs lichomes*). The most marked inflexional characteristics that Northumbrian and Mercian have in common are: 1) the loss of final *n*, and 2) their retention of the weak noun ending *u* or *o*. The loss of final *n* was probably a main cause of the disintegration of the two dialects, for the confusion was soon increased by weakening of the exposed vowel.

The following lists will give an idea of the variety of forms thus produced:

- Sg. nom. masc. D. *noma*, *willo*. Ru. *se dumbe*.
 fem. D. *eorðu*, *swiðra*. Rit. *sunne*, *sunna*.
 neut. D. *hearta*, *ego*.

Sg. nom. gen. Ru. geleafa, witgu.

dat. D. ego. Rit. nome; earðe. Ru. noman,
noma; eorðan, eorðu.

acc. D. witga, witgo, witge; earðo, eorðe. Ru.
sunne, eorþæ. cempo; earo.

Pl. nom. (acc.) D. ða ilco, cempo; earo. Rit. blostmō, ego.
Ru. witga, witgu, wyrhte, wyrhtu.

gen. D. witgana, egana. Rit. hæguna (7/6=
hálgena). Ru. nedrana.

dat. D. egum, gemæro (2/16).

It is impossible to determine whether such apparent archaisms as *sunna*, *hearta*, are genuine or merely the result of confusion, but there can be no doubt that the inflexions in *-u* and *-o* and the genitive plurals in *-ana* are traditions of the old forms we have already determined.

Other possible archaisms are the subjunctives (*þu*) *ut awearpa* and (*ge*) *gehæra* in Ru. (8/31, and 10/27), together with the participles *acwedan* and *onwrgan* (12/17, 10/26). The form *fæsten* (jejunabunt, 9/15) is either a mistaken subj. or else a remarkable anticipation of the later Midland plurals in *-en*. In Rit. we find the subjunctives *we gearnigo*, *gihealda we*, etc., in D. *nyta* (nesciat), etc. It may be remarked generally that the loss of final *n* is carried out most fully in D., especially in the infinitive, and least of all in the Mercian Ru., where the *n*-less infinitive is exceptional, although there are several examples (*wesa* 3/14, *nioma* 5/42, *ætece* 6/27, etc), and the loss of *n* is common enough in the weak substantives. Of the use of the weak ending *-u* (*-o*) in the strong declension, which is so common in the two Northumbrian texts (especially in Rit.) as in many cases—the nom. and acc. plur. of adjectives and of fem. substt. for instance—almost to supersede the regular ending, there is hardly a trace in Ru. The Mercian dialect is, in short, much more conservative and stable than the Northumbrian, and in this respect stands half-way between it and Kentish and Saxon. But the most marked distinction between the two is the Northumbrian change of *ȝ* into *s* in

verbal endings. Such forms as *he lufas* for *hé lufaþ*, *ge oncnawas* for *gé oncnáwaþ*, which are common in Rit. and almost exclusively used in D., do not appear at all in the Mercian Ru.

In Kentish we find no traces of disintegration, any more than in West-Saxon; there are no weak *o*-endings, and only a few isolated cases of dropping of final *n*. There are, however, a few examples of the loss of *n* in the Ps.: *ðere swiðre ðinre* (38/7, with *a* above the *e* of *swiðre*), *alle halge his* (90/24). The characteristic feature of Kentish appears to be its frequent diphthongization of *g*, forming a diphthong *ei*, which is quite unknown in the other dialects. This *ei* is found in the oldest MSS. Thus in Ep. we find *bodei* (= *bodeg*, *bodig*), in CC. *iserngrei* (= *-græg*), *popei* and *popæg*. It is extremely common in the Prov.: *deige* (die), *meiðhades* (pubertatis), *geceide* (vocavi). The form *dei* for *dæg* occurs three or four times in the Charters, which show the diphthong in other words also. The spelling *deige* is probably due to confusion between *deie* and *dege*, the *g* not being really sounded.

Such forms as *dægas*, *dæga* (gen. pl.), for the regular *dagas*, *daga*, are frequent in the Ps. The same extension of the use of *æ* is frequent in the oldest documents: Ep., for instance, has *hæguthorn* twice, *scædugeardas*, *uualhhebuc*. In the last word we have an example of the confusion between *e* and *æ*, which is common in all the Kentish writings, especially in some of the Charters, which also employ it even for *é* (*gedelan*, *clene*, *helan*, etc.). The confusion is no doubt purely graphic in most cases.

A striking feature of the Prov. is their frequent use of *e* for *y*, as in *leti* (callidus), *gelden trendel* (aureus circulus); also for *y*: *untenþ* (aperit), *hlest* (ausculta). In the Ps. we find only *gehtaþ* (20/11) = *hyhtaþ*, with a very anomalous *g* for *h*. In Ep. we have *gecendilican* (genuino).

We now come to West-Saxon. I have already pointed out elsewhere¹ that the Modern E. *deed*, *seed*, *sheep*, etc., cannot be directly derived from the WS. *dæd*, *sæd*, *scæp*, but

¹ History of English Sounds, p. 51.

must come from a dialect which had *déd, séd, scép*, etc. I find on examination they are actually the only forms existing in the three other dialects. The following examples, taken indiscriminately from the chief texts, will show that wherever WS. *é* corresponds to Gothic *ē*, OHG. *ā*, it is written with an *e* in Anglian and Kentish, while it is written *æ* in all other cases.

D. *huer, ƿer*, (hi) *werun*, *her* (= "hair")—*dæl, læran, hælend, sæ*. Rit. *ded, lecedom*. Ru. *slepan, ondredan, her* (= "hair"), *scep*, (hi) *bedun, forletan*, (hi) *cwedun*—*hælan, hælend, dæl, læran, hwæte, clænsian*. Ps. *slepan, ondredan, (hi) werun, (hi) etun, forletan, sed, efen, untelwyrðe*—*hælu, hwæte, lædan, sæ, dæl, flæsc*.

There are several exceptions, many of which are probably due to carelessness. Thus Ru. has *læces, delan, helend* in isolated instances, both D. and Ps. often write *enne* (masc. sg. acc. of *án*), which may, however, have had a short vowel. It may also be noted that Ps. always has *swe*, and *ƿere*, etc. (from *se*). Ep. is altogether somewhat irregular in its use of *æ*, but agrees generally with the others: *gerlicæ, strelbora, meeg* (propinquus), *gredig*—*hætendæ* (calentes), *dæl, sæ*. The mutation of original *ā*, which is written *æ* in WS., seems also to have had the close sound: Ep. *geberu* (habitudines), *meri* (adj.), *setungæ, steeli* (steel) D. *gewede* (vestimentum), *mersian*. Ru. *gemerum* (boundaries). Several of the words given above may also be mutated, such as *ded, sed, gredig*. Even in WS. there are exceptional cases of *é*=original *ā*. Thus, although *ræd*=O.H.G. *rāt*, has *é*, it is always written *e* in proper names, *Ælfréd*, etc. There are besides several isolated exceptions, *wén, cuén, méce*.

A marked feature of the early WS. is its extensive use of the diphthong *ie*, as in *hiene, hieder, ieldra, gehieran, sie* (subj.). This *ie* is frequent in all the WS. MSS. of Alfred's time. Traces of it occur in the oldest Kentish, Ep. showing *fierst, alieset* (eximet), and Ps. *fienda* (hostium), *onsien* (vultus). The subj. *sie* also occurs in the Northumbrian BDS., but the *e* may be only inflexional.

The same affinity between Kentish and WS. is shown by

the latter's occasional use of *e* for *y*, which in the word *embe* continues even into the late WS. of the eleventh century.

The very peculiar *sð* for *st* is extremely frequent in the Hatton MS. of the Past., but is not common elsewhere. Examples are *gæsð*, *ðu wásð*, *ðu ciddesð*. I find an example in the Ps., *duðe* (142/25), and there may be more.

The fem. plur. of adjectives in *a* (*ealla béc*, etc.) seems also to be peculiar to early WS. The Prov. show the masc. *manega ecyras* (plurimæ segetes).

The late WS. is distinguished from all the other dialects by its extensive use of *y*, *ý* for *i*, *e*, *é*, and other vowels in such words as (*hé*) *wyrð*, *hyrdes*, *yldra*, *swyrd*, *gehýran*, *nýd*. It is clear from modern English that this *y* never existed in the Mercian dialect, nor are any but doubtful traces of it to be found in any of the Anglian and Kentish texts. An isolated case is *halwoynde* for *halwende* in the Ps. (78/9), which is paralleled by the late WS. *stranghynde*, *hé stynt*, etc., but the *y* may have a different origin.

An important characteristic of West-Saxon is its strict separation of *ea* (from *a*), and *eo* (from *e*), also of *eá* and *eó*, which are constantly confounded together in all the other dialects, generally under the *a*-forms, although there are instances of the converse change. The following are a few examples:—

ea for *eo*: D. *gelearnian*; *stearra*; (ic) *eam*, am *vel eom* (11/28); *eorðo*, *earðe*. Ru. (he) *eade*, *wearpan*; (ic) *eam*, *næm* (=ne eom), *nam*. Ps. *earðe*; *cweaðað ge*; ic *eam*; *heara*.

eá for *eó*: D. *diobul*, *diable*; *gesea* (=geseón); *preast*. Ru. *æteawde* (pret.); *hread*. Ps. *lea*, *geamrung*, (hi) *gesiað*. Ep. *weadhoc* (sarculum).

eo for *ea*: Ru. *eorfeðe*.

eó for *ea*: D. *geneolecedon*, *genealacede*. Ru. (he) *neoliceð*. Ps. *neowest*; *neolican*.

There are, however, several examples of *ea* for *eo* in WS. also. First, the form *eart* itself, which is indeed the only one existing, and then such forms as *feala* for *fela* (*feola*),

which is not uncommon even in the late WS., *eam* (in the Lauderdale Orosius), and several others in the Past.

Many of the other distinctive features of WS. are purely chronological, that is, they are the result of later change. Such are the *é* for the *æ* of the other dialects, the *-e* for *-u* of the first person present of the verb, the *-est* for *-es* of the second person, etc. There are two examples of *œ* (*œtīl*, *oele*) for *é* in the Past., one of *-u* (*ic cweðo*), and several of *-es*. The *ic cweðo* of the Past. is the only example of the form that we have in WS., but it is enough to show that it must once have been as universal in WS. as in the other dialects.

In the case of archaisms which do not happen to have been preserved in WS. we can only conjecture by analogy that they must have formerly existed in the dialect. Such are the presents *ic beóm*, *dóm*, the preterites *forleórt*, *ondreórd*, the reflexive possessive *stn* (which occurs in the Rit.). It is also probable that the plural form *aron* of the verb "to be" was originally WS. as well as Northumbrian and Kentish.

It is instructive to observe the changes that the Northumbrian and Kentish dialects underwent, as they will teach us to be cautious in not inferring too much about the prehistoric stages of the WS. dialect. Both Northumbrian and Kentish entirely lost the *cts* and *pts* of the earliest period, *mæct* and *scæpt* becoming *mæht* and *scæft*, while even WS. has one or two instances of *ct* (*geworct* in the Chronicle). The Old Northumbrian *tīl* and *end* have left no trace in D., which has only *tó* and *and*, as in WS. The Old Kentish *end* disappears also in the Ps. and Charters. The *eðða* (*æththa*) of the Old Northumbrian Rid. appears in the WS. form *oððe* (*oððæ*) in D., although *epa* is still preserved in Ru. The Old Northumbrian *ðerh*, *ðerih* (Rid.), however, is still preserved as *ðerh* in D., while Ru. has the WS. *þurh*, and the Old Kentish *ðorh* (Ep.) is still preserved in the Ps., and occurs also several times in the early WS.

All these details are summed up in the answer to the question, What were the dialectal distinctions in English

during the first few centuries of the conquest of Britain? The answer is that they were very slight. There seem to have been three dialects, Anglian, Kentish, and Saxon. The Anglian was characterized by a special tendency to throw off final *n*, and by a frequent use of the weak ending *u(n)*. Kentish and Saxon agreed in the absence of these features. Saxon was distinguished both from Anglian and Kentish by its *ð* for *é*. Kentish, finally, was separated from the others by its occasional *ei* for *eg*. We see that Kentish was intermediate between Anglian and Saxon, the two extremes. We also see that even these slight distinctions are not at all sharply marked—they simply consist, for the most part, in giving special prominence to phenomena which were common to all the dialects. We have seen that there are distinct traces of the loss of final *n* in Kentish and Saxon, and even the *u*-endings are shown to have existed in WS. (and therefore most probably in Kentish also) by the word *eágospind*, which occurs in WS. so late as the eleventh century (Life of St. Guthlac, Goodwin, 82/4), and the regular plural form *Eástron*. The *ei* seems really to be peculiar to Kentish, for the *æi* in late WS. (*dæig*, etc.) is an independent and much later formation—the forerunner, in fact, of the Middle E. *dai*, and the Northumbrian *ei* in *ceiga*, *forleita*, for *cégan*, *forlétan*, is also independent, and although it seems in *gein* to be a contraction of *gegen*, it occurs also in *seista* for *sexta* (= *secsta*), which is not parallel to anything in Kentish. However this may be, the Kentish *ei* is nothing but a merely sporadic phenomenon. In fact, the only constant criterion is the WS. *ð*, although the absence of earlier documents leaves us in doubt as to its antiquity. It may have been quite a recent change, as, indeed, the retention of *é* in *Ælfréd*, etc., would lead us to suppose, and in that case our final conclusion is that there were at the time of the migration no definite distinctions of dialect at all, but simply more or less pronounced “tendencies” in the different tribes. Further light is thrown on the subject by a comparison of English with the cognate languages of the continent, especially Old Frisian.

ENGLISH AND FRISIAN.

England was colonized by a variety of tribes all speaking one language, who inhabited the coast of the North Sea and apparently the whole of the north of Denmark. Those who stayed behind and retained their language were afterwards called Frisians, and their ancient language, as preserved in the thirteenth century laws, is nearly identical with Old English, allowing, of course, for phonetic change and inflexional decay. The language spoken by these tribes before the migration may be called Anglo-Frisian, and its characteristics may be ascertained with considerable certainty from a comparison of the oldest English and Frisian. Whenever we find that OE. and Frisian agree in some sound change or peculiarity of inflexion that does not occur in any other Teutonic language, or when we find an archaism preserved in Frisian which is lost in OE., we may be sure that all these peculiarities belonged to the common Anglo-Frisian.

Beginning with the vowels, we find the treatment of *a* almost identical in the two languages. In Frisian we find *mon*, *noma*, alternating with *man*, *nama*, we find the same exceptional *o* in *qf*, *nosi* (OE. *nosu*), and the same change of *a* into *æ*, which in Frisian, whose spelling has no *æ*, is written *e*: *ik bree*, *bec*, *krefl* = OE. *bræc*, *bæc*, *cræft*. The changes do not occur in any of the other cognates, and could not, except by a most extraordinary coincidence, have been developed independently in English and Frisian: they must therefore have existed already in Anglo-Frisian.

Frisian throws important light on the formation of the peculiar English diphthongs *ea* and *eo*. The confusion between *ea* and *eo* in the non-Saxon dialects has already been noticed, and there only remains to be added that in the older texts, including the WS., *a* is only diphthongized before *r*, not before *l*, so that we have the typical form *ald* and *heard*. In the oldest glossaries Ep. and CC. *hard* is quite exceptional, as also in the later D. Rit. and Ps., but in the few Old Northumbrian fragments *hard* predominates. Thus in C. we find *uard* twice and *barnum* once, and only

a single *ea(r)*—*middungeard*. Frisian agrees in preserving *a* in *al*, *half*, *galga*, etc., while before *r* *e* is written, doubtlessly for *æ*—*herd* = *hærd*. This *æ* may be a late simplification of an older diphthong, but it is simpler to regard the change of *hard* into *hærd* as parallel to that of *bac* into *bæc*. *Hærd* would therefore be the Anglo-Frisian form of which the specially English *heard* is a later development. The difficulty is that *ald* seems to have passed directly into *eald* without any intermediate *æ*, and if *a* before *l* could do so, there seems no reason why it should not also before *r*, as the Old Northumbrian forms seem to show. The change of *ald* into *eald* may, however, have been simply due to the analogy of *heard*.

The Frisian throws no light on *eo* from *e* in *heorte*, etc. The preservation of *eart* in WS., the confusion in the other dialects, and the Icelandic *hiarta* (*hearta*) all make it probable that *eo* is a later modification of *ea*. This *ea* must have changed to *eo* before *a* became *ea*, else the two would have been confused, which, as we have seen, is not the case, in WS. at least. The chronology of the changes must, then, have been as follows, assuming an intermediate *hærd* :

Earlier Anglo-Frisian	ald	hard	herte
Later	„	ald	hærd herte
Old English		ald	hærd hearte
„		ald	hærd heorte
„		ald	heard heorte

The diphthong *eo* appears here and there in OE. as *iu*, (*eu*)—*treuleonis* (perfidia) Ep., *geþiudde* (adplicit) CC., *xiu* (= *seó*) D., *latteuw*, *siu* (= *seó*) Ru.—which is also the Frisian form. Frisian also has *ia*, as in *thiade*, which is also an English form (p. 559 above). We may, then, infer that the three forms *iú*, *ió*, *ia*, co-existed in Anglo-Frisian, the first being, of course, the original one.

The origin of *ea* from the *au* preserved in Gothic, Old Norse, and in many words in Old High German also, is still a vexed problem. The question is an important one, as their treatment of this diphthong is one of the most marked dis-

tinctions between Anglo-Frisian on the one hand and Old Saxon and High German on the other, and is still a mark of separation between Frisian and Dutch, which is the nearest living representative of Old Saxon. The Frisian form of *éa* is *á—áge, ráð*=OE. *éage, reáð*. If we assume that *á* is older than *éa*, the most probable explanation is that given in my "History of English Sounds" (p. 35), namely that *á* became *é*, just as *a* became *æ*, and that *é* was afterwards diphthongized into *éa*. The difficulty is that there is another *á* from *ai*, as in *hám, án*, and unless the change from *á* (= *au*) to *éa* was completed before *ai* became *á* also, the two *ás* would have been confused. But *hám* and *án* are Frisian as well as English. If, therefore, *ráð* (from *raud*) and *hám* (from *haim*) both existed in Anglo-Frisian, we should have had the same change in both cases, giving *heám* as well as *reáð* in English. We are therefore forced to assume *haim* in Anglo-Frisian, and an independent change into *hám* in both languages after their separation, which seems improbable. The only alternative is to assume *raud* and *hám* in Anglo-Frisian and an independent change of *raud* to *reáð* in English and Frisian, giving up any connexion between E. *reáð* and Frisian *ráð*, although no explanation approaching probability or even possibility has yet been given of the direct change of *au* into *éa*.

The whole question of the history of the Teutonic diphthongs is obscure: there is always great difficulty in determining on which element the stress fell, and whether the accented element was long or short. It seems certain that *iú* was originally accented on the *i*, and that it was short, for *iú* is nothing but a Teutonic weakening of *au*, and it is equally certain that in Icelandic the second element has the stress, and that it is long.

The OE. fluctuation between *gást* and *gæst*, *ánne* and *ænne*, is Frisian also, so also are such forms as *et* (= Gothic *saiw*), *nét* from *naud*, the distinction between *é* and *é* not being made in writing, and all these forms existed most probably in Anglo-Frisian.

Frisian, like English and Icelandic, has entirely lost the

front labial vowels. Such forms as *cining*, *cinn*, *fét*, *déna* = OE. *cyning*, *cynn*, *fét* (*fét*), *déman* (*déman*), are, of course, quite late, but the peculiar *e* in *kenn*, *fella* = OE. *fyllan*, *beténa* = *betýnan*, which we have already found in the oldest Kentish English, may possibly have existed sporadically in Anglo-Frisian.

Another Kenticism, *dei* for *dæg*, is fully established in Frisian, so fully indeed that *dei* has often become simplified into *dí*, which shows that the *ei* must be of some antiquity, and may have been already developed to some extent in Anglo-Frisian.

The Frisian forms *fif*, *cúʒ* and *tóʒ* are identical with the English. The absorption of the *n* must have taken place after the importation of the Latin *mensa* (p. 552 above), whenever that may have been. *Tanʒ*, *sanʒ*, *anʒer*, probably became first *tonʒ*, *sonʒ*, *onʒer*, just as *mann* became *monn*, and then *tóʒ*, *sóʒ*, *óʒer*.

The consonants offer little subject for remark, being nearly identical in the two languages.

No conclusion can be drawn from the Frisian *jér* = OE. *gér*, *geár*, as to the non-existence of *g=j* in Anglo-Frisian, for original *g* itself often becomes *j*, as in *jewa=gífan*. There can be no doubt that such a *g* existed medially, as is shown by such spellings as *endegia=endia*, etc.

In the inflexions the most striking feature is the general loss of final *n*, as in Northumbrian English. This is so common a phenomenon in the Teutonic languages that it can very well have arisen independently in English and Frisian, but it is not improbable that it existed sporadically in Anglo-Frisian.

In the nouns the absence of the English alternation of *æ* and *a*, the English *dagas*, *dagum* appearing in Frisian as *dægar*, *dægum*. This may be a late levelling, but, as we find traces of it in Kentish English (p. 557 above), it may be old.

The dat. pl. in *-im* (*-em*) of the *i*-stems (*nédim*, *nédem*) points with certainty to the same form in Anglo-Frisian, and to an OE. *mæctim* corresponding to *mæcti* (p. 548 above).

In the weak declension we have the archaic gen. pl. *honana*, as in Northumbrian English.

In the verbs we find the anomalous second weak conjugation fully developed as in English—*salvia*, *salvað*, *salvade*=OE. *sealfian*, (*hé*) *sealfað*, *sealfode*. In the 1st conj. *séca* agrees exactly with OE. *sécan*, while *nera*=*nerian* has been levelled under *séca*, losing its *i*. We may assume that the distinct forms *nerian*, *sécan* (or rather *sécan*) and *sealfian* were fully established in Anglo-Frisian.

The only deviation from English is the present participle ending, which is *-and*, as in Old Saxon. There must have been originally two optional forms *findandi*, whence the English *findende*, and *findand*, just as the two forms of the conjunction *and* (p. 560 above) postulate *andi* and *and*.

The other inflexions are identical with the OE., allowing for the natural changes which have taken place in the cognates also. The only form which leaves us in doubt is the strong feminine nom. *jewe* for OE. *gifu*. But as the *u* of the neut. pl. (*skipu*) and of *sunu* is preserved, it seems most probable that *jewe* points to an Anglo-Frisian *gefa* (*gifa*), agreeing with the OS. *geba*. The separation of *gifa* and the weak *hearta* in the OE. *gifu*, *heorte*, probably points to quantitative distinctions, perhaps :

hano	gifa	hertā
hano	·gifu	hearta
hano	gifu	hearte

The Latin *scolu* (p. 546 above) was, perhaps, introduced later than the others.

RELATION OF ANGLO-FRISIAN TO OLD-SAXON.

We see that the Anglo-Frisian of the period of the conquest of Britain was a language closely allied to Old-Saxon, the inflexions of the two languages being almost identical. The chief distinction was that OS. favoured the *o* and *u*-forms, while AF. seems to have decided in favour of the *a*s, which in Frisian are the only ones preserved. It is, however, quite clear from the Latin words (p. 546 above) that such forms as *hano* were originally the only ones in AF. as well as OS. These *os* are widely distributed in the old

Teutonic languages. The oldest Scandinavian runes of the third century show such preterites as *worahito* (Tune stone in Norway), *gatawido* (Golden Horn), in Latin we find such names as *Arioristus*, in Spanish we have *Gondomar* = *gun-pamēr*, etc.

We see from this last word that the Gothic *ē* for original *a* really belonged only to one particular dialect, and it is clear from the word *strét* (WS. *strét*) from Latin *strāta* in OE., that the corresponding *é* or *ē* in AF. is of comparatively late origin. As usual, we find incipient traces of the change in OS. also, as in the *gér* of one text of the *Heliand* against the *jár* of the other.

The most marked distinction between AF. and OS. is the want of "umlaut" or mutation in the latter (except of *a*). But it is quite clear from the Latin words that the mutation is of late origin in AF., and, indeed, the mutation in *engel* seems to show that it was not firmly established even at the time of the introduction of Christianity into England, just as OS. fluctuates between *gangid* and *gengid*, etc.

The closeness of the relationship between AF. and OS. comes out most strikingly on a comparison with the languages which are geographically closest to each—Old Norse and Old High German. Old Norse has often been supposed to show some special relationship with AF., but the similarity is really quite delusive—the result of independent change in both languages. We have only to compare the verbal inflexions to see how distinct Old Norse is from both AF. and OS.:

AF. AND OS.	O. NORSE.	AF. AND OS.	O. NORSE.
Sing. 1. gifu	gef,	Plur. 1. gifad	gefum,
2. gifis	gefr,	2. gifad	gefið,
3. gift	gefr,	3. gifad	gefa.

Compare, again, the Old Norse *sunr* with its lost stem-vowel and preserved nominative inflexion with AF. and OS. *sunu*.

Again, although Old High German bears a more marked resemblance to OS. than Old Norse does to AF., chiefly, however, because of the archaic structure of the two lan-

guages, it shows many deep-rooted divergences. Thus in the verb, although both have happened to preserve the singular of the verb in an archaic form—a purely negative agreement—they diverge entirely in the plural, which in the German *gebames, gebat, gebant*, is utterly distinct. And in the noun the plural *visca* (OS. *fiaskos*), in the adj. the masc. *guoter* and neut. *guotas* are utterly divergent from OS. and AF.

The only apparently irreconcilable differences between OS. and AF. lie in the OS. *é* (or probably rather *ê*) for original *ai* (*hém, flésk* = AF. *hám, flásc, flásc*) and *ó* for *au* (*ród* = OE. *reád*). But the first is only a partial distinction, for the OS. change has taken place in AF. also in many words. All that the divergence in the case of *hém, hám* shows is that both in OS. and AF. original *ai* must have been preserved up till a comparatively late period.

As regards *ó* from *au*, I have no hesitation in expressing my conviction that in the face of the general identity of AF. and OS. both in inflexions and phonology we have no choice left but to acknowledge *ó* as the original AF. form also. There can be no doubt that this *ó* from *au* had the broad, open sound (cf. *taoc* in the Hildebrandslied), which was certainly also the sound of the *o* in *hano*, originally *hana*. Therefore, when the *o* of *hano* became delabialized into *a* in Frisian, the long broad *ó* in *ród* followed the same change, giving *rád*. We have already seen how unsatisfactory the attempt is to derive OE. *reád* from the Frisian *rád*, and it seems much more probable that *reád* came straight from *ród* itself. It is clear that *ród* could not diphthongize direct into *éa*. The natural diphthong of broad *ó* would be *ao* or *oa* (or possibly *au, ua*), the broad ("low") element and the labial being pronounced successively instead of simultaneously—a common source of diphthongization, of which the Icelandic change of *ê* into *ai* (or *ae*) is an example.¹ From *oa* with the stress on the *a*, *ea* (and then *éa*, by lengthening) would be formed by weakening of the unaccented element.

¹ History of English Sounds, p. 43.

From our comparison of OS. and AF. we may safely infer that in a period extending say from the second to the fifth century, a common Anglo-Frisio-Saxon or Old Low German language was spoken, which differed from the extant OS. mainly in its preservation of the diphthong *ai* (*haim*, etc.) and of the thematic *i* (and *u*) in *gasti*, *brúdi*, etc., as shown by the OE. forms *gest*, *bry̅d*, and in some special details. It differed from High German and Old Norse chiefly in its loss of the nominative inflexions (masc. and neut.) both in nouns and adjectives, although it is probable that they were only beginning to drop off in the first century or so, and in the levelling of the pres. plural of its verbs, which evidently hangs together with the loss of *n* in *tóð*, etc., the first stage being *bindam*, *bindað*, *bindáð*, which were soon completely levelled.

By the end of the period we have assigned, the Anglo-Frisian dialect had separated itself from the parent stock by its full development of the umlaut, and by its peculiar *æ* for *a*, retaining the old inflexions nearly unchanged.

Then came further divergencies in Anglo-Frisian itself, and finally the complete disruption consequent on the migration of the greater number of the Anglo-Frisians to Britain.

But in spite of the violent revolutions in phonology, grammar and vocabulary undergone by the Anglo-Frisian of Britain, the two languages still attest their close affinity not only in what they have preserved from the common stock, but also in the wonderful analogy of the changes they have undergone. The Frisians still have a saying, "*brea buter en tahiiz is gud Engels en gud Friis*," and a similar one is current in Yorkshire.

XIII.—ON THE DIALECTS OF MONMOUTHSHIRE, HEREFORDSHIRE, WORCESTERSHIRE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, BERKSHIRE, OXFORDSHIRE, SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE, SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, HERTFORDSHIRE, MIDDLESEX, AND SURREY, WITH A NEW CLASSIFICATION OF THE ENGLISH DIALECTS. By PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

[Read before the Philological Society, 7th April, 1876.]

DURING the summer of the past year I made several excursions in some of the English counties, with the object of ascertaining the general nature of the dialect therein spoken amongst the uncultivated peasants. The result I have obtained has been rather contrary to what I expected to find, and has obliged me to modify my previous classification. The parts of England which I have made the subject of my late linguistical researches, are the following :—Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, South Warwickshire, South Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and Surrey.

In all the County of Monmouth I have found English the language of the majority of the natives; but while in some of the western parishes the Welsh is still spoken by an important minority, in other parishes, particularly the eastern, it is sometimes very difficult, though not impossible, to find even a very few Welsh-speaking individuals. The Welsh spoken in Monmouthshire is very similar to that of Glamorgan and Brecknockshire. For what concerns the Monmouthshire vulgar English, it is rather an independent sub-dialect of the Western English than anything else.¹ This sub-dialect extends into the south-west border of Herefordshire. A specimen of the Abergavenny Monmouthshire English has

¹ See that part of VI. on the accompanying map, which lies in Monmouthshire. The map should be consulted throughout while reading the following notes.



DIALECTS.

- I Eastern
- II South Eastern.
- III South Western.
- IV Devonshire.
- V Cornish.
- VI Western.
- VII Shropshire.
- VIII North Western.
- IX Midland.
- X East Midland.
- XI North Eastern.
- XII North Midland.
- XIII Northern.

Varieties are represented by small circles, this  and are grouped into Sub-dialects, by straight lines, the number of the Dialect being annexed to each Sub-dialect, which sometimes consists of a Single Variety. Projections of Varieties into adjacent Counties are shown by straight lines ending thus: —

A SMALL MAP OF THE
COUNTIES OF ENGLAND
SHOWING THE
APPROXIMATE DELIMITATION
of their

DIALECTS
and the
ENUMERATION OF
THEIR SUB-DIALECTS
and
PRINCIPAL VARIETIES
by
Prince L. L. Bonaparte
London
1877.



English Statute Miles

been kindly supplied to me by Lady Llanover, and Mr. A. J. Ellis has made a phonetical transcription, as well as an accurate analysis of it. The vocabulary of the Monmouthshire English sub-dialect is more or less Welshified, and some of the principal characters of the Western English Dialect, to which it belongs, are also observable in it, such for instance as the occasional *I be, he be, we be, you be, they be*, for *I am, he is, we are, you are, they are*; the periphrastic instead of the simple tenses; the sound of *r* peculiar also to the South-Western Dialect, and the substitution of the Italian diphthong *ai* in several words which in English receive the final sound of *ay*, as in *hay, day, say*, pronounced in Monmouthshire *hāi, dāi sāi*. The specimen of Lady Llanover has not been my only basis in giving the aforesaid characters. I have been obliged to consult, in addition to it, the daily use of some uncultivated peasants, particularly about the town of Monmouth.

The Western English Dialect¹ is, as far as I can judge, the transitional one between the South-western English and the Shropshire Dialects. It may be subdivided into the following sub-dialects: 1. Herefordshire in general; 2. Monmouthshire with South-western border of Herefordshire; 3. North-western border of Herefordshire; 4. Worcestershire; 5. South Warwickshire with a small portion of extreme North-east Gloucestershire, and another small portion of extreme South-east Worcestershire. I have not observed, as often occurring, the initial changes of *f*, *s*, and *thr* into *v*, *z*, and *dr*, either in the sub-dialect of Monmouthshire, or in those of Worcestershire and South Warwickshire. I am uncertain about the Welshified sub-dialect of the North-west border of Herefordshire, but in that of the county in general, the aforesaid initial changes are presented by my specimens of Ledbury, Much Cowarne, and Weobley, though not by those of central Herefordshire and Leominster. This last variety extends with some differences into North-west Worcestershire about Tenbury. No Welsh is now spoken

¹ See the three sub-dialects marked VI. on the map. The South-western is marked III. and the Shropshire VII.

by the natives of Herefordshire and Shropshire, with the exception of the parishes of Llanyblodwell, Oswestry, and Llansillin, belonging to the North-west of this county, and in these the Welsh of Denbighshire is still spoken by a few. In the extreme North of Herefordshire, a variety of the Shropshire Dialect is in use, and about Ross and Goodrich, in the south of the county, another variety belonging to the South-western Dialect, and similar to that of Dean Forest, in Gloucestershire, is to be found. Besides the dialects already named, a variety of the South Staffordshire sub-dialect penetrates the extreme northern corner of Worcestershire, and another variety of the Midland Dialect may be observed in the extreme north-eastern corner of the same county.¹ The peculiar sounds of the Italian *ai* and of the Western *r* I have not observed in the South Warwickshire sub-dialect.

In Gloucestershire, the South-western² is the dialect generally in use, and to it belong the following varieties: Gloucester Valley, Gloucester Town, Valley of Berkeley, Dean Forest, and Cotswold. The initial changes of *f*, *s*, and *thr* into *v*, *z*, and *dr* are less frequent in the Gloucester Town and Cotswold varieties than in the other three. The change of the English *ā* into *ē* is peculiar to the town of Gloucester, as *neme*, *seme*, *plece*, for *name*, *same*, *place*.³ A similar change takes place, according to Sternberg, in Northamptonshire, on the borders of Leicester and Rutland. While the north-western and south-western portions of Berkshire present two varieties of the South-western English, the eastern part, on the contrary, belongs to the South-eastern Dialect.⁴ In the South-western Dialect, the periphrastic instead of the simple tenses, the prefix *a* before the past participles, the sound of the Italian *ai* replacing the English *ay*, and the use of *I be*,

¹ These projections of the dialect of one county into another are all marked on the map by lines projecting from the variety of speech in question, terminated by little transverse lines, as subsequently explained.

² No. III. on the map.

³ [I find the same peculiarity in a specimen from Tetbury, in which *keear*, *lean*, *neame*, *keece*, *soef*, *pretee*, *moek*, occur for "care, lane, name, case, safe, prates, make." Tetbury is exactly South of Gloucester city on the border of Wiltshire.—A. J. ELLIS.]

⁴ No. II. on the map.

we be, you be, they be, are more or less observed ; but of all these characters, only the last persists in the South-eastern Dialect.

Varieties of the South-eastern English are also, generally speaking, those of Oxfordshire, South Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Surrey. The Oxfordshire variety penetrates a little into the East Gloucestershire border, and the variety of Banbury in North Oxfordshire extends into South Northamptonshire, and even a little into South Warwickshire.

Hertfordshire belongs to the East Midland Dialect,¹ with the exception of its west and south-west corners, about Berkhamstead and Rickmansworth, which are South-eastern.

South-eastern also is to be considered the extreme west border of Bedfordshire adjoining Buckinghamshire, although the remainder of the county is decidedly East Midland.

The variety of Middlesex belongs to the East Midland Dialect, and penetrates into a few localities of North Surrey, South-east Buckinghamshire, and East Berkshire, about Windsor, Slough, Chertsey, etc., as well as the extreme south-west and north-west corners of Essex and Kent, about Stratford and Deptford.

In the East Midland Dialect, *I be, we be*, etc., are not found, but *I are*, for *I am*, analogous to the Danish *jeg er*, is not uncommon. I have recognised it in Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Mid Northamptonshire, and even in Middlesex, near Willesden, and in Surrey, near Chertsey ; but it is also to be found in localities belonging to other dialects, such as Ledbury in East Herefordshire, Maidenhead in East Berkshire, Aylesbury in Mid Buckinghamshire, and even in Kent. According to Sternberg, *he are*, for *he is*, and analogous to the Danish *han er*, is also found to occur in North and East Northamptonshire. The forms *he am, we am, you am, they am*, for *he is, we are*, etc., belong to Bedfordshire and South Northamptonshire, and the three last also to Somersetshire and other counties.

The Eastern Dialect² comprises the varieties of Norfolk,

¹ No. X. on the map.

² No. I. on the map.

Suffolk, and East Essex. The use of *I be*, etc., for *I am*, without being common in these counties, has not entirely disappeared, and the periphrastic tenses instead of the simple are also in use; but one of the characters of the Norfolk and Suffolk varieties is the treatment of the third person of the present of the indicative, which very often rejects the final *s*, as in *he love*, for *he loves*, etc. In this respect, these two counties are the reverse of the majority of those in which the South-eastern, Western, and other Dialects are in use. In fact, *I loves*, *he loves*, of the latter, correspond to *I love*, *he love*, of the former dialect. The North-east and South-east Essex varieties do not present the elimination of the *s*, and the use of the periphrastic tenses instead of the simple, as those of Norfolk and Suffolk; but their vocabulary, on the whole, seems to be rather nearer to that of these two counties than to any other. The East Essex varieties belong perhaps, as an independent sub-dialect, as much to the Eastern as to the South-eastern English. The West Essex variety, on the contrary, appears to be East Midland.

The present classification, as far as concerns the primary dialects, is principally founded on their grammatical characters, particularly on the substantive verb; but the vocabulary, and the consonantal and vocal changes are also taken into due consideration in determining the sub-dialects and varieties. That the vocal changes are not so good a criterion for the determination of the principal dialects as certain grammatical characters are, may easily be shown by noting that the same vowel changes take place in the most different forms of English. Thus a sound analogous to, although not identical with, the French *u* or *eu* in *pu* and *peu*, which is to be found in Scotch, occurs also, with trifling differences, very difficult to be expressed phonetically, in Devonshire, West Somersetshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, North-east Essex, and even Kent. I have discovered it at Hampstead Norris in Mid Berkshire; at Brightwell in North Berkshire; at Aldbury, and Great and Little Gaddesden in North-west Hertfordshire; and it is also occasionally to be heard in one or two localities of Surrey. This sound, which

sometimes strikes the ear as if it were more or less diphthongal, very often replaces the English long *oo*. In the same manner the English alphabetical sound of the *a*, as in *gate*, is replaced by another diphthongal one. In fact, *gi't* may be found as well in Southern as in Midland and Northern forms of English. These are only a few instances showing that no more than a secondary value can be attributed to the permutation of vowels in determining the principal English Dialects.

Of the thirteen English Dialects of the forty English Counties, some may be called Southern; other, Midland; and other, Northern. The South-western (No. III.), the Devonshire (No. IV.), and even the Cornish (No. V.), are decidedly Southern; the Midland (No. IX.) is decidedly Midland; and the Northern (No. XIII.) decidedly Northern. The other eight are more or less transitional. In fact, the North-eastern (No. XI.), the North-Western (No. VIII.), and even the North Midland (No. XII.), partake of the Midland and of the Northern; the Western (No. VI.), and even the Shropshire (No. VII.), shade from the Southern into the Midland; the East Midland (No. X.), in its Southern varieties at least, partakes of the South-eastern (No. II.), and this of the former, as well as of the South-western (No. III.); the Eastern (No. I.), finally, shows a tendency towards the Northern varieties of the East Midland (No. X.). This transitional character of the majority of the English Dialects obliges me to abandon their distinction into Southern, Midland, and Northern families, without ceasing, however, to recognize the Southern, Midland, and Northern characters on which the present classification is based.

Southern characters I call: the use of *I be, thou bist, he be, we be, you be, they be*, for *I am*, etc.; the periphrastic tenses replacing the simple, as *I do love*, for *I love*; the prefix *a* before the past participle, as *I have aheard*, for *I have heard*; the permutation of the initial *f, s, sh*, and *thr*, into *v, z, zh*, and *dr*; the broad pronunciation of the Italian *ai*, replacing the sound of the English *ay*, as in *May*, pronounced as the Italian adverb *mai*. Other characters may be quoted as

Southern, but the preceding five I have found sufficient for my object.

Their absence constitutes the negative characters of the Northern English Dialect, and the use, more or less frequent, of *I is*, *thou is*, *we is*, *you is*, *they is*, pronounced according to the nature of the dialect, presents a good positive criterion for it, although not for the Scotch. The change of *o* into *a* before *ng*, as in *sang*, *lang*, *strang*, for *song*, *long*, *strong*, may be considered also an additional character of the Northern English. The use of the second person of the singular, and of *I is*, *thou is*, *we is*, etc., as well as the absence both of the guttural χ ,¹ and of the intermediate sound between the French *eu* in *peu* and *u* in *pu*, are, in my opinion, good distinctive criteria between Northern English and Scotch. The absence of the *burr* is partial in Northern English, but total in Scotch. It seems, however, that it was heard occasionally, about thirty-five years ago, in the parish of Hutton, belonging to the county of Berwick, and beyond its liberties, which are in England, and possess the *burr*.² For what relates to the forms *I is*, *they is*, I have sometimes met with them in decidedly non-Northern varieties; but in this case *we is* and *you is* are not to be found, as in the Northern English; and in the same manner it is possible to find, although rarely, in some of the non-Northern varieties, *he*, *we*, or *they be*, but not *I be* and *you be*, as in the Southern Dialect.

The Midland characters are negative, and consist in the absence of the Southern as well as the Northern ones. Still the verbal plural in *n*, as we *aren*, for we *are*, distinguishes pretty well the North-western English (No. VIII.); and the form *we bin*, also for *we are*, which may be found in Shropshire (No. VII.), is an interesting instance of the shading of the Southern dialects into the North-western (No. VIII.).

In this Map of England, which I have the honour to offer to the Philological Society³ as the result of my last inquiries and

¹ The Scotch and German *ch*.

² See "The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the Respective Parishes," vol. ii., Edinburgh, 1845.

³ [The original large map drawn for the Prince by Stanford, and presented to the Philological Society, and preserved in its library with the Prince's map of the Basque Dialects, has been reduced by me for the purpose of printing this

the expression of my present modified opinion—opinion which I submit to the judgment of the English linguists, to whom, as being more competent than I am, I should be willing to abandon in future any further inquiry on this thoroughly English subject to which I am happy to have called their attention;—in this Map of England, I say, the varieties are indicated by red circular marks; the dialects by numbers; and the sub-dialects by the repetition of the same number.

Only dialects and sub-dialects are the essential parts of a classification such as this, the former corresponding, so to speak, to the genera, and the latter to the species of naturalists. In fact, the number of the varieties is almost infinite, and is equivalent to that of the different localities. I have marked in my map only those which I have studied, or whose existence has been communicated to me by Mr. Ellis or others. The projection of a variety into an adjoining county is indicated by a line crossed at the end. It is to be observed that when a variety of a county projects into another county, this projection constitutes generally, if not always, a kind of sub-variety, due to the influence of the new county. It is not to be expected, for instance, that the South Staffordshire variety (No. VII.) projecting into Worcestershire is absolutely the same in both counties.

No real exact delimitation of English Dialects is, I think, possible. Arbitrary and imaginary ones may be easily given, but careful and critical investigations in visiting the different parishes and hamlets of England, will soon convince the geographical linguist of the futility of such an attempt. This is owing to the fragmentary state of the present English dialects, which are rather remnants of dialects, imperceptibly shading one into the other, and more or less influenced by standard English, than anything else. At any rate, they are not to be compared with Italian, French, German, or

paper. On a small map of the English counties only, prepared for the Prince some years ago, all the dots and lines, representing varieties, their connections and projections, were inserted, as well as the small scale necessary for printing the map on a single page, would allow; but it will, I hope, be found sufficient to make the text intelligible. In this reduction a few slight changes have been made in No. III., due to a subsequent excursion into Somersetshire, as explained in the Appendix.—A. J. ELLIS.]

Basque Dialects, whose delimitation, although difficult, is still possible. Therefore, the red¹ circular marks with their depending lines crossed at the end, as well as the numbers with their repetitions, are only to show the existence of dialects, sub-dialects, and varieties in places in which they are sure to be found; and the lines uniting the different varieties under a single dialect or sub-dialect, have no other object than to indicate their union, and possess no power of delimitation either in excluding or including the localities through which they pass or leave at their right and left.

The three Dialects of Scotland, our linguistical knowledge of which is due to Dr. Murray, have been so well treated in his work,² that no linguist, I feel sure, will presume to suggest any change in their classification in what relates to Scotland. The only liberty I have taken, after having consulted him on the existence or non-existence of some characters of the English East and West Marches sub-dialects (of No. XIII.), consists in having considered them, for the reasons which I have already stated, rather as two independent sub-dialects of the Northern English than of the Southern Scotch. We shall have, then, two Scotch places, Canobie in Dumfriesshire, and Liddisdale in Roxburghshire, where Northern English is in use; and a single place in England, Upper Reedsdale in Northumberland, where the Teviotdale Scotch, according to Dr. Murray, is to be found.

For what concerns the North Insular or fourth Scotch Dialect, which is the only Scotch I have examined on the spot, I have had no reason to modify my former opinion. In fact, my last informations show that the Orkney and Shetland sub-dialects differ by the number, and sometimes also by the quality of their Icelandic words, the Shetland being the richest.

This classification is based: 1. On my own inquiries made in visiting repeatedly the different localities of England every time I have had a good opportunity of doing so; 2. On specimens which I have obtained from different translators of

¹ [The whole markings of the projections, varieties, sub-dialects, and dialects, were in red on the original map, but here appear, of course, as black.—A.J.E.]

² Contained in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1870-2, and also published separately.

Mr. Ellis's comparative specimen, "Why John has no doubts;" 3. On other modern original specimens furnished to me by different native authors; 4. On the modern works of Dr. Murray for the Scotch, and Mr. Elworthy for the West Somerset sub-dialect; 5. On several printed works and specimens generally known, which, notwithstanding their not being as valuable and complete as those of the two last named authors, are by no means to be despised by English dialectologists.

APPENDIX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SOMERSET DIALECT.

The aim of my last excursion into Somersetshire was twofold: **FIRSTLY**, to ascertain the general nature of the vulgar speech which obtains between the River Parret and the Quantock Hills, with the exception of the southern part of the county; and **SECONDLY**, to examine if this southern part constitutes an independent variety either of the South-western or of the Devonshire Dialect of the English.

I began my researches at Cannington, west of the Parret and east of the Quantocks, and there I was informed by the Rev. Mr. Bristow, its Rector, that one Edward Wills, sometimes called Thorne, had stated to him that he, Edward Wills, was well acquainted with the word *utehy* for *I*; that he had used it himself, and that it would also be used at present, but rarely, amongst old peasants. I lost no time in visiting myself this respectable patriarch of ninety-four years, and he repeated to me the above statements. The Quantock-Parret speech is at present nearer to the South-western than to the Devonshire Dialect, but it was not so in the time of Jennings, who wrote the Somersetshire Glossary. Then *thecky* for *thick*, meaning *that*, was more in use than at present, but even now *thecky* is not uncommon; *or* for *he*, even in the affirmative phrases, was in common use, and is not quite extinct; and *talketh*, *loveth*, for *talks*, *loves*, are still to be heard. In North Currey, another village between the Parret and the Quantocks, I have heard *thecky* both for *this* and *these*, but I did not find there either *utehy* for *I*, or *er* for *he*. In this variety there is no trace of the sound resembling the French *u*. *Her* for *she*, *talketh* for *talks*, *mowvy* for *to mow something* (object unexpressed), are to be heard at Cannington, as well as at North Currey. In my opinion, the Quantock-Parret variety was properly considered by Jennings as being nearer to the Devonshire than to the South-western English, but I fully admit with

Mr. Elworthy that it is now more South-western than anything else. Still the use, more or less preserved, of *or* for *he*, *talketh* for *talks*, and *thecky* for *thick*, entitles it to the rank of an independent variety of the South-western English Dialect.

The Somersetshire speech east of the Parret, which constitutes the central variety of the county, and also the principal portion of the whole dialect, is better preserved in Wedmore (south of Ax-bridge and west of Wells) than anywhere else; but even there it is rapidly dying out, and according to Matthew Wall, an intelligent farmer of this locality, several words which used to begin with *v* or *z*, now begin with *f* or *s*.

The north-eastern part of the county is worthy also to be considered as an independent variety of this dialect, taking in some consideration a certain amount of the words in its vocabulary.

I have visited, partly alone and partly with Mr. Pulman, of Crewkerne,¹ the southern portion of Somersetshire, and I agree entirely with him about the delimitation of the South Somersetshire variety, which belongs unquestionably to the South-western English Dialect. This variety shows a projection into Devonshire between the Axe and Dorsetshire, and two other projections into this last county: the one at its extreme north-eastern corner in the direction of Sherborne,² and the other at its extreme north-western corner about Chardstock. The South Somersetshire variety differs, as far as a mere variety can, both in vocabulary and phonetism, from the other variety of this county belonging to the same dialect.

But besides the four varieties—Central, Quantock-Parret, North-eastern, and Southern—I find two more in South Somersetshire: the one, west of the Parret, at Merriott, near Crewkerne; and the other a few miles further, east of the same river, at Montacute. I have been very fortunate in finding the desired words *utchy* and *utch* in the first of these localities, and *utch* or *us* at Montacute. The expressions *I will*, *I would*, *I went*, are rendered by *utchill*, *utchood*, *us went*. In

¹ Author of "Rustic Sketches; being Rhymes and 'Skits' on Angling and other Subjects in one of the South-western Dialects; with a copious Glossary, and General Remarks on Country Talk." Third edition. London, 1871. The district of the dialect is described as extending "from Yeovil to Axmouth, taking in a strip on each side of the South-western Railway and those portions of South-west Somerset, West Dorset, and Upper East Devon, which meet at a point in the Valley of the Axe, near Chard Junction," which Mr. Pulman speaks of as the Axe-Yarty district. The glossary extends from p. 75 to p. 162, and is exceptionally good.—A. J. E.

² In the map this projection is wrongly attributed to the Montacute variety. That is, it is made to proceed from the easternmost, instead of from the westernmost of the three black circles in the South of Somersetshire. The middle and eastern circles represent Merriott and Montacute, which are quite isolated varieties, whereas the westernmost circle represents the general South Somersetshire speech.

this last it is difficult, however, to decide if *us* is really for *utch*, or rather the plural *us* used instead of *we* or *I*; for *us went*, at Montacute, means both *I went* and *we went*. In Devonshire, *us* for *we* is common, but it is not so in the South-western Dialect generally; and it seems rather strange to find it used exceptionally in Montacute as in Devonshire.

I have neither been able to find the abbreviation *ch'* for *utohy* anywhere, nor to ascertain on the very spot if *ise*, *iss*, or *ees*, for *I*, are still in use in some parts of North Devonshire. About twenty years ago, I have been assured of the existence in Paracombe, of *ise* for *I* amongst a few very old people of that locality, or of the Exmoor Forest district generally; and this statement is confirmed by the frequent use of these forms by the author of the Exmoor Scolding, a very valuable little work, no more to be neglected in the study of the North Devonshire sub-dialect, to which the West Somersetshire variety belongs, than Tim Bobbin's speech is to be treated lightly by the inquirer of the South Lancashire. As to the use of *ise* for *I* in North Devonshire, I know a man who still maintains its existence about Bideford, his native place, but I can say nothing more on this subject.

I shall conclude these observations by stating :—

1. That I have found at Merriott a pronunciation differing both from that of Montacute, and the more general one of the South Somersetshire variety.

2. That, at Merriott, the *r* followed by a consonant, or at the end of a word, is quite weak and of a vocal nature, as in the standard English, but still differing from it.

3. That at Montacute I have heard the *r*, under the same circumstances, pronounced strongly as a Western *r*.

4. That *hem be* is in use at Merriott and Montacute for the more general *he be*, a fact which rather favours the opinion that the *us* in *us went* for *I went* or *we went*, heard at the last village, is not, after all, for *utch*.

5. That *I talks* for *I talk*, and *hem talk* for *he talks*, are common in both localities.

6. That *her* for *she*, *mow* for *to mow something*, and other characters either of the South Somersetshire variety or of the South-western Dialect generally, are also to be found at Merriott and Montacute.

- 7, and lastly. That the total absence of the sound resembling the French *w*, and that of *talketh* for *talks*, *theckey* for *thick*, *er* for *he*, etc., is to be noticed in these two villages as well as in the Southern, Central, and North-eastern varieties of the county of Somerset.

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